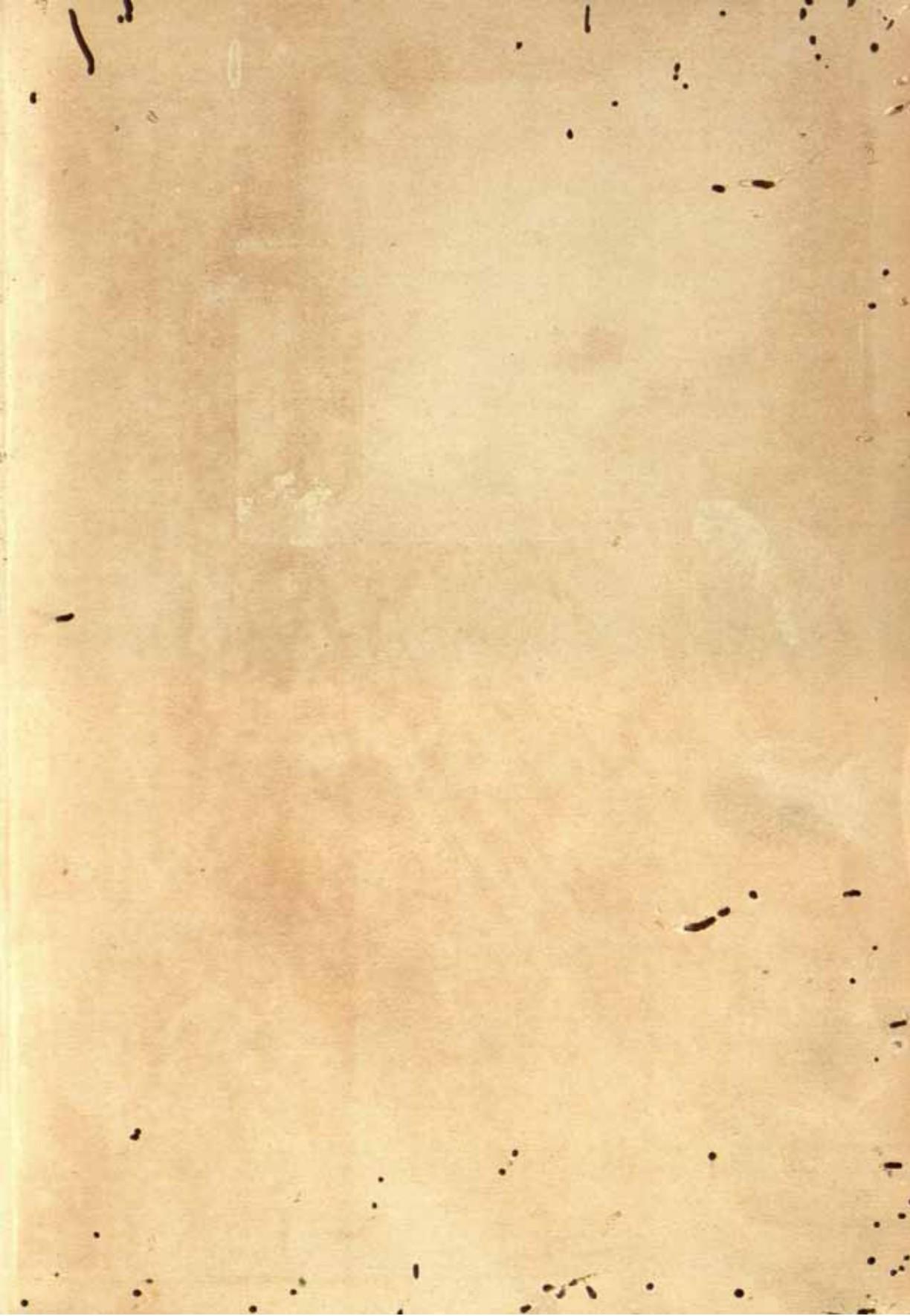


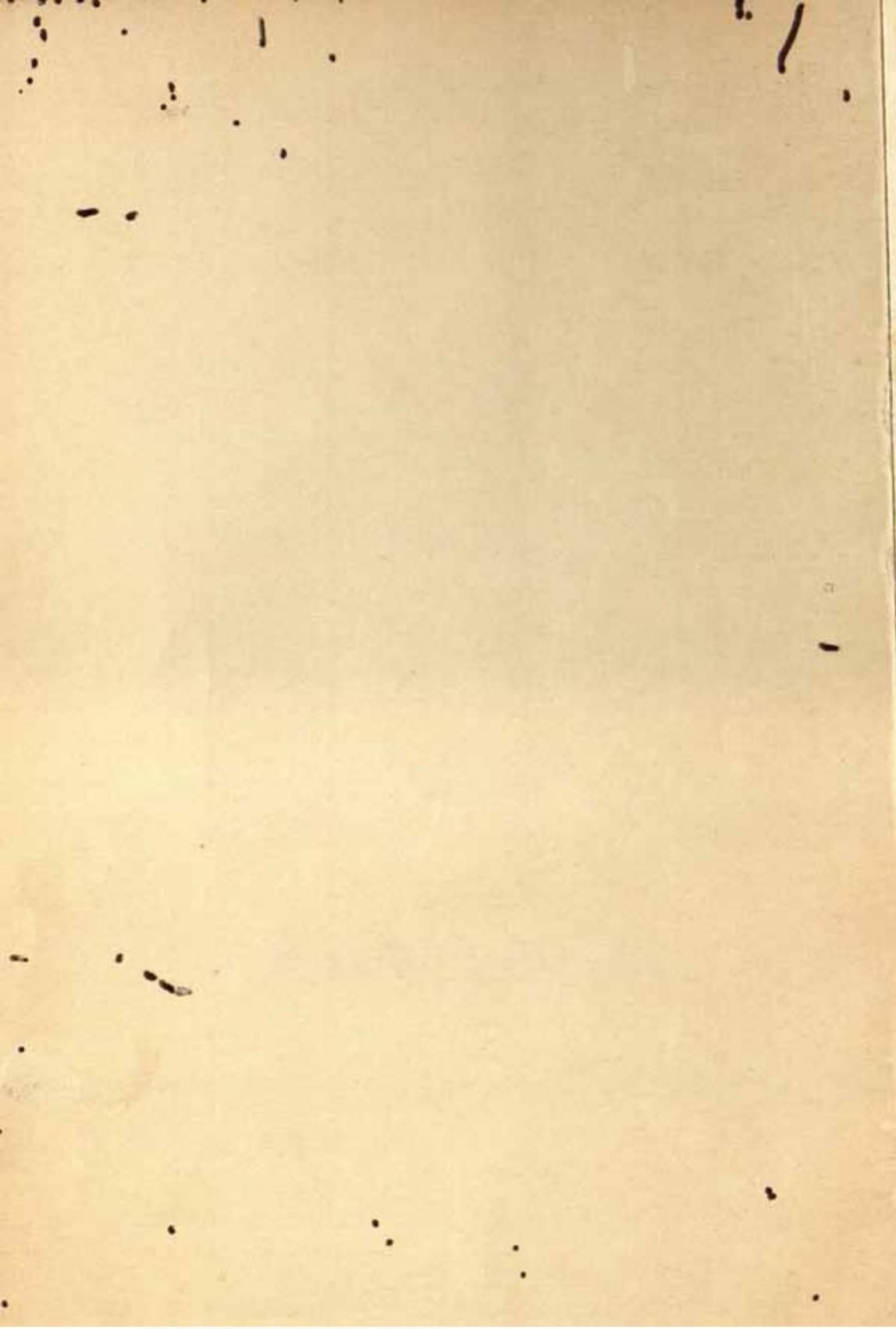
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ZEUS  
A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME III  
PART II

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS  
LONDON: BENTLEY HOUSE  
NEW YORK, TORONTO, BOMBAY  
CALCUTTA, MADRAS: MACMILLAN  
TOKYO: MARUZEN COMPANY LTD

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This part completes the Vols.

# ZEUS

(4)  
20.8.56

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

Vol III Pt 2

BY

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EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

## VOLUME III

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY  
(EARTHQUAKES, CLOUDS, WIND,  
DEW, RAIN, METEORITES)

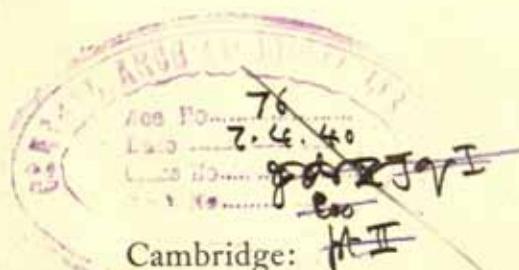
χῶς Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἰθρίος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὑει

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PART II  
APPENDICES AND INDEX

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## APPENDIX P.

### FLOATING ISLANDS.

Floating islands have not yet been made the subject of any monograph<sup>1</sup>. But examples of them are given by Sen. *nat. quaestn.* 3. 25. 7 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, and the anonymous author *de aquis mirabilibus* 37 ff. (formerly identified with Sotion (Phot. *bibl.* p. 145 b 28 ff. Bekker) and printed under that name by A. Westermann ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1839 p. 183 ff., but better edited as *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* by H. Oehler Tubingae 1913 and cited as such in W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*<sup>6</sup> München 1920 ii. 420 f.). Fact and fable are so blended in their accounts that individual cases call for separate consideration:

(1) Aiolos Hippotades lived on a floating island (*Od.* 10. 3 πλωτῆ ἐνι τῆσσας) as explained by Aristarchos *ap. schol.* H.M.Q.T.V. *Od.* 10. 3, Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 132, 18 f., Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1644, 51 ff., cp. Hesych. s.v. πλωτή, Phot. *lex. s.v. πλωτός*, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1523, 18 f., Soudi. *s.v. πλωτή νῆσος*, Zonar. *lex. s.v. πλωτή*, and W. W. Merry *ad loc.*, which was perhaps originally regarded as an island of souls (*supra* p. 109). On it see further K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1032 ff.

(2) The Homeric Planktae were beetling rocks against which the waves broke. No birds could pass them in safety. Even the doves that brought ambrosia to Zeus always lost one of their number, and another had to be sent by him in its stead. Never yet had any ship escaped these rocks, for billows of salt water and blasts of destructive fire overwhelmed ships and crews alike. The Argo alone, on its voyage from Aietes, had passed them, being sent past in safety by Hera for Iason's sake (*Od.* 12. 59—72, 23. 327). There is no question here of clashing rocks, between which Odysseus must go (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 370). The poet, anxious to eliminate incredible marvels (*supra* ii. 989), has substituted παρά for διά (62 παρέρχεται, 69 παρέπλω, 72 παρέπεμψεν) and left us to suppose that the danger lay in being dashed against the rocks, not in being crushed between them. Nevertheless the name Πλωγκταί used of them by the blessed gods (61) implies that they were originally conceived as 'Wandering' rocks, and the sinister phrase ἀλλά τε καὶ τῶν αἰεώνων αἴφαρέται λίσ πέτρη (64) looks like a reminiscence of the clashing motif.

The Kyaneai (first in Soph. *Ant.* 966 or *Hdt.* 4. 85) or Symplegades (first in Eur. *Med.* 431) of the Argonauts' adventure were two living rocks which rushed together, rolling faster than the winds (Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 208 ff.). As early as 5. v B.C., if not earlier, they were located on the Thracian Bosphorus (Soph. *Ant.* 966 f. and *Hdt.* 4. 85) at the entrance to the Euxine (Eur. *I.T.* 124 f.), where they formed

<sup>1</sup> Unless we concede the name to such articles as those by Mary Johnston 'Floating islands, ancient and modern' in the *Classical Weekly* 1925—1926 xix. 58, L. R. Shero 'The Vadimonian Lake and floating islands of Equatorial Africa' *ib.* 1933—1934 xxvii. 51 f., J. W. Spaeth 'More floating islands' *ib.* p. 78, R. M. Geer 'Floating islands once more' *ib.* p. 152 or to such chapters as those of A. Breusing 'Nautisches zu Homeros, 6. ΠΛΩΤΗ ΕΝΙ ΝΗΣΩΝ' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1886 xxxii. 85—92 and E. Hawks *The Book of Natural Wonders* London 1932 pp. 192—198 ('Disappearing Islands').

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the mouth of the Pontos (Theokr. 22. 27 f., Nikeph. Greg. *hist. Byz.* 5. 4 (i. 134 Schopen)). Apollonios of Rhodes tells how the Argonauts on their outward voyage were warned by Phineus of the two Kyaneai, which were not firmly fixed with roots beneath but constantly clashed together amid boiling surf, and advised by him to send a dove in advance (Ap. Rhod. 2. 317 ff.); how they acted on his advice and saw the rocks shear off the tail-feathers of the bird; how they themselves making a desperate dash just got through, thanks to the helpful hands of Athena, with the loss of the tip of their stern-ornament; and how the rocks thenceforward were rooted fast and remained motionless (*ib.* 2. 549 ff.—a fine piece of writing). It should be observed that Apollonios is careful to distinguish the Kyaneai or Plegades, as he terms them (Ap. Rhod. 2. 596, 2. 645, and *Kairrov κτίσις frag.* 5. 4 Powell *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Par.* iv. 16, 1 ff. and Tzetz. in Lyk. *Al.* 1285), from the Homeric Plankta. For it is only on the return voyage that he works in an allusion to the Plankta, which are described as having surge at their bases and flame at their tops (Ap. Rhod. 4. 786 ff., 924 ff.) in obvious reference to the Lipari Islands (cp. Ap. Rhod. 3. 41 f. δλλ' ὁ μὲν (sc. Hephaistos) ἔτι χαλκέων καὶ ἀεροναν θρι βεβήκει, | νῆσουσ πλαγκτῆς εὐρὺν μυχόν with schol. *ad loc.*).

Many of the Greeks, however, identified the Kyaneai or Symplegades of the Bosporos with the Plankta (so first, perhaps, Hdt. 4. 83, then Asklepiades (? of Myrleia: see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1629) *ap.* schol. Od. 12. 69 and other *reθτεροι* (schol. Eur. *Med.* 2) listed by O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2546). And sundry Roman poets, placing Scylla in Sicilian waters, associate her with clashing rocks (Ov. *met.* 7. 62 ff.) called Symplegades (Ov. *her.* 12. 121) or Cyaneae (Iuv. 15. 19 f.).

The right conclusion is drawn by O. Jessen *loc. cit.*, viz. that both the Plankta and the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose the ancient popular belief in a doorway to the Otherworld formed by clashing mountain-walls (T. Waitz *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* Leipzig 1864 iv. 166 the Mexican dead ‘hatte aneinander schlagende Berge... zu passiren,’ Jülg ‘über die griechische Heldensage im Wiederscheine bei den Mongolen’ in the *Verh. d. 26. Philologenversamml. in Würzburg* 1869 p. 64 in the Mongolian saga of Gesser Chan bk 4 ‘Von da weiterhin kommst du zu einer andern Verwandlung, nämlich zu zwei an einander schlagenden Felswänden; um zwischen denselben durchzukommen, musst du selbst ein Mittel ausfindig machen,’ E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*<sup>2</sup> London 1891 i. 347 f. the Karen of Burma ‘say that in the west there are two massive strata of rocks which are continually opening and shutting, and between these strata the sun descends at sunset,’ *ib.* i. 348 f. in an Ottawa tale Iosco and his friends after travelling eastward for years reached the chasm that led to the land of the Sun and Moon; as the sky rose, Iosco and one friend leapt through, but the other two were caught by the sky as it struck the earth, A. Leskien—K. Brugman *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* Strassburg 1882 p. 550 in a Slovenian tale the hero’s mother ‘stellt sich krank und will Wasser von zwei zusammenschlagenden Felsen, die aber keine Felsen, sondern Teufel sind, und nur um Mitternacht zwei Minuten schlafen,’ *ib.* p. 551 in a similar Slovak tale the mother ‘stellt sich krank und verlangt... das Wasser des Lebens und des Todes, das unter zwei Bergen ist, von denen der eine um Mittag, der andere um Mitternacht sich erhebt und gleich wieder zufällt,’ *ib.* in a similar tale from Little Russia the mother ‘stellt sich krank und schickt den Sohn... nach heilendem und belebendem Wasser zu den zusammenschlagenden Bergen,’ W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 235 f. cites stories of the

same type. In one 'the hero is sent in search of "a healing and a vivifying water," preserved between two lofty mountains which cleave closely together, except during "two or three minutes" of each day.... "Prince Ivan spurred his heroic steed, flew like a dart between the mountains, dipped two flasks in the waters, and instantly turned back." He himself escapes safe and sound, but the hind legs of his horse are caught between the closing cliffs, and smashed to pieces. The magic waters, of course, soon remedy this temporary inconvenience.... In a similar story from the Ukraine, mention is made of two springs of healing and life-giving water, which are guarded by iron-beaked ravens, and the way to which lies between grinding hills. The Fox and the Hare are sent in quest of the magic fluid. The Fox goes and returns in safety, but the Hare, on her way back, is not in time quite to clear the meeting cliffs, and her tail is jammed in between them. Since that time, hares have had no tails,' M. Gaster *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* London 1915 p. 263 ff. in a Rumanian tale *Floria*, sent to fetch the Water of Life and the Water of Death, was helped by a lame stork, which went straight to the mountains that knock against one another, waited—at the advice of a swallow—till noon when they rest for half an hour, then plunged into their depth and filled two bottles, but lost his tail as the mountains closed furiously upon him. And that is why storks have no tails, J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 46 in a Greek tale from Syra (*supra* ii. 1004 ff.) the girl Moon, helped by the bird Dikjeretto, fetched the Water of Life from a spring in a mountain which opened at midday, but had to cut off a piece of her dress that was caught by the closing cleft, *ib.* ii. 280 f. in another tale from Syra, akin to the group noted by Leskien and Brugman (=von Hahn's nineteenth formula 'Schwester- oder Mutter-Verrath oder Skyllaformel'), the hero's mother feigns illness and craves for the Water of Life (*ἀθάραρον νερόν*): the young man is directed by an old dame, in reality his Fate (*ἡγράν ἡ τύχη τοῦ παιδιοῦ*), to a mountain which opens every day at noon and contains many springs; he is guided to the right one by a bee, *ib.* ii. 283 f. in a variant from Vitzia in Epeiros the prince's elder sister pretends to be ill and sends him for the Water of Life, which a lame crow obtains from a mountain that opens and shuts, *ib.* i. 238 in a tale from the Zagori district of Epeiros a prince, to win Goldylocks, must needs fetch the Water of Life from a mountain which opens only for a moment and then shuts to with a snap; he gets it from a helpful raven, who brings it to him in a gourd, *ib.* ii. 194 f. in another tale from Zagori the hero, to win the king's daughter, has to obtain the Water of Life from a mountain which opens and closes again with the speed of lightning; he borrows the wings of a helpful eagle and escapes with filled gourd, R. Köhler in the *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1871 ii. 1403 f. no. (3)=*id. Kleinere Schriften* Weimar 1898 i. 367 f. in a modern Greek tale a king's son sets out to find for his sick father the Water of Immortality (*\*ἀθάραρον νερόν*) 'welches sich am Ende der Welt hinter zwei hohen Bergen befindet, die nach Art der Symplegaden immer auseinandergehen und wieder zusammenstossen'<sup>1</sup> [... ebenso bei Sakellarios No. 8. Vgl. auch Wenzig Westlaw. Märchenschatz S. 148]. On the Water of Life see further A. Wünsche *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser* Leipzig 1905 pp. 90–104 ('Das Wasser des Lebens als Zauberbrunnen in den Märchen der Völker'), J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1915 iii. 394–401 ('Das Wasser des Lebens')). A seafaring people might naturally conceive of such a portal as a pair of floating rocks or islets. Thus in a Greenland tale the hero Giviok 'continued paddling until he came in sight of two icebergs, with a narrow passage between them;

and he observed that the passage alternately opened and closed again. He tried to pass the icebergs by paddling round outside them, but they always kept ahead of him; and at length he ventured to go right between them. With great speed and alacrity he pushed on, and had just passed when the bergs closed together, and the stern-point of his kayak got bruised between them' (H. Rink *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* Edinburgh—London 1875 p. 158 f.). It would, however, be unsafe to infer from this tale that the Planktai were 'an early attempt to reproduce some sailor's story of the floating icebergs' (W. W. Merry on *Od.* 12. 61) and that the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose a dim recollection of icebergs in the Black Sea (cp. for the facts E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 6). Both alike are but mariners' versions of the gateway to the Otherworld.

See further F. Wieseleser *commentatio de Cyaneis sive Symplegadibus Gottingae* 1879 pp. 1—20, O. Jessen 'Planktai' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2540—2548, Sir J. G. Frazer in his ed. of Apollodorus London—New York 1921 ii. 355—358 (Append. v 'The Clashing Rocks'), Miss J. R. Bacon *The Voyage of the Argonauts* London 1925 p. 79 f.

(3) As knowledge of the Mediterranean increased there was a tendency to put the clashing rocks further and further afield. Close to the Ceraunian mountains were two rocks which clashed together as often as any trouble threatened the natives (Dionys. *per.* 394 ff. ἵνθα σφι τέρας ἀλλο θεοί θέσαν· ἀμφὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν | κείνης ἀμφοτέρωντες ἐμπρέδαται δύο πέτραι, | αἵτ' ἀμφω ἔννιαστι δονεῖμεναι, εἴτε τι ἀρχὴ | γίγνεται ἐνναέτης κυλινδομένου κακοῦ with Eustath. *ad loc.* Tzetz. chil. 4. 707 ff. confuses these rocks with the graves of Kadmos and Harmonia noted by Dionysios in the same context): this reads like a bit of genuine folklore and may even be older than the location of the Homeric Planktai in the Lipari Islands. Others, impressed apparently by the fact that Tartessos sounds like Tartaros (Strab. 149), transferred both the Planktai and the Symplegades to the neighbourhood of Gadeira and identified them with the pillars of Herakles (Strab. 170, quoted by Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 64). Others, again, declared that Homer etc. were speaking of rocks that lay between Kilikia (? Lykia A.B.C.) and Pamphylia (Tzetz. in Lyk. *Al.* 815—apparently by confusion with the Chelidonides Nesoi: see Ap. Rhod. *Kaïroun κτίσις frag.* 5. 3 f. Powell *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Par.* iv. 16, 4 f.).

(4) An oriental analogue to the Planktai may be found in the Ambrosiae Petrai of Tyre. Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 422 ff. relates that, when Dionysos was in Tyre, he enquired of Herakles Ἀστροχίτων how the city came to be. The god replied that he had roused the original earth-born natives from slumber, bidding them build the first ship and cross the sea till they should reach the Ambrosiae Petrai. These were two floating rocks, on which grew an olive in the very centre of the rock. On its topmost boughs they would see an eagle perched and a well-wrought bowl. Fiery sparks sprang from the flaming tree, which, for all that, was not consumed. A snake was coiled about it, but neither hurt nor was hurt by the eagle (467 ff. εἰσόκε χῶρον ἰεωσθε μεμορμένον, ὅππάθι δυσταῖ | παταθίεις πλάνοντις ἀλήμονεις εἰς ἀλλι πέτραι, | ἀε Φύσις Ἀμβροσίας ἐπεφήμιστεν, αἵτις ἔνι βάλλει | ἥλικος αἰτόρριζος ὁμόχυγον ἔρνος ἀλαῖς, | πέτρης ἴγροποροιο μετόμφαλον· ἀκροτάτους δὲ | αἰετὸν ἀθρίσητε παρεδρήσσοντα κορύμβοις | καὶ φιάλην εὐτυκτον· ἀπὸ φλογεροιο δὲ δένδρον | θαυμαζόντες σπινθῆρας ἐρέυγεται αἰτόρματον πῦρ, | καὶ σέλας ἀφλεγός περιβόσκεται ἔρνος ἀλαῖς· | καὶ φυτὸς ἴψιτίηλον ἀλιξ ὄφεις ἀμφιχορεῖν, | κ.τ.λ.). They were to capture the bird and sacrifice it to *Kyaneaites*, pouring its blood as a libation to the sea-roaming hills and to

Zeus and to the blessed ones. The rock would then stay rooted to the spot, and on both its peaks they would be able to plant their town. This remarkable description is borne out on the one hand by a passage in the novel of Achilleus Tatiros, on the other by a modern Palestinian folk-tale.

Ach. Tat. 2. 14 quotes an oracle current among the Byzantines—*νῆστος τις πόλις ἐστὶ φυτώνυμον αἷμα λαχοῦσα, | ισθμὸν δύο καὶ πορθμὸν ἐπ' ἡπείρου φέρουσα, | ἐνθ' Ἡφαιστος ἔχων χαῖρει γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην. | καίδι θυηπολίην σε φέρειν κέλομαι Ἡρακλεῖ* (cp. *Anth. Pal.* 14. 34)—and explains that the island-city with inhabitants named after trees is Tyre occupied by the Phoinikes. Its isthmus-strait is the narrow neck of land uniting it with the shore, since water flows beneath it. Here, too, Hephaistos in a sense enjoys Athena—witness the sacred precinct in which a flaming fire and an olive-tree are to be seen side by side, the soot of the former positively tending the branches of the latter.

A. J. Wensinck *Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia* Amsterdam 1921 p. 45 draws attention to a tale published by H. Schmidt—P. Kahle *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina* Göttingen 1918 p. 146 ff. no. 42, in which it is said of the hero: ‘Er kam zu Schäms ed-Duhha und fragte sie nach dem Wasser des Lebens. Da sagte sie: “Hinter dem Garten der Jungfrauen eine Tagereise zwischen zwei Bergen! Wer hinuntersteigt, über dem schlagen die beiden Berge zusammen. Sein Lebtag ist niemand, der hinunterstieg, wieder herausgekommen. Du aber schöpfe es (das Wasser) von oben aus.” Er gelangte dorthin. Da war ein Baum, über dem schwebte ein Vogel, über seinem Wipfel. Er zog sein Schwert und ging auf den Baum zu. Da war dort eine Schlange, die wollte die Brut des Vogels fressen. Sie kam auf ihn zu. Er schlug auf sie ein und tötete sie. Dann band er dem Vogel eine Flasche an den Hals. Der flog hin, füllte die Flasche und flog auf. Und während er auf flog, schlügen die Berge hinter ihm zusammen und rupften ihm den Schwanz und die Flügel. Da nahm jener die Flasche und ging zurück zur Schäms ed-Duhha.’ It will be observed that the two clashing mountains, behind which is the Water of Life, the tree, the snake, the helpful bird with the bottle attached to its neck, make up a picture curiously similar to that of the Ambrosiai Petrai as described by Nonnos.

Bronze coins of Tyre, struck by a succession of Roman imperial persons from Caracalla (211—217 A.D.) to Salonina (253—268 A.D.), have for reverse type the **AMBPOCIE ΠΕΤΡΕ** or **ΠΑΙΤΡΕ** (*sic*). These are shown sometimes as two *omphaloi* on separate bases, with an olive-tree growing between them (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 281 no. 430 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 15 = my fig. 783 from a cast, p. 284 no. 442 Trebonianus Gallus, p. 291 no. 473 Valerianus i, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 328 no. 2241 Elagabalos, p. 330 no. 2255 Aquilia Severa pl. 37, 9, p. 331 no. 2258 Iulia Maesa pl. 37, 11, p. 333 no. 2270 Gordianus iii, p. 340 no. 2302 Volusianus, p. 348 nos. 2349—2351 Gallienus pl. 38, 24 f., W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 140 f. Elagabalos = my fig. 784 from a cast), sometimes as two *stēlai* on a single base, between crescent and star, with a flaming *thymiaterion* on one side and an olive-tree on the other (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 281 no. 429 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 14 = my fig. 785 from a cast, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 270 no. 58 Gordianus iii pl. 77, 9 = my fig. 786, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 334 no. 2271 Gordianus iii pl. 37, 16). Or, again, they appear in the field as a local background. Thus Herakles, with club and lion-skin, pours a libation from a *phiale* over a burning altar, above which are seen the two *stēlai*, with streams issuing from their bases (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 281 no. 427

Gordianus iii pl. 33, 13 = my fig. 787 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 321 f. no. 2198 Caracalla pl. 36, 16, p. 330 no. 2253 Aquilia Severa, p. 341 no. 2309 Valerianus i pl. 38, 8, p. 346 no. 2342 Gallienus: p. 341 no. 2308 Valerianus i pl. 38, 7 has trophy in place of altar). Okeanos, reclining, with head-dress of crab's claws, holds in his left hand an oar and extends his right towards the *stelai*, from which streams flow (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 289 no. 464 Valerianus i, p. 296 no. 497 Salonina pl. 35, 5 = my fig. 788 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 347 no. 2343 Gallienus pl. 38, 20).



Fig. 783.



Fig. 784.



Fig. 785.



Fig. 786.



Fig. 787.



Fig. 788.



Fig. 789.

Europe, standing to front, with basket or vase: on the left, Zeus in the form of a bull emerges from the sea; above him are the *omphaloi* with an olive-tree between them (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 290 no. 468 Valerianus i pl. 34, 13 = my fig. 789 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 347 no. 2348 Gallienus pl. 38, 23, *supra* i. 530 n. 2 fig. 402 Gallienus, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 20 pl. 3, 40 = Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 71 pl. 7, 6 = W. H. Roscher *Neue Omphalosstudien* Leipzig 1915 pp. 15 n. 34, 71 fig. Gallienus).

These coins enable us to trace the Ambrosial Petrai back to a date nearly a century earlier than Achilleus Tatios, our earliest literary authority, and some two centuries earlier than Nonnos. As is so often the case, the earliest conception

is the simplest. Here are seen two *omphaloi* or *stelai* with rounded tops, from the base of which streams are flowing. Streams of what? Presumably of *ambrosia*. The rocks, to deserve their name, must themselves be the very source of that elixir (for the Water of Life as honey see e.g. *Kalevala* 15. 377 ff. trans. W. F. Kirby, cp. W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 p. 46 ff., W. Robert—Tornow *De opium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 pp. 85—89, 122—126). I cannot, therefore, agree with Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*<sup>2</sup> iii. 390 \*profluente subitus aqua, nimurum quod



Fig. 790.

aqua maris perpetuo humectantur.' Again, the coins give no hint of the eagle and the *phiale*. These are not mentioned before the fifth-century epic of Nonnos and may be an accretion due partly to the popular concept of Zeus as an eagle fed on *ambrosia* from the *phiale* of Ganymedes (e.g. Reinach *Reliefs* i. 115, 190 no. 1, ii. 232 no. 3, iii. 231 no. 2, 370 no. 2, 489 no. 2). I add in fig. 790 a Roman lamp of Augustan date in my possession (scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ ), cp. a similar but smaller lamp with bungled inscription published by R. Kekulé in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 121 f. pl. G, 1, and in pl. lxix, (1) the relief on a bronze mirror-case of early imperial date from Miletopolis (*Melde*) acquired in 1907 by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (diameter 6½ inches); (2) an exact

replica of it in the collection of the late Dr A. H. Lloyd, Cambridge. On comparison with the *sarcophagus* at Rome (Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 87 pl. 9, 19—Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 277 f. no. 97 a pl. 24—Reinach *op. cit.* iii. 370 no. 2) it becomes clear that the design is better suited to a circular than to an oblong space. The recumbent female figure, according to Amelung, is 'wohl eine Personification des Berges Ida.' I too should take her to be the Phrygian or Cretan nymph Ide (E. Neustadt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 880), or—less probably—the nymph Ambrosia (K. Wernicke *ib.* i. 1809), from whom Ganymedes has received the bowl. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstdmyth. Zeus* p. 546f., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1599, and P. Friedländer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 748, however, contend that the scene is laid in heaven, not on earth: cp. Val. Flacc. 2. 415 ff.), partly to the fact that in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age an eagle on a sacred stone had a solar significance (*supra* i. 603 f. fig. 475, ii. 186 figs. 129 f. See also F. Cumont in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1910 lxii. 119—164, 1911 lxiii. 208—214, republished with modifications and additions in his *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 35—118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hiérapolis et l'apothéose des empereurs'), S. Ronzevalle in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth* 'L'aigle funéraire en Syrie' 1912 v. 2. 117—178, 221—231, L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Röm. Mitt.* 1912 xxvii. 1—20, Mrs A. Strong *Apotheosis and After Life* London 1915 pp. 181—187). The snake is a further accretion, elsewhere connected with the solar eagle of the Phoenician Ba'al-šamin (*supra* i. 191 f. fig. 138) and comparable with the snake twined round an ovoid stone or *omphalos* on other bronze coins of Tyre (Brit. Mus. Cat. *Coins Phoenicia* pp. cxli, 278 no. 413 Elagabalos pl. 33, 8 = my fig. 791 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 328 no. 2240 Elagabalos pl. 37, 5, p. 339 no. 2296 Trebonianus Gallus pl. 37, 29). This serpent-twined egg appears to have had a cosmic significance: cp. Epikouros *ap.* Epiphan. *panar. haeres.* 1. 8. 1 (*i.* 294 Dindorf) = H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 589, 11 ff. εἶναι δὲ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς φῶν δίκηρο σύμπτων, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα δρακοντοειδῶν περὶ τὸ φῶν ὡς στέφανον ἡ ἀσ ζάνην περισφίγγει τόπε τὴν φύσιν. θελῆσαν δὲ βιοτῷ τινι ταῖς καιρῷ (Diels *cj.* καὶ σφ̄ cp. Aristot. *de caelo* 4. 6. 313 b 5) περισποτέρῳ σφίγξει τὴν πᾶσαν ὑδρίην οὐν φύσιν τῶν πάντων, οὐτω διχάσαι μὲν τὰ ὄντα εἰς τὰ διο ἥματφαίρια καὶ λαπτὸν ἐς τοῖτον τὰ πάσα διακεκρίθων.

It does not appear with certainty on coins that represent the Ambrosiai Petrai (*pace* J. F. Vaillant *Numismata aera Imperatorum, Augustorum, et Caesarum, in coloniis, municipiis, et urbibus iure Latio donatis, ex omni modulo percussa* Parisiis 1695 ii. 101 fig., 151 fig., Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.* iii. 389, Stevenson-Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 828. Sir G. F. Hill wrote to me (April 8, 1926) with regard to the specimens in the British Museum: 'There is something twining (?) round the trunk of the tree between the stones, and I have no reason to suspect either Vaillant or Eckhel...'). Lastly, the fire, which Achilleus Tatios makes into a marvel and Nonnos into a miracle, figures on the coins only as a flaming *thymiaterion* or altar. The essential elements, present from the first, are the two rocks, the Water of Life or *ambrosia* that flows from them, and the olive-tree growing between or beside them.

Now the whole of this ambrosial business has a suspiciously Hellenistic look about it, and we may well surmise that it has been grafted on to older beliefs of indigenous growth. Sir G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. cxli

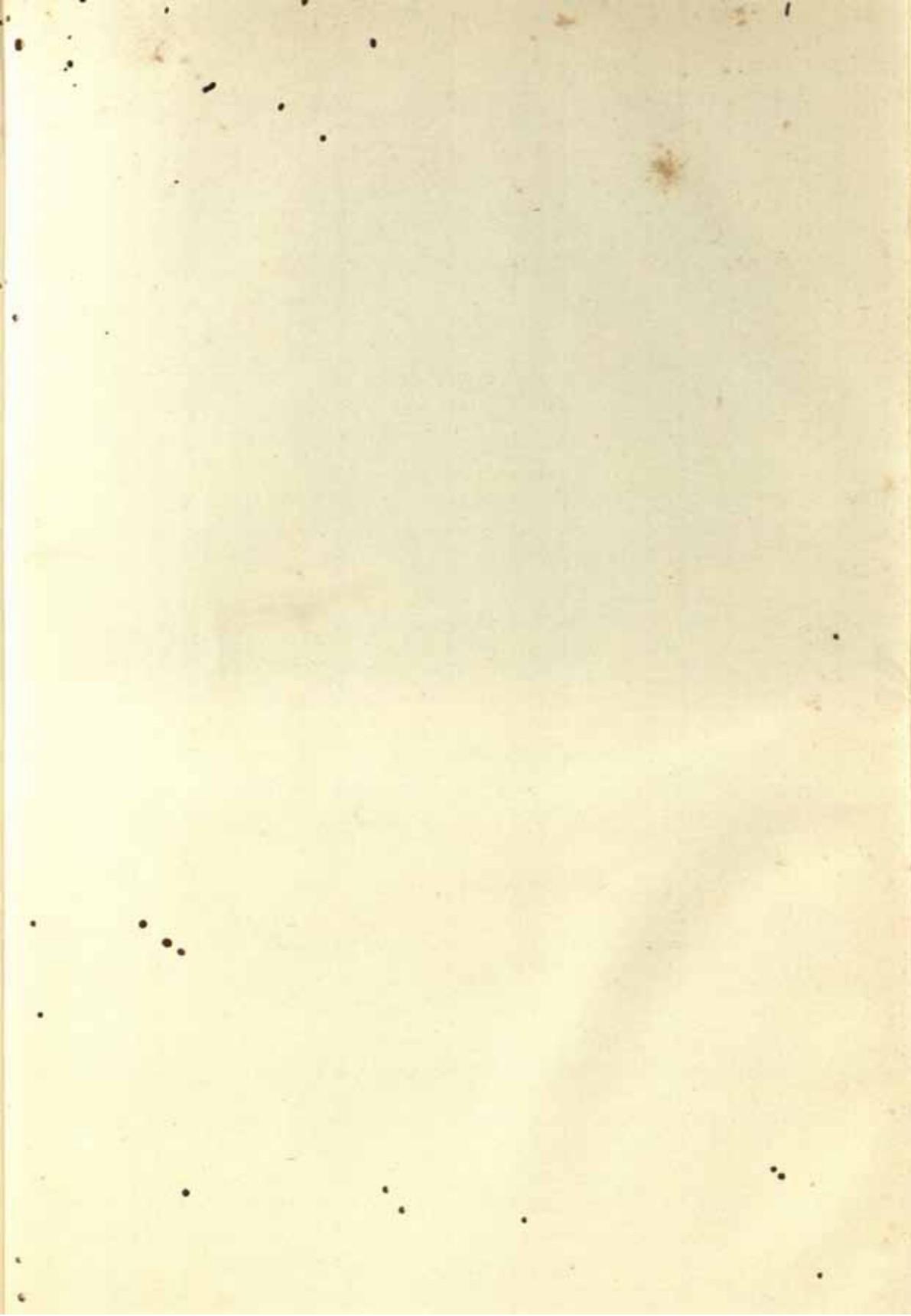


Fig. 791.



(1) A bronze mirror-case in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge :  
Ganymedes feeds the Eagle in the presence of a Nymph.  
(2) A similar mirror-case in the Lloyd collection, Cambridge.

See page 981.



very pertinently asks: 'Have these two baetys any connexion with the two stelae dedicated by "Ousoos" to fire and wind?' Ousoös, the eponym of Ušš or Palai-Tyros (F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 pp. 8, 166 f.), was the brother and rival of Samemroumos or Hypsouranios (*supra* ii. 981 n. 1). If Hypsouranios invented huts made of reeds, grasses, and papyrus, Ousoös invented clothing made of skins from beasts that he had captured. During a violent storm of rain and wind the trees at Tyre, rubbing against one another, kindled a fire and burnt the wood. Ousoös caught hold of a tree, stripped off the branches, and was the first who dared to put to sea. He dedicated two *stelai* to Pyr and Pneuma, worshipped them, and poured as a libation to them the blood of the beasts that he had taken in the chase. When these persons died, the survivors dedicated rods to them and, celebrating a yearly festival for them, worshipped the *stelai* (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *præf. ev.* i. 10. 10 f. δένδρον δὲ λαζόμενον τὸν Οὐσωὸν καὶ ἀποελαδεύσαντα πρώτον τολμῆσαι εἰς θαλαττὰς ἐμβῆναι· ἀνιερώσαι δὲ δύο στήλας Πυρὶ καὶ Πνεύματι, καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, αἵρα τε σπίνδειν αὐτάς ἐξ ἀνθρακεῶν τηρίσας. τούτων δὲ τελευτησάντων, τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας φησὶ ράβδους αὐτοῖς ἀφιερώσαι, καὶ τὰς στήλας προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τούτοις ἔστρας ἄγειν κατ' ἑτοῖς). If, as seems probable, we have here a genuine echo of Phoenician cosmogony (*supra* ii. 1036 ff.), we may reasonably suppose at Tyre an actual cult of two cosmic *stelai* (cp. *supra* ii. 425 f.) later equated with the Ambrosiai Petrai. Hence the abnormal representation of the Petrai on imperial coins as a couple of *stelai*. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 576 n. 5 asserts with confidence: 'Es sind die zwei Massebenen, die Usōos... dem Wind und dem Feuer geweiht haben soll; d. h. die beiden Gipfel des Weltenberges, durch die zwei Stelen dargestellt, versinnlichen den Feuer- und den Windpunkt des Jahreskreises (oben S. 451 f.), die winterliche Wassertiefe ist durch das Meer vertreten, auf dem die δισταὶ πέρα schwimmen. Hinter dem Namen "ambrosische" Felsen steckt hier in Palaityrus natürlich eine semitische Bezeichnung, etwa "amm bērōth" "Mutter der Quellen" oder dgl.'

On this showing there is a close parallelism between the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre, perhaps identified with the pillars of Pyr and Pneuma, and the Planktae or Symplegades of Gadeira, certainly identified with the pillars of Herakles (*supra* p. 978 n. o (3)). Even the olive-tree of Tyre reappears at Gadeira (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 5. 5 p. 167 Kayser ἡ Πυγμαλίωνος δὲ ἥλαια ἡ χρυσῆ, ἀνάκειται δὲ κάκεινη ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡράκλειον, ἀξία μίν, ὡς φασι, καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ θαυμάζειν, φέκασται, θαυμάζεσθαι δὲ ἀντὶ τῷ καρπῷ μᾶλλον, βρίσιν γὰρ αὐτὸν σμαράγδου λίθου—noted by A. J. Wensinck *op. cit.* p. 19).

(5) Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi), an Egyptian town in the north-western part of the Delta (K. Sethe in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc.* iii. 1087 f., H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 97 f., F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 903 ff.), gave its name to a neighbouring lake the Boutike Limne (Strab. 802). The town was famous for its cult of Leto, the lake for a floating island called Chembis (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 442 'the Island of Khebit'), which was sacred to Apollon (Hekataios *frag.* 284 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 20 Müller) = *frag.* 305 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 40 Jacoby) *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Χέρμης). According to Herodotos, the lake near the sanctuary at Bouto was deep and wide; the island carried a great temple of Apollon with three altars, besides many palms, fruit-trees, etc.; and the local myth was as follows. When Typhon was searching high and low for the son of Osiris, Leto, one of the eight earliest deities, having

an oracle at Bouto, received Apollon in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island (cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 38), which up to that time had been fixed but was thenceforward said to be afloat. Apollon and Artemis were children of Dionysos by Isis, Leto being their nurse and preserver: in Egyptian Apollon was Horos, Demeter was Isis, Artemis was Boubastis (Hdt. 2. 156, cp. Mela 1. 55 Chemmis, Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1644, 60 f. "Εχεμις"). The goddess thus identified by the Greeks with Leto was the Egyptian Bouto, earlier Udū, on whom see K. Sethe *loc. cit.* iii. 1086 f., H. R. Hall *op. cit.* p. 97. Hommel claims that she was originally the chief goddess of Punt and notes an Egyptian folk-tale, dating from the early part of the second millennium B.C., in which the serpent-king of Punt inhabits an Island of Ghosts that can suddenly sink in the waves (F. Hommel *op. cit.* p. 636, cp. *id. Die Insel der Seligen in Mythus und Sage der Vorzeit* München 1901 p. 18 ff.). Gruppe regards the Egyptian floating island Chemmis as, 'direkt oder mittelbar,' the source of the Greek floating island Delos (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813 n. 2, cp. *ib.* p. 239). But definite evidence of Egyptian cult in Delos is late (P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du iii<sup>e</sup> au i<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 239 ff., *id. Délos colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 249 ff. ('Divinités égyptiennes')).

(6) When Leto was in travail with Apollon, she went round the coasts and islands of the Aegean seeking a home for her future son. No place would accept him save Delos, and even Delos at first feared to do so, since he was like to be a foward and masterful child, who might on seeing the rocky nature of the island overturn it with his feet and sink it in the sea. Such fears were set at rest by Leto, who swore that her son should have his cult established in Delos and honour it for ever (*h. Ap.* 14—88). This passage suggests that Delos was unstable, if not actually afloat—a notion far more clearly expressed by Pindar, who definitely states that the island was driven about by winds and waves till Leto, as her time drew near, set foot upon it: then and there four pillars sprang from the abyss and bore up the rocky isle, where the goddess gave birth to the god (Pind. *frag.* 87+88 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, Schröder *ap.* Theophr. *ap.* Philon. *de incorrupt. mundi* 23 p. 511 Mangey + Strab. 485, schol. *Od.* 10. 3, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 464, 6 ff., Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1644, 54 f., cp. Arrian. *frag.* 73 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 599 f. Müller) *ap.* Eustath. in *Dionys. per.* 525, Plout. *de facie in orbe lunae* 6, Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 6. 26. 3). L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2462 holds that Pindar in the same context represents Delos as 'vom Himmel gefallen.' That is hardly so. Pindar *loc. cit.* says ἀν τε βροτοὶ | Δᾶλον κιδέσποστον, πάκαρε δὲ ὁ Οὐρίπω τηλέφαντον κυανίας χθονὸς ἄστρον—hinting at the old name *'Αστερία* (*supra* i. 543 n. 6) and working it into a metaphor of exceptional beauty (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Sappho und Simonides* Berlin 1913 p. 131 'Hier den Namen Asteria herauszuhören, ist etwas Rätselraten, aber wie grossartig ist die Vorstellung, dass die Erde für den Blick der Götter eine blaue Fläche ist, wie ihr Himmel für uns, auf dem ihnen dann Delos, so klein sie ist, als ein heller Stern lieblich aufleuchtet. Wer an sprachlicher Kunst als solcher Gefallen findet, wird hier ein Juwel, einen seltenen Edelstein in reichster Fassung anerkennen; etc., quoted by Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.*). But the metaphor of the fifth century becomes the myth of the third: ἀλλ' ἄσφετος πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεες, οἴνομα δὲ ἦν σοι | *'Αστερίη τὸ παλαιόν, ἐπεὶ βαθὺν ἥλας τάφρον | οὐρανόθεν φεύγουσα Δίδις γάμον ἀστέρι την* (Kallim. *h. Del.* 36 ff.).

The story of Delos, once afloat but now fixed for ever, was popularised by Virgil and became a commonplace in later literature (Varro *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 29, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 73 ff. with Serv. and interp. Serv. *ad loc.*, Prop. 4. 6. 27,

Ov. *her.* 21. 82 ff., *met.* 6. 186 ff., 333 ff., Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 6. 263 3 f., Ag. 384 ff., *H.f.* 15, 457, Petron. *de Delo* 1 ff. (*Poet. Lat. min.* iv. 101 Baehrens), Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 66, Stat. *Ach.* 1. 388, *Theb.* 7. 182 ff., 8. 197 f., Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1. 701, 3. 439, 7. 182, Paneg. 3. 18 Jäger = 4 (9). 18. 2 Bährens, Claud. 1 in *Prob. et Olyb. cons.* 185, 35 de *rapt. Pros.* 2. 34 f., *carm. min. append.* 2 *laudes Herculis* (p. 1418 Weber). 62 = A. Riese *Anthologia Latina*<sup>2</sup> Lipsiae 1906 i. 2. 54 *carm.* 494<sup>b</sup>. 62, Dracont. 10. 594 f. (*Poet. Lat. min.* v. 214 Baehrens), Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1644, 52 ff., in *Dionys. per.* 561). The fullest form of the tale is that given by Serv. in *Verg. Aen.* 3. 73 (= Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 4. 795, 5. 533, and *Ach.* 1. 206, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 37, 2. 17, 3. 8, 3, cp. *Hyg. fab.* 53, 140, *Isid. orig.* 14. 6. 21 = Antonini Augusti *itinerarium maritimum* p. 527 Wesselung) post vitiatam Latonam Iuppiter cum etiam eius sororem Asteriem viuire vellet, illa optavit a diis ut in avem converteretur, versaque in coturnicem est. et cum vellet maria transfretare, quod coturnicum est, adflata a Iove et in lapidem conversa diu sub fluctibus latuit. postea supplicante Iovi Latona levata superferri aquis coepit. haec primo Neptuno et Doridi fuit consecrata. postea, cum Iuno gravidam Pythonem immisso Latonam persecueretur, terris omnibus expulsa, tandem aliquando adplicante se litoribus sorore suscepta est, et illic Dianam primo, post Apollinem peperit. qui statim occiso Pythone ultus est matris iniuriam, sane nata Diana parturienti Apollinem matri dicitur praebuisse obstetricis officium. unde, cum Diana sit virgo, tamen a parturientibus invocatur. haec namque est Diana, Iuno, Proserpina, nata igitur duo numina terram sibi natalem errare non passa sunt, sed eam duabus insulis religaverunt. etc.

Aristot. *frag.* 446 Rose ap. Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 66 (Solin. 11. 18) thought that Delos was so called because it had appeared suddenly on the surface of the sea—a notion repeated in schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 308 and expanded in *et. mag.* p. 264, 23 ff. Δῆλος· ἡ ἵερα (so F. Sylburg for ἡ ἱέρια codd. F. G. Sturz ej. ἥστος ἵερα after Favorin. *lex.* p. 475, 21) τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, εἴρηται δὲ κρυπτομένην αὔτην ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ δὲ Ζεὺς δῆλην ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέδωσεν ἵνα τέκη ἡ Λητώ (so, or with τέκου, F. Sylburg for ἵνα ἡ Λητώ codd. A. Berkel ej. ἵνα ἀνέβη Λητώ). Ζεὺς γάρ ἔρασθεις Λητοῦς, τῆς Κοιού θυγατρὸς ἐνὸς τῶν Τιτάνων καὶ Φοῖβης, ἔγκυον αὐτήν ἐποίησεν· ἡτις, δεκαπτυμαῖον χρόνον διαγενομένου, παρεγένετο διὰ θαλάσσης εἰς Ἀστερίουν ('Αστερίαν A. B. C.) τὴν νῆστον, μίαν οὖσαν τῶν Κυκλαδῶν· ἐκεῖ τε ἐλθούσα καὶ διφαμίην δύο φυτῶν ἐλαῖος καὶ φοίνικος, διδύμους ἀπεκίνησε παῖδας Ἀρτεμίσιαν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα· καὶ τὴν νῆστον ἐκάλεσε Δῆλον διὰ ἐξ ἀδήλου βάσεως ἐρριζώθη. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 202 mentions Delos first in a list of islands that had so emerged, and Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13 supposes that such islands were thrown up by earthquakes of a particular type (*brasmatiae*, cp. *brastae* (Apul. *de mund.* 18)).

(7) Delos set the fashion, and Patmos followed it (F. G. Welcker in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1843 ii. 338, ib. 1845 iii. 270, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1398, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813 n. 2). An inscription found there and first edited by L. Ross (*Inscriptiones Graecae ineditae* Athenis 1842 ii. 72—74 no. 190) tells how Artemis appointed as her *hydrophóros* a girl named Vera, daughter of the physician Glaukias, who had crossed over from Argos (?), and adds that Patmos the island of Leto's daughter had remained hidden in the depths of the sea till Orestes came from Skythia (?) and established there the cult of the Scythian Artemis (Kaibel *Epiogr. Gr.* no. 872. 1 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 258. 1 ff. (after R. Bergmann Berolini 1860) δύαθῆ τύχη. αὐτῇ παρθενικὴ ὀλαφη-βόλος ἄρτεμεια | θήκατο κυδ[αλί]ην Γ[λα]υκίεω θύγατρα, | ὑδροφόρον Βίραν Πατνίην παραβόμι· ἴφιξαι (Kaibel prints παραβόμια ῥέξαι) | σπιαρόντων αἰγῶν ἕμβρυα καλλιθέων. | [εἰν] "Ἄργει δέ ἐτράφη γε]ρ[α]ρ[η] π[α]τ[η]σ, ἡδὲ τιθήνης (Kaibel prints ἡ δέ

τιθήνη] | ἐ[κ γενούς] Β[ηρού] ἔκτροφός ἔστι Πάτνος, | νῆσος(α)ος ἀ[γα]υ[ο]γάτη Δητωίδος  
ἡ προβέβηκε | [β]ένθεσιν [εἰν ἀλίης] ὅρανα ὑνομίνη· | [εἰς ὅτε μιν Σενθ] [η]θεν ἀρήσ  
έστεν 'Ορίστης | [ἀνταμένην στυγερ]ῆς μητροφόρου ματίης· | [καί] δεκα[τη] κούρη  
θυγάτηρ σοφοῦ ἡγεμόνος | Γλαυκὶ[εω το] αὐλαῖς 'Αρτιμόδος Σκυθίης, | Λίγαιον πλένεσσα  
ρόον δυσχείμερον οἴδμα, | ὄργα ε[αι] θαλίην, ὧς θίμα, ἡγλάσσεν. είτυχός. I give the  
passage with all, or almost all, faults; but a fresh inspection of the stone is much  
to be desired). Artemis in Patmos was worshipped as Παρθένος (I. Sakkelion in the  
'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1863 p. 260 f. no. 229, 6 ff. τὸ φήμισμα | τόδε ἀπαγράψω εἰς στήλη λαθίνην,  
καὶ | ἀνθεῖναι εἰς τὸ λεπόν τῆς Παρθένου. ε.τ.λ.) and as Πατρία (I. Sakkelion loc.  
citr. p. 261 f. no. 230=Dittenberger *Syll. Inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> no. 785, *ib.*<sup>3</sup> no. 1152  
['Αρτέριδος Πατρίδος] | [α]γέθηκε Ζω[ι]τ | καθ' ὕπρο[ν], cp. the month 'Αρτεμισίον  
(Dittenberger *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup> no. 681, 1, *ib.*<sup>3</sup> no. 1068, 1). St Christodoulos (Hagiographi  
Bollandiani *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* Bruxellis 1895 p. 23f., U. Chevalier  
*Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* Bio-bibliographie Paris 1905 i.  
916), a native of Nikaea in Bithynia (born 1020 A.D.), is said to have founded the  
monastery of St John the Evangelist in Patmos (1088 A.D.) on the site of a temple  
of Artemis, whose statue he demolished (L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen*  
*Inseln des ägäischen Meeres* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1843 ii. 137 n. 12 'Die Legende  
des h. Christodoulos (in vulgärem Griechisch) sagt hierüber: Πρώτον ἐσάντριψεν ἐν  
τίδωλον ὃπον εἶχασι ἵκει μὲ τέχην πολλὴν εἰς τὸ δύομα τῆς 'Αρτιμόδος').

(8) Rhodes was another island that had risen from the sea-bottom. A tale  
already ancient in 464 B.C. said that, when Zeus and the immortals were dividing  
the earth among them, Rhodes lay hidden in the briny depths. Helios, who was  
absent from the division, complained that he was left without a portion. So Zeus  
was about to order a new casting of the lot. The sun-god, however, would not  
suffer it; for, as he declared, he could see a plot of land rising from the bottom  
of the sea and destined to prove fruitful for man and beast. He bade Lachesis  
and Zeus swear that it should be his. Thereupon from the sea sprang the island,  
where Helios wedded Rhodos and begat seven sons, one of whom became the  
father of Ialyssos, Kameiros, and Lindos (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 54 ff. with scholl. *ad loc.*).  
Rhodes was thus included in the canonical list of islands that had emerged from  
the sea (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 202, Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13), and C. Torr *Rhodes in*  
*Ancient Times* Cambridge 1885 p. 152 justifies its inclusion: 'Rhodes certainly  
rose from the sea. The great limestone mass of Mount Atabyros and the lesser  
limestone hills, Akramythis, Elias, Archangelo and Lindos, must once have formed  
a group of islands: and as these were gradually elevated, the lower hills were  
being formed round them by volcanic action. These facts were no doubt beyond  
the Rhodians of the mythopoetic age: but the elevated beds of sea shells at the  
base of the hills would readily have suggested the legend.' Perhaps in the  
Hellenistic age Isis, whose temple stood near the city-wall beside the sea  
(Appian. *Mithr.* 27), was believed to have raised the island from the watery  
abyss. That at least would square with the claim made on behalf of the goddess  
in an Isiac hymn of s. i B.C. found in Andros (Lebas—Foucart *Péloponnèse* ii  
no. 1796. 4, 23 ff.=Kaibel *Epiigr. Gr.* no. 1028, 70 ff.=E. Abel *Orphica Lipsiae*—  
Pragae 1885 p. 301 h. *in Isim* 158 ff.=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 32. 70 ff.=  
*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 739, 160 ff. νάστι δὲ βαθυνομένας ἀπὸ ριζῶν | εἰ φάσος ἐκ  
βοθίας ποτανάγαγον ἀλίος αἰτά | ὥρεα καὶ πεδίον σπορίμαν βάσιν ὄργαδα τ' ἄκραις |  
σπηρικταῖς ἔξι πορτετένουσα, βοαύλους | μαλοκόμοις θ' ἀδεῖαν. A. H. Krappé  
in *Anglia Beiblatt* 1932 xlvi. 256 ff. draws an interesting comparison between  
Pindar's description of Rhodes and James Thomson's *Rule, Britannia* (1740). In  
the former the emergent island becomes the personified Rhodos. In the latter

the same thing happens: the opening lines run 'When Britain first at Heaven's command | Arose from out the azure main,' etc., yet the burden 'Rule, Britannia' and the succeeding stanzas bring the allegorical figure to the fore.

(9) The Strophades, two islets off the coast of Messene to the south of Zakynthos, were originally called the Plotai (Antimachos *frag.* 13 Bergk<sup>1</sup>, 60 Wyss *op. schol.* Paris. Ap. Rhod. 2. 296 ταύτας οὖν φρούρια τὰς νῆσους Ἀπολλάνιος Στροφάδας μετὰ ταύτα κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖνον ὑποστρέψαι τοὺς Βορεάδας καὶ μηκέτι διώκειν αὐτάς. παρὰ Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦτο εἴληφεν ὁ Ἀπολλάνιος· οὗτος γάρ ἐκείνος ἐν τῇ Λυδῷ περὶ αὐτῶν μέμνηται. ἀλλοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Στροφάδας φασιν αὐτάς κληθῆναι ὅτι ἐν αὐταῖς ὑποστραφέντες οἱ Βορεάδαι τῷ Διὶ λαζεῖν αὐτάς. κ.τ.λ. (cp. *supra* ii. 907 n. 2), Ap. Rhod. 2. 285 νῆσουσιν ἐπὶ Πλωτῆσι κιχότες with *schol. ad loc.* = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1523, 25 ff., Ap. Rhod. 2. 296 f. Στροφάδας δὲ μετακλείοντος ἄνθρωποι | νῆσους τοῦ γ' ἔκητι, πάρος Πλωτᾶς καλέοντες, Hyg. *fab.* 14 p. 47, 17 ff. quae inhabitabant insulas Strophades in Aegeo (*sic*) mari, quae Plotae appellantur, Mela 2. 110 olim Plotae nunc Strophades, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 55 ante Zacynthus XXXV in Eurum ventum Strophades duae, ab aliis Plotae dictae). The names are significant. The two Turning Isles or Floating Isles, haunted by the Harpies (Apollod. 1. 9. 21, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 210 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 19, *alib.*: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 398, 813 n. 8, 846 n. 5), are in all probability an early variant of the Planktae or Symplegades (Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 556 n. 3)—a perilous gateway of the Otherworld.

(10) The same name Plotai was given by Dionysios the geographer to the seven islands of Aiolos in the Sicilian Sea (Dionys. *per.* 465 f. ἐπτὰ δέ οἱ ταὶ γ' εἰσιν, ἐπάνωνος ἀνδράσι Πλωταί, | σύνεια μέσσον ἔχουσι περίπλουν ἀμφιελικτον with Eustath. and paraphr. *ad loc.*, cp. *schol.* Ap. Rhod. 2. 297 αἱ δὲ Πλωταὶ νῆσοι κεῖνται ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ πελάγει). Homer had made Aiolos live πλωτή ἐν νήσῳ (*supra* (1)), and Apollonios had perhaps spoken of Hiera or Lipara as νῆσοι πλωτῆς (so *schol.* Flor. on Ap. Rhod. 3. 42 νῆσοι πλωγκῆς (*supra* (2))).

(11) Theophrastos speaks of Ploades or 'Floating' Islands on the lake of Orchomenos, i.e. Lake Kopaïs in Boiotia, and compares them with others in the marshes of Egypt, Thesprotis, etc. (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 10. 2 φύεται δὲ ὁ πλεύστος (sc. ἔλαιαγνος, 'goat-willow', *salix caprea*) μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων νῆσον· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες καὶ ἐνταῦθα πλοάδες, ὥσπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ περὶ τὰ ἔλη καὶ ἐν Θεοσπρωτίδῃ καὶ ἐν ἀλλασσαῖς λίμναις, 4. 12. 4 τῶν δὲ νῆσον τῶν πλοάδων τῶν ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ τὰ μὲν μεγέθει παντοδαπά τυγχάνει, τὰ δὲ μέριστα αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅσον τριῶν σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ μαλιστα μεγάλα σφόδρα συνιστάται, ὥστε καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγίνεσθαι πολλούς, οὓς καὶ κυνηγεῖσθαι διαβάινοντες, Hesych. Πλοάδες τῶν ἐν Ἔρχομενῷ· <νῆσοι> τινες (so M. Schmidt<sup>2</sup> for πλοαῖτες· τῶν ἐπερχομένων τινὲς cod.) οὕτω καλοῦνται, Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 11. 1 καλοῦσι δέ τὸν μὲν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ποχὺν (sc. καλαμὸν) χαρακίαν τὸν δὲ ἔτερον πλόκιμον· καὶ φύεσθαι τὸν μὲν πλόκιμον ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων τὸν δὲ χαρακίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κώμοις = Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 168 de Orchomenii lacus harundinetis accuratius dici cogit admiratio antiqua, characian vocabunt crassiorem firmioremque, plocian (K. L. von Urlichs *cj. plocimon*) vero subtiliorem, hanc in insulis fluvitantibus natam, illam in ripis exspatiantis lacus). O. Gruppe held that these Boiotian islands were connected with chthonian powers thought to issue from the Underworld in the form of winds (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813). If so, note the belief that reeds used for pipes grew in the lake only at intervals of eight years (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 11. 2 δι' ἑννεατηρίδος = Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 169 nono...anno). But Gruppe's assumption is gratuitous. We are here dealing with purely natural phenomena. H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Bremen 1840 i. 192 observes

that the river Melas (*Mauropotamos*), which crosses the site of Lake Kopais, is surrounded by black vegetable fens and quotes the peasants of Skripou as saying 'dass das Land am Mauropotamos schwimme.' He identifies these patches of unstable ground with the *πλαΐδες* of Theophrastos and the *insulae fluitantes* of Pliny. A. Philippson 'Der Kopais-See in Griechenland und seine Umgebung' in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 1894 xxix. 39 and Geiger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1348 follow suit. Frazer *Pausanias* v. 120 says: 'The fable was probably told of the islands in the bay of Tzamali, to the north of Orchomenus, whose banks overhung and quaked under the tread, as do the banks of the river Melas in some places.'

(12) Some five miles to the north of Sardeis lies the Gygaia Limne, later called the Koloē Limne, and now known as *Mermereh-Gheul*, the 'Marble Lake' (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1956, xi. 1107). Its brackish waters are fringed with dense beds of reeds (W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* London 1842 i. 145), which dry up and mixing with other detritus form floating islands (G. Radet *La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Mermnaides* (687—546) Paris 1893 p. 13). A. H. Sayce, after a visit to the spot in 1879, writes: 'The foundations of the old temple of Artemis (?) are very visible on the southern shore of the lake as well as of a causey thrown out into the lake... The fish caught in it are carp, which are usually of a wonderfully large size. According to the local superstition every carp has a bitter stone in its mouth. If this is not removed before the fish is eaten fever will be the inevitable result. If, however, the stone is removed the fish is considered innocuous' (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1880 i. 87).

It is to this lake that we must attach a whole series of ancient notices about floating islands, dancing islands, dancing reeds, and poisonous fish. Attempts to distinguish the floating islands of Koloē from the dancing islands, reeds, etc. of the Nymphs (H. Oehler *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* Tubingae 1913 p. 117 ff., cp. L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1532) are in my opinion unsuccessful.

The floating islands of Lydia are composed of light pumice-like stones (Theophrast. *ap. Sen. nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 7 sunt enim multi pumicosi et leves, ex quibus quae constant insulae in Lydia, natant. Theophrastus est auctor). In Lydia the floating islands named Calaminae, which are shifted not only by the winds but by barge-poles in any direction you please, proved a refuge to many during the Mithridatic war (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209 quaedam insulae semper fluctuantur, sicut... in Lydia quae vocantur Calaminae, non ventis solum, sed etiam contis quo libeat impulsae, multorum civium Mithridatico bello salus). Lake Koloē near Sardeis breeds many fish and waterfowl: its floating islands have a deceptive appearance of stability, for they change their position with the winds (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 39 ἡ κατὰ Σάρδεις λίμνη καλούμενη δὲ Κολόη πλῆθος μὲν ὄφου πάμποδι τρέφει· ἔχει δὲ καὶ αἰτή νῆσους οἰκουμένας πρὸς ἀπάτην· ἐπινήσονται γάρ· καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνέμων προῃ συμμετοικοῦσι· πτηγῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνίδρων τοσούτο τρέφει πλῆθος ὥστε καὶ ταριχεύεσθαι).

Varro claimed to have seen in Lydia the Islands of the Nymphs, which at the sound of flutes move out from the bank into the middle of the lake, go circling round, and return to the shore (Varro *ap. Mart. Cap.* 928 in Lydia *Nymphaeum* insulas dici, quas etiam recentior asserentum Varro se vidisse testatur, quae in medium stagnum a continenti procedentes cantu tibiarum primo in circulum motae dehinc ad litora revertuntur). He further states that, when he sacrificed on the shore of the lake, fish came crowding towards the flute-player and the

altar, though nobody ventured to catch them (Varr. *rer. rust.* 3. 17. 4 loculatas habent piscinas, ubi disparest disclosus habent pisces, quos, proinde ut sacri sint ac sanctiores quam illi in Lydia, quos sacrificanti tibi, Varro, ad tibicinem [graecum] gregatim venisse dicebas ad extremum litus atque aram, quod eos capere auderet nemo, cum eodem tempore insulas Lydorum ibi χορευόντας vidisses, sic hos pisces nemo cocus in ius vocare audet). Pliny, after his account of the Lydian Calaminae, goes on to say that in the Nymphaeum too are small islands called Saliares because, when choruses are sung, they move in time with the beating feet (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209 sunt et in Nymphaeo parvae, Saliares dictae, quoniam in symphoniae cantu ad ictus modularium pedum moventur). Elsewhere he asserts, on the authority of Ktesias (?), that the fish in the Lake of the Nymphs are poisonous (Ktesias *frag.* 83 Müller *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 25 hoc idem et in Lydia in stagno Nymphaeum tradunt)—a belief still prevalent with regard to the carp of the Koloë Limne (*supra*).

Strabon mentions the sanctuary of Artemis Κολονηή, on the Gygaia or Koloë Limne, where 'the baskets' are said to dance on festal days (Strab. 626 ἐν δὲ στάδιοι τετταράκοντα ἀπὸ τῆς πάλαις (sc. Sardeis) ἴστιν ἡ Γυγαία μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν λεγομένη <λίμνη (ins. A. Koraës)>, Κολόνη δ' ὑστερον μετονομασθεῖσα, ὅπου τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Κολονῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, μεγιῆν ἀμφεταίν ζχον. φασὶ δ' ἐνταῖθα χορεύειν τοὺς καλάδους (F. E. Ruhkopf, followed by G. Bernhardy and C. Müller, cij. καλάδους. E. Müller cij. κοβάδους. πιθήκους, a curious variant in codd. *m*, *x* and edd. Ald. Cas., was altered by C. A. Lobeck *Aglaophamus Regimontii Prussorum* 1829 p. 226 into πιθάκας, but may imply some confusion with καλίαις, 'apes,' which A. Westermann would restore to the text) κατὰ τὰς ἔορτας, οὐκ εἰδέ οἵτις ποτέ παραδοξολογοῦντες μᾶλλον ἡ ἀληθεύοντες = Eustath. in *Il.* p. 365, 46 ff.).

Lastly, according to Isigonos the paradoxographer of Nikaia, whose *floruit* probably falls in s. i A.D. (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2082, cp. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* ii. 1. 420 n. 5), in Lydia there is a lake called Tala (?) sacred to the Nymphs. It bears a multitude of reeds and in their midst one that the natives term king. A yearly festival is held, at which sacrifices are offered and a chorus sounds on the shore of the lake. Thereupon all the reeds dance, and the king dancing with them comes to the shore. The natives wreath him with fillets and send him off, praying that both he and they may come again another year; that is their sign of a fertile season (Isigonos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 436 Müller) *ap.* anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* 43 εἰν Λυδίᾳ ἔστι λίμνη Τάλα μέν (C. Müller, followed by L. Büchner, cij. Καλαμίνη. But cp. *Il.* 2. 865 νῦν Ταλαμέντος, τῷ Γυγαῖ τέκε λίμνη, where Ταλαμέντος may be a Greek adaptation of the Lydian name) καλουμένη, ἱερὰ δὲ οὐσα νυμφῶν, ἡ φέρει καλάμων (A. Westermann cij. καλλιών (?)) πλῆθος ἄφθονον καὶ μέσον αὐτῶν ἔνα, δύντα βασιλέα προσαγορεύοντιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· θυσίας δὲ καὶ ἔορτας ἐπιτελοῦντες ἵναντινοις ἔξιλάσκονται· τούτων δὲ ἐπιτελουμένων, ἐπειδάν ἐπὶ τῆς ἥσιονος κτίσιος συμφωνίας γένηται, πάντες οἱ καλάμοι χορεύονται καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς χορεύων παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἥσιον· οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι ταυταὶ αὐτὸν καταστέψαντες ἀποπέμπονται, εἰχόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπιόν αὐτὸν τε καὶ ἔντούς παραγενέσθαι, ὡς εὐετηρίας ὄντι σημειῷ (F. Sylburg cij. δύνται τι σημειον)· ὡς λοτορεῖ Ἰσίγονος ἐν δευτέρῳ ἀπίστων).

Isigonos' work was entitled "Αἴνιστα, but his statements here are by no means incredible and may easily be reconciled with those of our other sources. Artemis Κολονηή (on whom see Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1108 f.) had a temple on a hill close to the southern shore of the lake: its ruins

are still to be seen, including walls of great basalt blocks, three Doric columns of weather-worn marble only 6 ft (?) high, and huge stone slabs with reliefs of an archer in a pointed cap, a lion's head, etc. (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 152, von Olfers 'Über die Lydischen Königsgräber bei Sardes und den Grabhügel des Alyattes' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1858 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 542 pl. 1 = Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 267 fig. 157). Her cult involved a yearly festival, at which a dance known as of καλάθοι, 'the baskets,' took place. The beating feet of the dancers communicated their vibration to the floating reed-mats of the lake and set them in motion. The reeds eddying round appeared to share in the dance. The tallest reed, called βασιλεύς by the countryfolk, would in time be drifted inshore, decorated by the worshippers, and pushed off into the lake again. The successful performance of this little ceremony was deemed a happy omen. The crowd at the lake-side and the prospect of altar-scrap would be quite enough to attract the carp. Naturally the fish were sacred to Artemis of the lake (see e.g. the large Boeotian amphora, found near Thebes, which represents Artemis with a fish on her robe (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 108 f. no. 462, figured by P. Wolters in the Έφ. Αρχ. 1892 p. 219 ff. pl. 10, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 517, 2, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 40 f. fig. 30, R. Eisler *Orpheus—the Fisher* London 1921 p. 260 f. pl. 64, 1 (wrongly described), F. J. Dölger *IXΘΥC* Münster in Westf. 1922 ii. 179 f., iii pl. 12, 2), and the facts cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1295 n. 1, 1536 n. 2, 1585 n. 2) and the reed-islands would be connected with her attendant Nymphs. The whole story is consistent and credible. After all, Varro was no visionary and Strabon is a serious authority.

A point of interest remains. The dance καλάθοι is mentioned elsewhere in the diminutive form καλαθίσκος. Apollodorus, an early comedian, coupled it with the pirouette (Apollod. *frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 879 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 467 F (δεῖνος) ἔστι καὶ γένος ὄρχήσεως, ὡς Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Δαλίδι παριστησιν οἴτωσι· δεῖνον τι δεῖνος (so J. Schweighäuser for δεῖνος τι δεῖνος cod. A. J. G. J. Hermann c. δεῖνος γε δεῖνός) καὶ καλαθίσκος οἴτοσι? (K. W. Dindorf would write ἔστι καὶ γένος ὄρχήσεως τι δεῖνος, ὡς Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Δαλίδι παριστησιν οἴτωσι δεῖνος καὶ καλαθίσκος,) regarding οἴτοσι as a repetition of οἴτωσι, and various later writers mention it in a tragic (satyrical?) connexion (Poll. 4. 105 καὶ μὴ τραγικῆς ὄρχήσεως σχῆματα σιμή χειρ, καλαθίσκος, χειρ καταπραγή, ξύλον παράληψις, διπλή, θερμαστρίς, ευβιστησις, παραβήναι τέτταρα, Athen. 629 γ σχῆματα δέ ἔστιν ὄρχήσεως ξιφισμός, καλαθισμός (K. W. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 859 D c. καλαθίσκος), καλλαθίδες, σκώψ, σκώψευμα, 630 λ θερμαστρίς, ἑκατερίδες, σκοπός, χειρ καταπρηγής, χειρ σιμή, δεποδισμός, ξύλον παράληψις, ἐπαγκωνισμός, καλαθίσκος (so codd. A. B. καλαθισμός cod. P. edd. Ald. Casaub.), στράβιδος).

It should be carefully distinguished from the καλάθοι or ritual basket used in the cult of Demeter at Eleusis (Clem. Al. *prostr.* 2. 21. 2 p. 16, 18 ff. Stählin κάστι τὸ σύνθημα 'Ἐλευσινιῶν μυστηριῶν' 'ἐνίστευσα, ἐπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, θλαῦσον ἐκ κιστῆς, ἐργασάμενος ἀπεβέμενος εἰς καλάθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κιστην,' on which formula see A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*<sup>2</sup> Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 125 f. and S. Angus *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity* London 1925 p. 115, Athens, Alexandria (Kallim. h. *Dem.* 1 ff. τῷ καλάθῳ κατιόντος ἐπιφθέγξασθε, γυναῖκες, | 'Δάρματε, μέγα χάρε, πολυτρόφε πονλυμέδψμε.' | τὸν καλάθον κατιόντα χαραὶ βαστείσθε, βέβαλοι, | κ.τ.λ. with schol. *ad loc.* ὁ Φιλάδελφος Πτολεμαῖος κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν 'Αθηνῶν ἔθη τινὰ ἴδρυσεν ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὴν τοῦ καλάθου πρόσοδον. ἔθος γάρ ἦν ἐν 'Αθηναῖς, ἐν ὥρισμένῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ δχῆματος φίρεσθαι καλάθιον

(κάλαθος cod. E) εἰς τυμὴν τῆς Δήμητρος. Variants in the text of Kallimachos are attested by Elias in *Aristotelis categorias* 27 a 24 ff. (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graecam* xviii. 1. 125, 7 ff. Busse) καὶ τὸ Καλλιμάχειον ἔκεινον τὸν κάλαθον κατόντα χαμαι δέρκεσθε, γυναικες, | μηδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγεον μηδὲ ἴψθετε αἰγάστασθε (ἀγάστησθε Kallim.)' and by schol. Plat. symph. 218 B (960 b 47 f. ed. Turic.) ἐντεῖθεν παρῳδησε Καλλίμαχος ἐν ὑμνῷ Δήμητρος καλάθου τὸ 'θύρας δὲ ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι.' Ib. 121 ff. χῶς αἱ τὸν κάλαθον λευκότριχες ἵπποι ἄγονται | τέσσαρες, ὡς ἀριν μεγάλα θεῖς εὐράνασσα | λευκὸν ἥπαρ λευκὸν δὲ θύρος καὶ χείμα φέροντα | ἥξει καὶ φθιώπωρος, ἦτος δὲ εἰς ἄλλο φυλαξεῖ. Bronze coins of Alexandreia show a *kálathos* containing corn-ears and poppy-heads (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 66 no. 551 pl. 30=Anson Num. Gr. i. 95 no. 931 pl. 16=my fig. 792 Trajan), sometimes bound with a wreath of flowers and flanked by two torches with snakes (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 4 no. 29 pl. 30=Anson Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 939 pl. 17=my



Fig. 792.



Fig. 793.



Fig. 794.



Fig. 795.



Fig. 796.



Fig. 797.

fig. 793 Livia, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 405 no. 21 Livia) or fillets (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 42 no. 345 pl. 30=Anson Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 940 pl. 17=my fig. 794 Domitian, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 42 no. 346 Domitian, p. 144 no. 1212=Anson Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 942 Antoninus Pius) or ties of some sort (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 105 nos. 903, 904, 905 pl. 30=Anson Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 941 pl. 17=my fig. 795 Hadrian, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 457 nos. 392–394. Fig. 796 Hadrian is from a specimen of mine). Once the *kálathos* is adorned with the rape of Persephone (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 105 no. 906 pl. 30=Anson Num. Gr. i. 96 no. 932 pl. 16=my fig. 797 Hadrian). More often, on large billon pieces, it appears drawn in procession by a *quadriga* of horses (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 552 pl. 30=Anson Num. Gr. i. 96 no. 935 pl. 16=my fig. 798 Trajan) or a *biga* of humped oxen (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 553=Anson Num. Gr. i. 96 no. 934 pl. 16=my fig. 799 Trajan) or of winged snakes wearing the *skhent* (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 554 pl. 30=Anson Num. Gr. i. 96 no. 933 pl. 16=my fig. 800 Trajan, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 555 f. Trajan, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 434 no. 245 Trajan). Exceptionally it rests on the top of a column flanked by two winged snakes, one of which wears the *skhent*, the other a poppy-head as crown (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 557 pl. 30=my fig. 801

Trajan, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 456 no. 390 pl. 87, 24=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 937 pl. 16=my fig. 802 Hadrian), and *Darmara* near Theira in the valley of the Kaystros (K. Buresch in the *Ath. Mittb.* 1895 xx. 241 f. and A. Fontrier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 538 f. ΟΙΚΑ—..... | Πό(πλιον) Αἴλιον Μενεκράτην | τῇ ιερατείᾳ τῆς Δήμητρος | ἀνενέκαστα καὶ καθιερώ[[σ]]αντα καλαθον περιάργυρον, | τὸν λείποντα τοῖς τῆς Δήμητρος μυστηρίοις καὶ τῷ προκαθημένῳ τῆς κώμης Μηνὶ σημίαν ('effigy') περιάργυρον τὴν προπομπείσασαν τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοῦ. διὰ τε τοῦτο καθιέρωσεν ὑπέρ τῆς ιερωσύνης | εἰς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς Δήμητρος τὰ πρὸ τῆς [οἰ]κιας ἐργαστήρια εἰς τὸ [κατ'] ἐνιαυτὸν | ἱκαστον τῇ



Fig. 798.



Fig. 799.



Fig. 800.



Fig. 801.



Fig. 802.

τοῦ καλαθον | ἀναφορῇ τοῖς κληρωθέντας εἰς τὴν πομπὴν ἄνδρας | μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων προθύμοντας εὐωχεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ | οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ | βίου. | ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος τῆς κατοικίας | Δ[ούκιον] Βερίον Βάστον φιλοσεβάστον καὶ | τῷ συναρχόντῳ αὐτοῦ, σρ. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 352 n. 2). K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 82 cites also Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1627, 49 f. καλάθους, ὅποιοι καὶ οἱ τῆς Δήμητρος, οὓς ὄρχεισθαι μύθος ἐν τινὶ τελετῇ Δημητρειᾶ, but fails to perceive that Eustathios is merely confusing the Lydian dance with the rites of Demeter as described by Kallimachos (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1208, 38 f., *in Od.* p. 1488, 60 f.). More to our purpose is Usener's discovery that in Bithynia a certain yearly festival was known as ὁ καλαθος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος (H. Usener 'Übersehenes' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1895 I. 145 f. (= id. *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 195) quoting *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Iunius iii. 343 B—C Kallinikos *vita s. Hypatii* presb., monasterii Rufinianarum prope Chalcedonem in Bithynia hegumeni (died 30 June 446 A.D., commemorated June 17) 70—*de vita s. Hypatii* 129 f. p. 96 f. edd. seminarii philologorum Bonnensis sodales ποτὲ δέ γέγονεν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἀδελφῶν εἰς τὴν ἔνδον χώραν τῶν Βιθυνῶν

δπου καὶ ὁ 'Ρῆθας ἐστὶ ποταμός. καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἔκεινος, ὅπερ λέγουσιν, ὁ καλαθὸς τῆς μυσερᾶς 'Αρτέμιδος· ὅπερ κατ' ἐναυτὸν ἡ χώρα φυλάττουσα, οὐκ ἔξηρχοντο εἰς μακρὰν ὅδον ἡμέρας πεντήκοντα. αὐτοῦ δὲ βούλαιμένου ὀδεύειν ἐλεγον αὐτῷ οἱ ἑντόπιοι· 'ποῦ ἀπέρχῃ, ἀνθρωπε; ὁ δαίμων σοι ἔχει ἀπαντήσαι ἐν τῷ ὅδῳ. μηδ ὀδεύσῃς· πολλοὶ γάρ ἐπηρεάσθησαν.' ὁ δὲ 'Υπάτιος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐμειδίασε λέγων· 'ἴμεις ταῦτα φοβεῖσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω τὸν συνοδεύοντά μοι Χριστόν.' ἐν τῷ οὖν ὀδεύειν αὐτὸν θαρσαλέος (θαρσαλίως codd.) ἦν· δίκαιος γάρ ὡς λέων πέποιθεν (Prov. 28. 1). ἀπήγνησε δέ αὐτῷ γυνὴ μακρά (H. Usener c. μακραί? The Bollandists print μακρά) ὡς δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῷ μῆκος. νήθουσι τε περιεπάτει καὶ χοίρους ἔβοσκεν. ὡς οὖν ἔλενος πίτην, εἰδὺς ἕαντὸν ἐσφράγισεν καὶ ἐστη ἐύχομενος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνη ἀφανῆ ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ χοίροι μεγάλῳ ροΐσφι ἔφυγον, καὶ διῆλθεν ἀβλαβής)—a fact which Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 255 justly connects with another Bithynian festival, the καλαθος-procession of Kios (A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 413 ff. no. 13 on a marble *stèle* near the sea at *Gemlik*, the ancient Kios or Prousias, in lettering hardly later than 100 A.D. and perhaps as early as 3. i. B.C. [— - i]λασσούμεν[αι λεπεύ] | δαυτρ(ε)νέτω ἀνήρ· πᾶσαι ἀνδ[έ]ποδες (W. Kroll, followed by A. Körte, c. ἀνελίποδες 'with no trailing feet, with active feet,' and M. P. Nilsson c. ἀνιπτόποδες 'with unwashen feet,' cp. *supra* ii. 959 f.; but K. Latte rightly restores ἀνηλίποδες 'with unshod feet,' cp. Theokr. 4. 56 where all codd. give ἀνήλιπτος οἱ ἀνάλιπτος except cod. k νήλιπτος) τε [καὶ] (ε)ιμασι | φιλιδρυνθ(ε)ισαι τῷ καλαθῷ συνέπεσθε, τὰ δὲ | χρυσ(ε)ια δέτ' οἰκοις· δηρ[ο]θι γάρ τὰ μὲν ἔχθραινει το[ι]σιν δὲ προσα[ν]δηλοι ('of old she (?) hates trinkets and welcomes simple garb,' cp. e.g. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> no. 736, 15 f., 22 Andania, no. 999, 2 ff. Lykosoura). The contents of these ritual baskets were almost certainly sexual emblems (*phallos?* *ktisis?*), cp. the Cabiric basket in Phrygia and Etruria (*supra* i. 107 f., ii. 299).

If the Lydian dancers represented the reeds of the Gygaia Limne, they might no doubt sway and curtsy with mimetic motions. A tomb at Beni Hasan shows the dances performed at the funeral feast of the nomarch Chnemhōtep in the twelfth dynasty (J. G. Wilkinson *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1837 ii. 416 no. 291 fig. 1, R. Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* Berlin 1849—1859 iv. 2 pl. 126—my fig. 803, Text herausgegeben von E. Naville—L. Borchardt—K. Sethe Leipzig 1904 ii. 88, P. E. Newberry *Beni Hasan* London 1893 i. 68, 72 pl. 29 (tomb 3, west wall), P. Richer *Le nu dans l'Art Égypte—Chaldée—Assyrie* Paris 1925 p. 240 fig. 405 (after I. Rosellini *I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia* Pisa 1834 ii. pl. 101, 3)). 'One figure... parodies a royal group, one of the frequent victory reliefs, in which the monarch seizes the kneeling barbarian by the hair, and swings his sickle-shaped sword above his head. This group is called "Under the feet," the superscription over the relief being always, "all nations lie under thy feet." Another group in the same picture is called *the wind*: one woman bends backwards, till her hands rest on the ground, a second performs the same movement above her, a third stretches out her arms over them. Possibly the former represent the reeds and grasses bent by the wind' (A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 248 f., with fig., cp. F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike Halle/Saale* 1926 p. 24 fig. 24 (=my fig. 804), A. Weigall *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art* London 1924 p. 258 fig. from a limestone fragment at Turin referable to the reign of Seti i (1313—1292 B.C.), H. Ranke *The Art of Ancient Egypt* Vienna 1936 fig. 268 assigned to Dynasty xx (c. 1180 B.C.), Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 507 f. fig. 452 a, b, c ('Female Egyptian Tumblers of Social and Ceremonial Occasions'). A surer method, however, of identifying the dancers

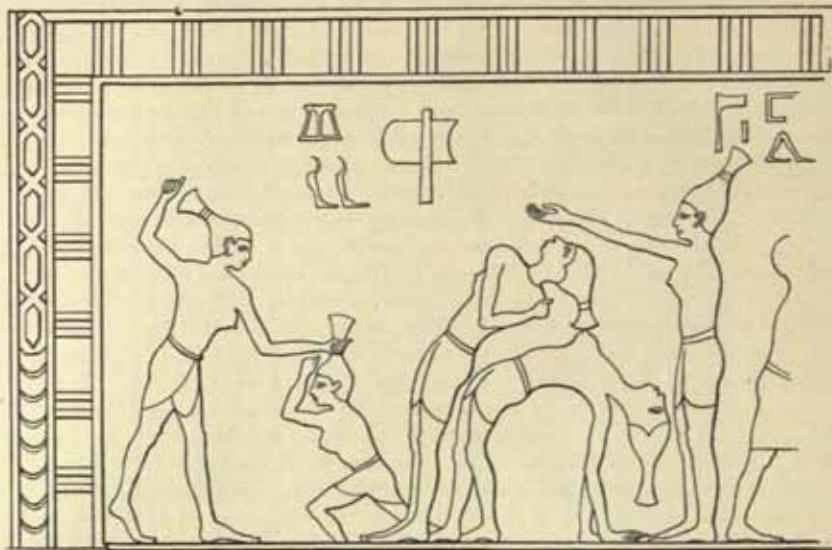


Fig. 803.

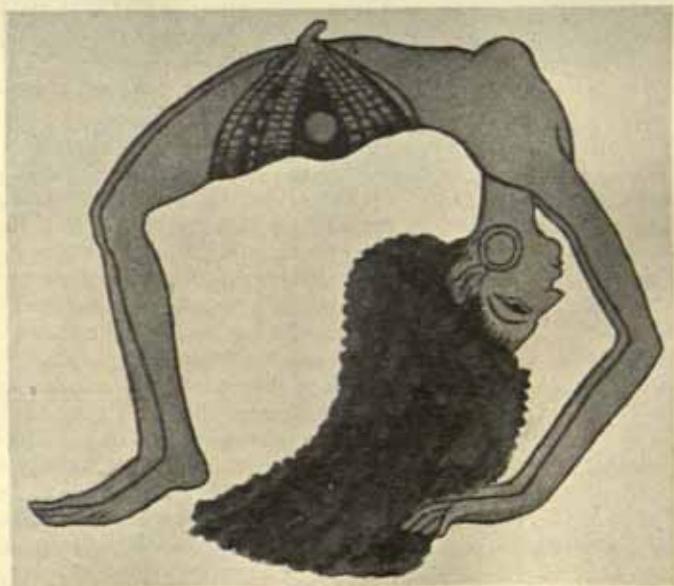


Fig. 804.

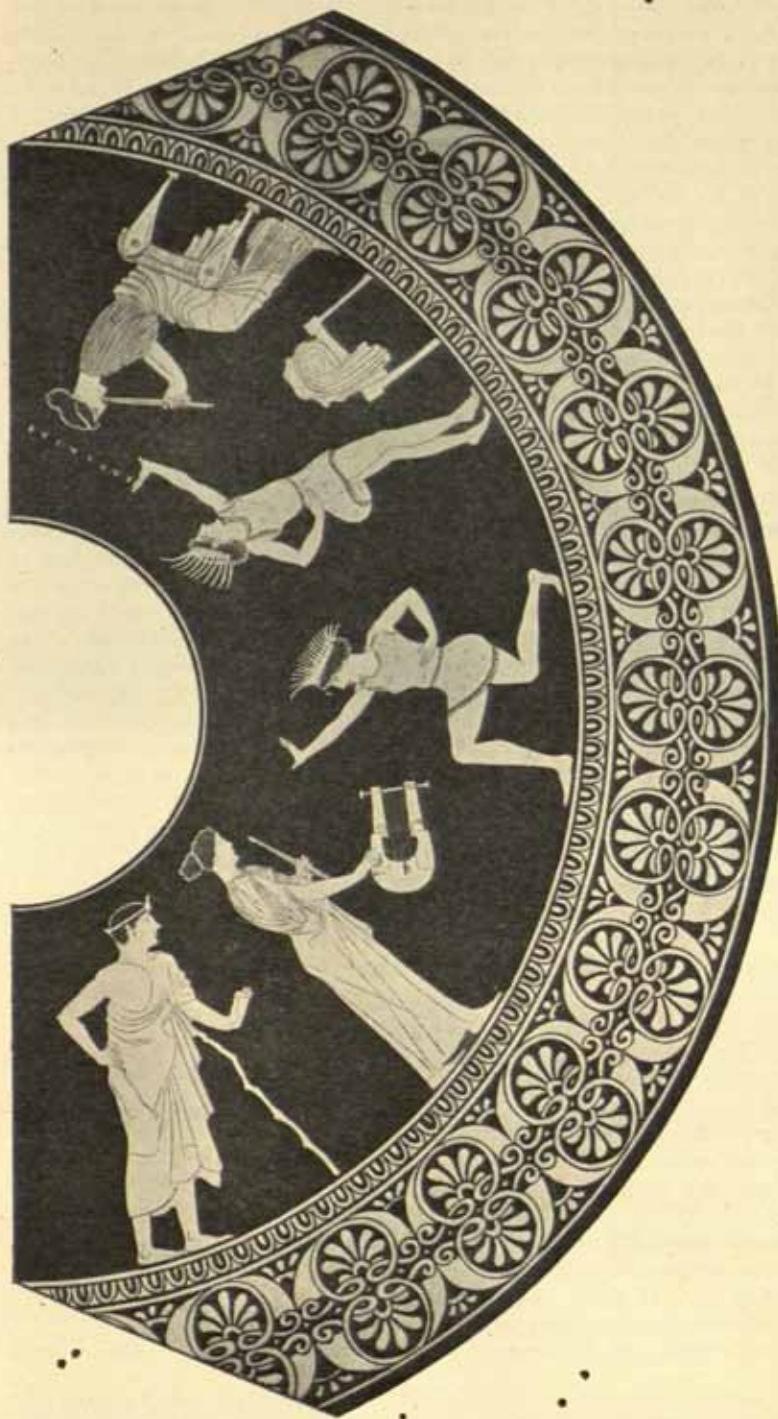


Fig. 895.

with the reeds was to give them a head-dress of rushes or basket-work such as Laconian women called *σαλία* and others *θολία* (Hesych. *σαλία*· πλέγμα καλάθῳ δρουον, δέ ἐπι τῆς κεφαλῆς φοροῦσιν αἱ Λάκαιναι. οἱ δὲ θολία). It figures not infrequently on works of art and has been the subject of much speculation (L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 111 ff. (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie ix. 471 ff.), *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pet.* 1865 pp. 27 ff., 57 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 2 and 3, T. Tomolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897 xxi. 605, L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv 1037 f. fig. 6063 f., V. K. Müller *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone* Berlin 1915 pp. 28, 82 ff., Hug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1549, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 263).

The earliest ceramic example of *kalathiskos*-dancers occurs on a red-figured *hydria* from Nola, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 531 ff. no. 3232), which may be dated c. 450—440 B.C. (C. Watzinger in *Furtwängler-Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 319 ff. figs. 151—154 pl. 171, 1 (= my fig. 805)). It is decorated with four groups of female dancers and acrobats. The section of the shoulder-frieze here reproduced shows, on the right, a seated flute-player ( $\Sigma\Lambda\Psi\NIKE$ ), before whom on tip-toe pirouettes a dancing-girl (... $\Gamma\Omega\mathrm{NE}$ ) with hand outstretched in the gesture known as *σιμὴ χεῖρ* (Poll. 4. 105 *τραγαῆς δρχήσεως σχῆματα σιμὴ χεῖρ, καλαθίσκος, χεῖρ καταπράης, κ.τ.λ.*, Hesych. *σιμὴ χεῖρ σχῆμα τραγικόν*). To the left of her, a second dancing-girl sinks on her knee, to show that her performance is finished. The musician who has accompanied her lays aside the double flutes and takes up a *kithara*. Behind her stands an interested youth leaning on his staff. Each dancer wears a short *chitón* and a high crown of leaves painted white. A volute-krater from Ceglie, now at Taranto, of early south-Italian style (P. Wuilleumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 197—202 and at greater length *ib.* 1933 ii. 3—30 with figs. 1—7, of which fig. 4 = my fig. 806. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for the photographs of detail reproduced in my pl. lxxi, (1)—(3)), represents the following subjects: A. Dionysos (*ndrthes, kantharos*) seated on a rock between a dancing Maenad (*thýrsos*) and a flute-girl (long *chitón*) on the left, a female torch-bearer (short *chitón* with sleeves, *nebris, endromides*) and a bearded Satyr (*thýrsos*) on the right. B. (1) Perseus dangling the Gorgon's head before five bearded Satyrs in dance-attitudes—apparently a scene from Satyric drama. (2) A square pillar inscribed **KAPNEIOS** (*i.e.* Apollon *Kárneios* in south-Italian aniconic form: cp. *supra* i. 36 ff. pl. iii, ii. 815 fig. 781), to the right of which is a group of *kalathiskos*-dancers. One is about to put on his basket as ritual head-dress (cp. the figure in the lower left-hand corner of the *pellike* from Ruvo, wrongly interpreted by me *supra* i. 128 pl. xii). A second, crowned with palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta *frag. 5* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller) = *frag. 2* Tresp. ap. Athen. 678 B *Θυρεατικού*: αὐτῷ καλούρται τίνες στέφανος παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὃς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Θυσιῶν, Φιλίους (cp. Hesych. *λ.τ.ν.* Φιλίου, Φιλὸς στέφανος) αὐτοὺς φάσκων νῦν ὄντος ζεσθαι, δύτας ἐκ φοινίκων. φέρειν δέ αὐτοὺς ἵπόμνημα τῆς ἐν

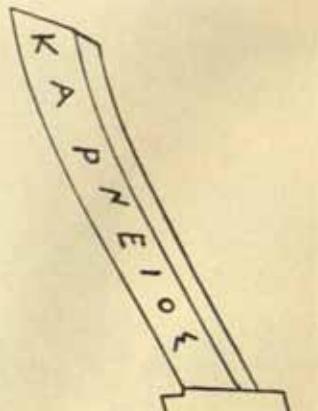
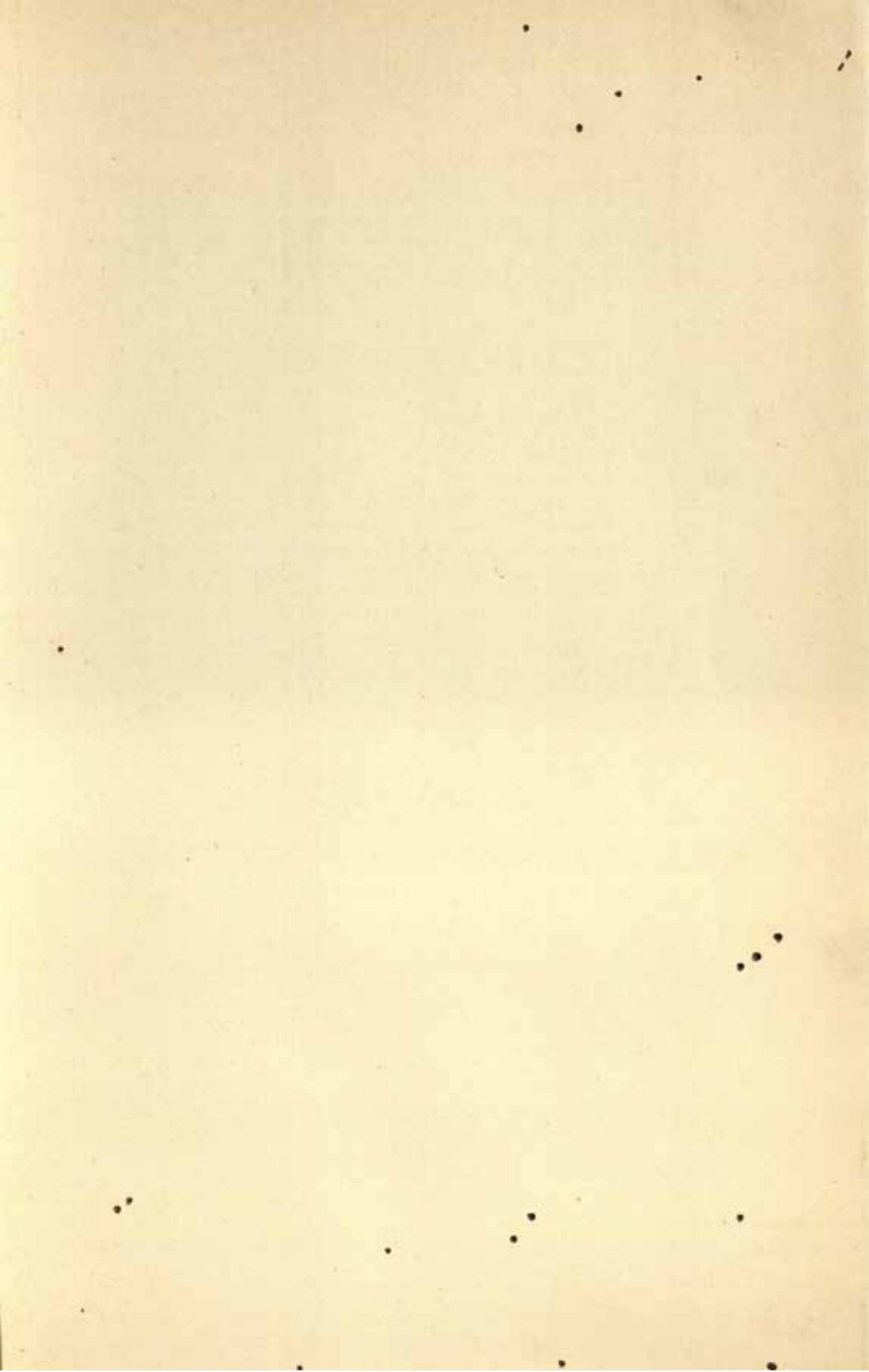


Fig. 806.





1

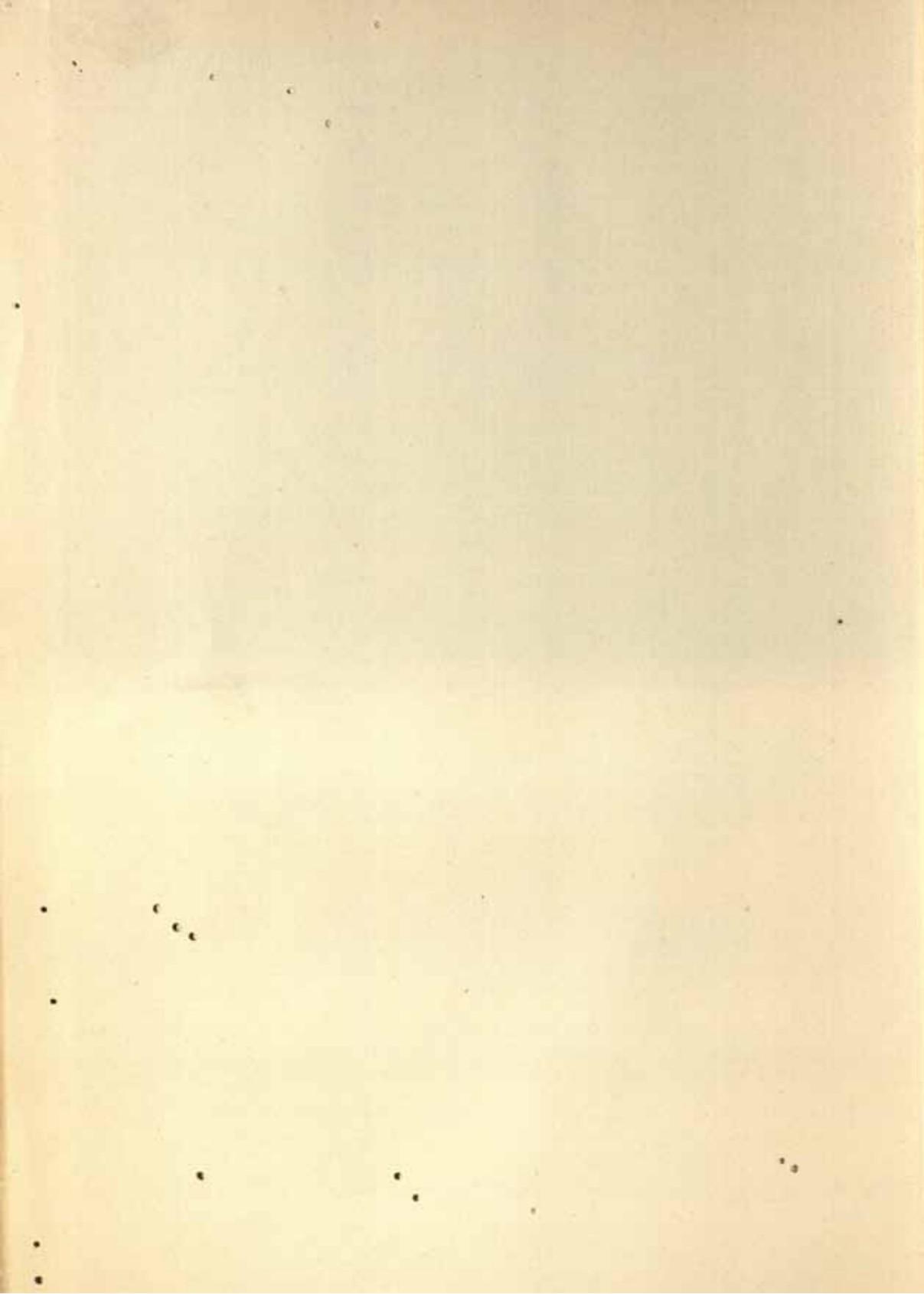


2

(1—3) Details of *krater* from Ceglie, now at Taranto: a group of *kalathiskos*-dancers.

See page 996 f.





Θυρία γενομένης νικης τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας ἐπετελουστιν. κ.τ.λ.), holds an *aryballos* with straps, as he stands between a basin and a draped flute-player (flutes, *phorbeid*). A third and fourth are dancing, the former decked with palm-leaf crown, the latter dressed as a girl with basket on head and ballooning *chitón*. A fifth, also wearing the basket, stands engaged in talk with a spectator. Mr Trendall compares an unpublished *kályx-kratér* from *Scoglitti* near Kamarina, now at Syracuse (no. 14626), which shows: *A.* A woman and a youth with basket

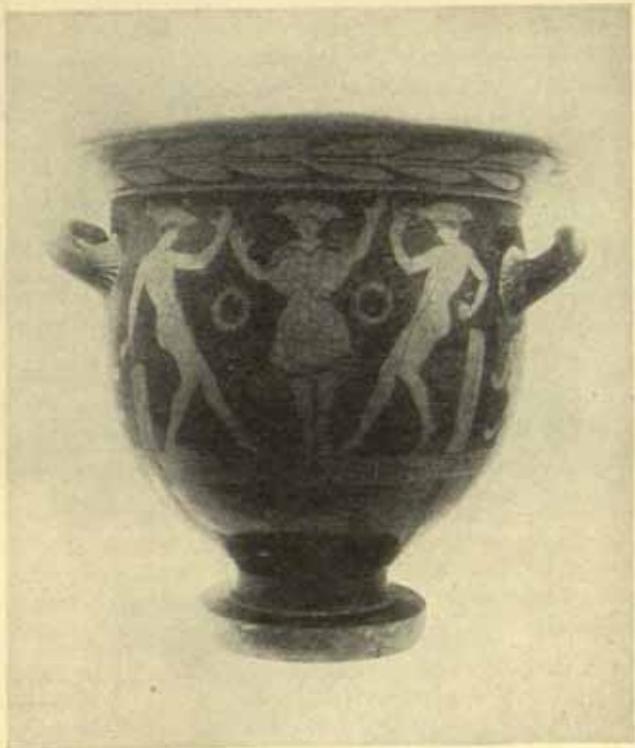


Fig. 807.

head-dress. *B.* Two draped youths. 'The main scene is framed between two Ionic columns. The woman is elaborately draped, and holds up her hands as if to catch something thrown to her by the boy. He is nude with the large basket (in applied yellow, which has worn off) on his head, as on the Taranto Karneia-krater.' Again, a bell-kratér of early south-Italian style, purchased in Rome and now at Leyden (A. E. J. Holwerda *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Afdeeling Griekenland en Italie. 1 Deel: Vaatwerk*. Leiden 1905 i. 104 no. 28), has for obverse design a girl in a short *chitón* dancing between two naked youths. All three wear spreading *kálathei* formed of reeds (?) arranged like rays. Two wreaths are hung in the background, and the scene is enclosed by a pair of simple pillars (V. K. Müller *Der Polos*,

*die griechische Götterkrone* Berlin 1915 p. 83 n. 3 pls. 6 and 7. My fig. 807 is from a photograph supplied by Mr Trendall. This must be the vase from Gnathia (*Fasano*) formerly owned by R. Barone and partially published by G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 184 pl. 14 facing head

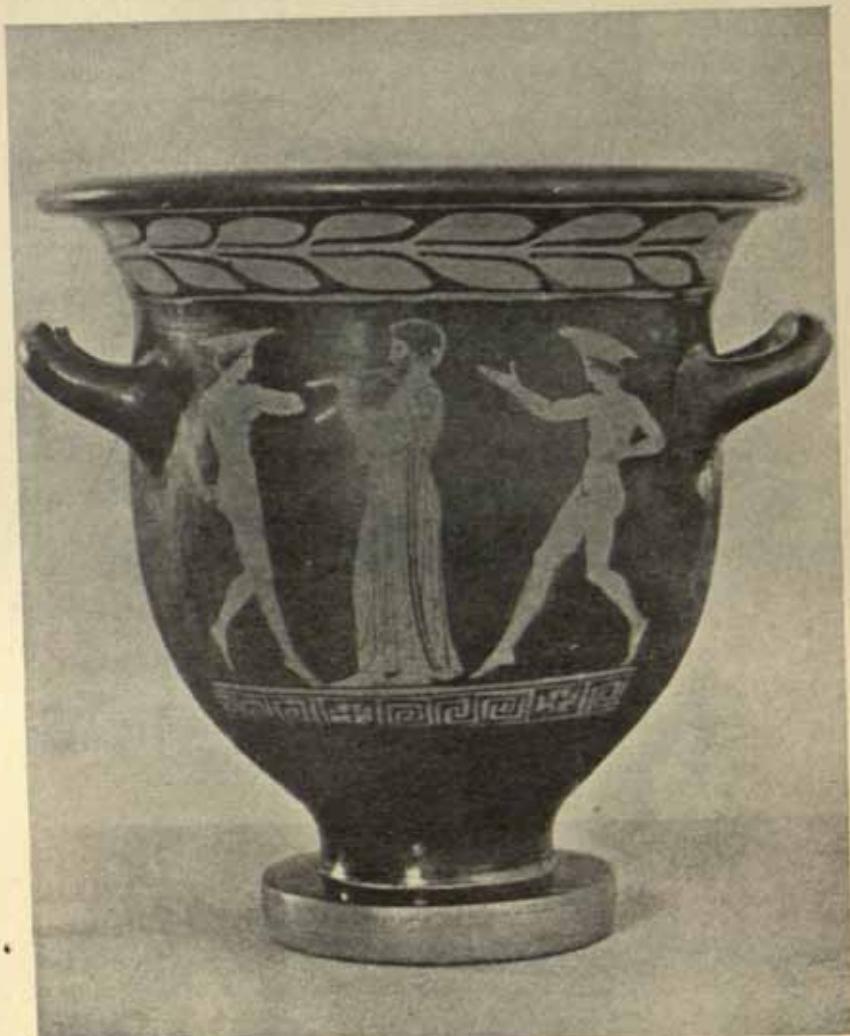


Fig. 808.

of dancer only). Another bell-krater of the same style, from Ruvo(?), now in the South Kensington Museum, and attributed by Miss Moon (Mrs Oakeshott) to 'the Sisyphus painter,' represents a similar scene—two naked youths wearing spread *kalathoi* of reeds (?) and gesticulating as they dance on either side of a bearded flute-player in a long *chiton* (Noël Moon in *Papers of the British*

*School at Rome* 1929 xi. 30 ff. pl. 12 (= my fig. 808), C. Dugas in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1931 xliv. 101 with fig. 6). Mrs Oakeshott *loc. cit.* notes another bell-krater by the same hand and exhibiting the same subject in the collection of Dr A. Ruesch at Zürich (*Ruesch Sale Catalogue* 1936 no. 14 pl. 22. The vase is now in the Wolfensperger Collection, 23 Maienburgweg, Zürich. My fig. 809 is from a photograph kindly lent by Mrs Oakeshott): the man in the centre here piroquettes. Similarly on a red-figured bell-krater at Berlin (inv. no. 3326), which A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1895 x Arch.



Fig. 809.

Anz. p. 39 f. fig. 16 (inadequate) describes as being 'in schöner Zeichnung der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges' and R. Zahn in Furtwängler-Reichhold-Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 193 n. 84 calls 'attischen,' but C. Watzinger *ib.* iii. 323 takes to be 'wohl eher böötischen als attischen...aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts,' a girl wearing a short *chitón* of foldless embroidered stuff suggestive of barbaric (? Lydian) attire and the reed-crown of a *kalathiskos*-dancer capers before young Dionysos, who is sitting on a broad three-stepped base or platform. Eros, leaning against his shoulder, points to the lively dancer. Behind her, an Ionic column painted white implies a sanctuary; and beyond it stands a Maenad equipped with *nebris*, *thýrsos*, and large *týmpanon* (K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 57, like Furtwängler, thought it a

shield). The best available illustration of this ritual scene is a photographic cut in H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 122. With it should be compared a bell-kratér of Paestum style in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 97 no. F 188, P. F. H. d'Hancarville *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines, tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton* Naples 1767 iv col. pl. 118, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. iv E. a pl. 2, 3 a and 3 b with text p. 4 by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce), on which the youthful Dionysos holds out fruit to a male *kalathiskos*-dancer performing before him (my fig. 810 is from the official photograph), and an Apulian bell-kratér from Rugge at Berlin (B. Schröder in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1909 xxiv. 119 fig. 6), on which is a male dancer of like aspect.



Fig. 810.

Once more, on a late red-figured bell-kratér at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 299 no. 1778, *id. in the Compte-rendu St. Pet.* 1869 p. 236 Atlas pl. 6, 4 and 5 (=my fig. 811), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 32, 5 and 7) a girl wearing the short *chitón* and *kalathiskos* places the *pinakiskion* on the *kóttabos*-stand for a recumbent feaster (hardly Dionysos, as F. Hauser in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 68 supposed).

Other early examples of the motif are to be found among the limestone reliefs of c. 420—410 B.C. that decorate the inner surface of the *keríton* at Trysa. The doorway on the southern side is here flanked by two female (?) dancers wearing a large *kálathos* perhaps originally painted with a design of reeds or rushes (cp. the dancing-girl with yellow *krótala* and a white *kálathos* marked with red rays in a tomb-painting of s. iv (?) B.C. found in 1854 at S. Maria in Fondo Vetta, south of the amphitheatre at Capua, and published by G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 183 f. pl. 14, P. W. Forchhammer in the *Mon.*

*Ann. e Bull. d. Inst.* 1854 p. 63, F. Weege 'Oskeische Grabmalerei' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 111, 130, 135 no. 25. A Lydian dance might well reappear at Capua, where the Etruscans held sway till 445 or 424 B.C. (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1556). The lintel above has a frieze of eight grotesque and Bes-like musicians wearing the same head-dress: they have



Fig. 811.

been taken to be the eight Phoenician Kabeiroi (on whom see F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 772 f. fig. 918 and R. Pettazzoni 'Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar tracio' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1909 xii. 672 ff.*), and are commonly associated with the dancing figures below them (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* Wien 1889 pp. 58, 95 f. pl. 6 = my fig. 812, S. Reinach in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1892 viii. 306 ff.

with fig. on p. 295—*id. Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 ii. 299 ff.  
 with fig. 435, *id. Rép. Reliefs i.* 444 no. 1, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 204  
 with fig. 97, H. Thiersch in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1907 xxii.  
 238).

Between c. 425 and c. 400 B.C. may be placed certain silver *statères* of Abdera, which have as reverse type the magistrate's date ΕΠΙ ΜΟΛΓΑΓΟΡΕΩ and the canting badge of a similar dancing girl turned left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*



Fig. 812.

The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 70 no. 35 fig., p. 230 no. 35 a (my fig. 813 from a cast), *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 106 no. 68 pl. 4, 38, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 71 no. 99 pl. 3, 2, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 99 ff. pl. 2, 22, H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1909 iii pl. 2, 21, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 pp. 71, 84 no. 492 pl. 22) or right (J. Millingen *Sylloge of ancient unedited coins of Greek cities and kings, from various collections* London 1837 pp. 30, 33 pl. 2, 13, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 106 no. 67, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 71 no. 100 pl. 3, 1 Berlin, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 99 ff.

pl. 2, 21 (=my fig. 814) Paris, H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1909 iii pl. 2, 20 Paris, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 pp. 71, 84 no. 493 pl. 22, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 4. 897 f. pl. 335, 15 Paris, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 144 pl. 28, 13 Berlin).



Fig. 813.



Fig. 814.

Closely related to these numismatic examples are the dancers carved on two slabs of Pentelic marble, which were brought from Italy to Berlin in 1892 (figs. 815, 816 are from C. Blümel *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen* Berlin 1931 iv. 45 f. nos. K 184 and 185 pl. 77, cp. F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 45 figs. 48 and 49). The more complete relief measures 0·95" high by 0·54" broad; the less complete, 0·80" high by 0·56" broad. It seems probable that, like three similar but fragmentary reliefs at Athens (H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 346 figs. 315, 316), they were intended for mural decoration. The reliefs at Berlin exhibit such delicious freshness and abandon that R. Kekulé, who first published them in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii Arch. Anz. p. 76 with two figs., did not hesitate to regard them as Attic work dating from the earlier half of 5. v B.C. (cp. M. Sauerlandt *Griechische Bildwerke* Düsseldorf—Leipzig p. x 'aus dem Anfange des V. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *Kurz Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 90 no. 1456 f. pl. 26 'Griechische Werke des 5. Jh. v. Chr.', F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 45 'aus demselben Künstleratelier der 5. Jahrh. v. Chr.'). But Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpture* p. 438 n. 3 with greater circumspection claims that they are only 'good specimens of the so-called later Attic school, by no means genuine archaic works' (cp. *id. Ueber Statuenkopien im Alterthum* München 1896 i. 4 n. 3 (= *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1896 Philos.-philol. Classe xx. 528 n. 3).

If so, they must be ranked with the *kalathiskos*-dancers of Arretine ware (c. 150 B.C.—50 A.D.) discussed by H. Dragendorff in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1895 xcvi—xcvii. 58 ff. A *skyphos* from Capua has four dancers grouped in pairs. Between the two pairs is a small Eros standing on a pillar, and between the dancers of the right-hand pair is a *thymiatérion* (H. Dragendorff *loc. cit.* figs. 14, 14 a after Riccio *Notizie degli scaviamenti nel suolo dell' antica Capua* Napoli 1855 pl. 5). A fragmentary mould found at Arezzo in 1896 and now in the British Museum shows four girls likewise dancing in pairs and wearing a head-dress of open wicker-work. Above them runs a wreath to which festoons are looped up with large bows. Between the pairs of dancers a flower springs from the ground (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* p. 34 no. L 108, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 493 f. pl. 66, 5). Another specimen, in the Loeb collection, has a very similar dancer standing between two bases (?) with a festoon fastened to *bucrania* behind her and a flower or flowering rush (?) at her feet (F. Weege *op. cit.* pp. 45, 48 with fig. 51 after G. H. Chase *Guide to Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery* Harvard University no. 53 pl. 3). Another mould



Fig. 815.



Fig. 816.

in New York shows the dancer, once more between two bases (?) with a festoon of vine and ivy behind her (G. M. A. Richter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 15 fig. 4). Again, fragments of a mould found near the church of S. Maria in Gradi at Arezzo and now in the museum of that town represent two such dancers facing left. In front of one is a Dionysiac herm, in front of the other a fighting Athena, each effigy set on the top of an Ionic column (G. F. Gamurrini reported by G. Fiorelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1884 p. 372 gruppo v nos. 1—3 pl. 7, 2). The moulds found with this bear the signature of that admirable craftsman M. Perennius, on whom see M. Ihm in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1898 cii. 114 ff., H. B. Walters *op. cit.* pp. 483, 492, 494 and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* pp. xvii, xx, xxii.

Similarly the upper part of a Roman mural relief in terra cotta, made during the first half of Augustus' reign and now preserved in the Antiquarium at Berlin, figures a facing Palladian flanked by two *kalathiskos*-dancers, whose pink garments contrasted with a blue background (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 248 pl. 18, Furtwängler *op. cit.* p. 438 fig. 179, J. Sieveking in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1332 fig. 8. A fragment in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 412 no. D 646 fig. 76 gives the head and shoulder of the right-hand dancer). More complete but less delicate is the replica in G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842 p. 37 f. pl. 4, cp. *Le Musée d'Aix* Paris 1882—1921 p. 477 no. 1588. Another example in the Casino of Pius iv in the Vatican Garden is published by Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 151 pl. 20, 214 a.

Neo-Attic reliefs, which perhaps imply Attic originals of s. i B.C. (F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 53 f., Ada von Netoliczka *ib.* 1914 xvii. 132), make use of similar motifs. A three-sided base of Flavian date (69—96 A.D.) in the Museo Archeologico at Venice is adorned with two *kalathiskos*-dancers and an ecstatic Maenad. Each figure is framed by an over-elaborate and meaningless combination of ram's head, lion's leg, and bust of winged female Sphinx wearing a rayed *káthatos*, on which kneels Nike with spread wings (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 p. 60 no. 6, H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 p. 65 n. 154, F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 100 f. no. 31, *Einzelauflnahmen* nos. 2469—2471 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 432 nos. 4—6, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 46 with fig. 47). A second and exactly similar base in the same collection is due to a copyist of the Renaissance (*Einzelauflnahmen* nos. 2472—2474 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold). Another three-sided base in the Louvre again couples the *kalathiskos*-dancers with a Maenad, whose head and right arm are a misleading restoration. The framework here with its rams' heads at the upper corners is of a simpler and more satisfactory sort (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 343 f. pl. 167 fig. 77 and pl. 168 fig. 78=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 61 no. 3 and i. 62 no. 1, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 133 pl. 17, 188, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 100 no. 29. Height 1'011"). Yet another three-sided base, in the Villa Albani, shows three such dancers, of whom one uplifts a dish of fruit before a rude stone altar with fruit laid out upon it and a fire burning, a second stands before a similar altar, and a third before a reed-plant springing from the ground (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 20=Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 152 nos. 1—3, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 146—152 pl. 7, 12, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 60 no. 2, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 19, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 67 f. no. 816. Height of

figures 0'30"). A large *krater* of Italian marble with grey stripes, formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has on one side a snake-entwined tripod, from which flames are rising, flanked by a pair of Nikai filling *phidai* from their raised *oinochai*, on the other side an exact repetition of the central and left-hand dancers on the Villa Albani base described above—a repetition which includes both the altar with fruit and the reed-plant springing from the ground.



Fig. 817.

Under each handle are two *thýrsoi* laid crosswise. The handles themselves end in large ivy-leaves (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 638 no. 66, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 18, Mrs S. A. Strong in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 24 f. no. 33 pl. 17 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 531 no. 3 f. Height 0'80"; diameter c. 0'80". The surface has been worked over, but the authenticity of the vase is above suspicion). A marble relief in the Villa Albani figures a couple of *kalathiskos*-dancers facing each other in front of an edifice with two ranges of pilasters (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 21 = Reinach

Rép. Reliefs iii. 151 no. 1, L. Stephani loc. cit. p. 60 no. 3, F. Hauser op. cit. p. 97 no. 21, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 38 f. no. 769, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*<sup>2</sup> Leipzig 1913 ii. 422 f. no. 1867, F. Weege op. cit. p. 46 with fig. 52 from a photograph (my fig. 817, H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 73 fig.), which shows that—as Hauser observed—the *kalathoi* are largely restored. The restoration affects the left hand of the dancer on the right, both hands, the right foot, and the lower part of the left leg of the other dancer, together with the rocky foreground and portions of the architectural background. Height 0'85<sup>m</sup>). A finely worked relief of Pentelic marble in the Lateran collection preserves the single headless figure of a similar dancer turned towards the right in front of a wall with pilasters (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 19 no. 3499). A fragment now in the Sala Lapidaria of the Arcivescovado at Ravenna also gives a single *kalathiskos*-dancer from the knees upwards with the remains of a flat pilaster and wall (H. Heydemann op. cit. p. 65 no. 5, C. Ricci in *Ausonia* iv. 258 with fig. 10). Another in the Palazzo Farnese shows a single dancer of the same sort (Matz—Duhn op. cit. iii. 19 no. 3499<sup>a</sup>). Finally, a marble *puteal* in the Palazzo Doria represents two pairs of *kalathiskos*-dancers fronting each other amid a fine growth of tendrils. They are here assimilated to Nikai by having large wings on their shoulders (Matz—Duhn op. cit. iii. 112 no. 3678, cp. Comm. Datti in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1860 p. 98).

Looking back over the evidence thus detailed we gather that the *kalathiskos*-dancers of the Arretine sherds, the Roman mural terra cottas, and the neo-Attic reliefs are archaic derivatives of similar types already existing in the second half of s. v B.C.—witness the Naples *hydria*, the door-jambs at Trysa, and the coins of Abdera. Furtwängler acutely conjectured that the original from which they are all descended was a famous masterpiece (in archaizing bronze relief?) by Kallimachos, the *saltantes Lacaenae* described by Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 92 as ‘a work of faultless technique, but one which has lost all charm through over-elaboration’ (Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 438). This conjecture has been widely accepted and is indeed highly probable. But the further attempt to name the dancers Karyatides and to connect them with architectural ‘Caryatids’ in general (P. Wolters in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* Neue Folge 1895 vi. 36—44 after Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clem.* iii pl. b, ii, F. Weege op. cit. p. 44 ff.) is in my judgment a mistake (cp. *supra* ii. 535 n. 2). I incline to the following solution of the problem. Alkman, who came to Sparta Σπάρτων ἀπ' ἄκραν (Alkm. frag. 24. 5 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 2. 5 Edmonds, 13. 5 Diehl ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐρυθρίη, cp. Anth. Pal. 7. 709. 1 ff. (Alexandros (of Aitolia?)), 7. 18. 3 ff. (Antipatros of Thessalonike), Krates (of Mallos?) ap. Soud. s.v. Ἀλκμάν), is known to have composed *partheneia* for Artemis and other deities. Moreover, he wrote for the Spartan Gymnopaidiai songs to be sung by boys and men wearing ‘Thyreatic’ crowns made of palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta frag. 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller) ap. Athen. 678 B cited *supra* p. 996 f.). Such a poet can hardly have failed to import into Sparta the famous *kalathiskos*-dance of his own Sardis. It was perhaps formerly figured on an inscribed but mutilated *stèle* of s. iii B.C., found in the Amyklaiion (B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 29, 31 with fig. 2). Identical with it, or at least akin to it, was a dance performed at the Spartan festival of Promacheia (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 470), when the Perioikoi as distinct from the Spartiates wore a crown of reeds (Sosibios of Sparta frag. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller)=frag. 1 Tresp ap. Athen. 674 A καὶ γὰρ καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι καλάμῳ στεφανοῦνται ἐν τῇ τῶν Προμαχείων ἑορτῇ, ὡς φησι

Σωτίζος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐν Δασεδαιμονι ὑποτιῶν γράφων οὐτως· 'ἐν ταῖς συρβαινεῖς τούς μὲν δπὸ τῆς χώρας καλάμους στεφανοῦσθαν ἡ στλεγγίδι (ср. Plout. *inst.* Lac. 32 στλεγγίσιον οὐ σιδηρᾶς ἀλλὰ καλαμίταις ἔχρωτο), τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς ἄγνης παῖδας στεφανώτους ἀκολουθεῖν'). Another ritual link between Lakonike and Lydia is noted by L. Stephani, who observes in the *Compte-rendu St. Pet.* 1865 pp. 31, 58 that the cult of Artemis Ὀρθία at Sparta involved a Λυδῶν πομπή (Plout. *v. Aristid.* 17. Cp. the case of Artemis Κορδάκα at Olympia (Paus. 6. 22. 1 with H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*)).

Three dancing-girls in like attire surmounted the very beautiful acanthus-column of Pentelic (not Parian) marble, which stood on the north side of the Sacred Way at Delphoi, close to the votive offerings of the Syracusan princes. Arranged back to back round a central stem, the girls supported the *lēbes* of the bronze tripod whose legs rested upon the leafy capital. This group of dainty light-footed damsels in some ways anticipates the art of Praxiteles. Indeed, T. Homolle in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 31—67 figs. 1—6 was prepared to regard it as a contemporary replica of the Praxitelean 'figures called Thyiaides and Karyatides' later to be seen in the gallery of Asinius Pollio (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 23). But C. Praschniker *Zur Geschichte des Akroters* Brünn 1929 p. 48 f. has shown that the Dancers' Column was found in the same deposit as the Charioteer, i.e. in the *débris* caused by the earthquake of 373 B.C., and should therefore be accepted as pre-Praxitelean and referred to a date perhaps as early as the late fifth century (S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 iii. 133). In any case we may admit that the Delphian dancers with their crowns of 'sharp-ribbed rushes' are a composition of infinite grace, which forms a later (c. 400 B.C.) variation on the *saltantes Lacaenae* designed by Kallimachos and owes its ultimate inspiration to the *kalathiskos*-dancers of the Lydian lake-side. See further the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1 pl. 15 (the column restored by A. Tournaire, with tripod-legs supported by dancers), iv. 2 pls. 60 (the dancers = my fig. 818), 61 (the dancers, another view), 62 (head of one dancer in profile), É. Bourguet *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 188—192 fig. 63 f., F. Poulsen *Delphs* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 pp. 246—264 figs. 113—128, and especially H. Pomtow 'Die Tänzerinnen-Säule in Delphi' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1920 xxxv. 113—128 with figs. 1 (= my fig. 819), 2—6, who is followed by A. Rumpf in H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv fig. 128.

A gold earring in the F. L. von Gans collection of the Berlin Antiquarium further attests the popularity of the motif in the fourth century B.C. It represents a dancing-girl with short *chitón* and high *kátharos*: her left arm is raised, her right is missing (*Amtliche Berichte aus den königl. Kunstsammlungen* (Beiblatt zum *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*) 1913 xxxv. 76 with fig. 37 C).

A bronze statuette, formerly in the Gréau collection, again shows a dancing-girl with short *chitón* and basket-like head-dress (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 242 no. 9) after W. Froehner *Collection Julien Gréau. Bronzes* Paris 1891 pl. 95, as does a Hellenistic terracotta in the Louvre (J. Charbonneau *Les Terres cuites Grecques* London 1936 pp. 23, 50 fig. 54, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* Paris 1937 ii. 199 with text by Mme Massoul). But examples of the type 'in the round' are rare, for terra-cotta dolls from Myrina with elaborate head-dress (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 243 no. C 522 pl. 35, Mendel *Cat. Fig. gr. de Terre Cuite Constantinople* p. 378 f. no. 2640 pl. 8, 6) are hardly to be classed as *kalathiskos*-dancers.



Fig. 818.

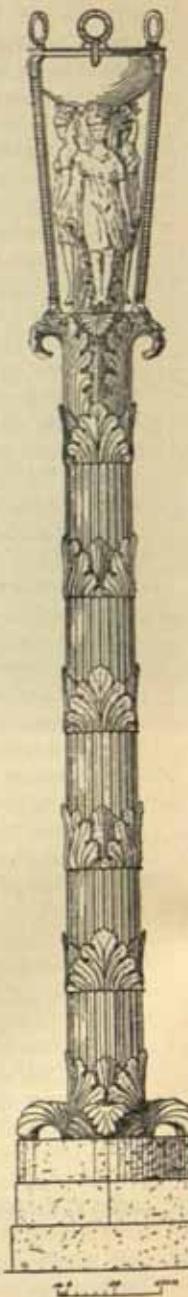


Fig. 819.

Similar figures are found on gems of imperial date, either alone as on a specimen in my collection (fig. 820: scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ ), or else with a palm-branch (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 284 no. 7668 pl. 57 cornelian, no. 7669 cornelian) or a *hydria* containing a palm-branch (*id. ib.* p. 284 no. 7670 pl. 57 sardonyx) before them. The palm-branch is here apparently a later substitute for the original reed-plant.

Important confirmation of this hypothesis is afforded by terracotta plaques of Hellenistic date found at Praisos in eastern Crete. They show a girl with short *chitón* and spread *kélathos*, who is dancing in front of 'a tall, bending plant, apparently a reed' (E. S. Forster in



Fig. 820.



Fig. 821.

the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 255 with fig. 17 = my fig. 821 (height .23<sup>m</sup>), cp. F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 390 pl. 12, 5).

In this connexion it may be noted that some would see a phallic significance

## Appendix P

in the reed. K. F. Johansson *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣṇā und Verwandtes* Uppsala 1917 p. 33 quotes Dion Cass. 72. 12 ὅτι Ἀστεγγα, λέρος τε καὶ Πάντος ἥγουντο, ἥλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν κ.τ.λ. and explains that 'Πάνος' and 'Πάντος,' 'Rush' and 'Raft,' imply the phallic god of fertility conceived as a Reed (cp. Finnish *Sämpää*, 'scirpus') and a horizontal Roof-beam. But his etymologies and his symbolism seem equally precarious. He would do better to cite the myth of Pan and Syrinx (H. Ostern in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1642 ff.) as illustrated on imperial bronze coins of Thelpousa in Arkadia (K. Wernicke *ib.* iii. 1356, 1467 fig. 25 after *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 204 no. 3 Septimius Severus pl. 37, 23, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 102 Geta, Vienna pl. T, 24, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 456: see further F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 134).

With the extension of the *kalathiskos*-type to runners in the Lampadedromia as represented on a series of vases c. 400 B.C. (Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 910 f. figs. 4328—4330) we are not here concerned. One such vase, that signed by the potter Nikias (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 218 f. no. 1 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 466 no. 1), is reproduced on the five-drachma postage-stamp designed by J. N. Svoronos for the Greek government and issued at Athens in 1906 to commemorate the 'Olympic Games.'

(13) Floating islands are reported from various districts of Italy. Thus one or more of them existed *in agro Caecubo* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209). The allusion is probably to the Lacus Fundanus (*Lago di Fondi*) in the marshy plain between Fundi and the sea (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1244).

(14) In the country of the Sabines a lake known as Aquae Cutiliae, between Reate (*Rieti*) and Interocrium (*Antrodoco*), was reckoned 'the navel of Italy' (Varr. *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 109, Solin. 2. 23). It could boast a floating island (Varr. *ap.* Plin. *loc. cit.* and in *de ling. Lat.* 5. 71) covered with trees and grasses and so easily moved by the wind that it was never to be seen in the same place for a day and night together (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quæst.* 3. 25. 8 f., cp. anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 37). If the Greeks dubbed it *Korīla* (oracle of Zeus at Dodona *ap.* Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 19, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 28, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἄζοπρύαρες* (= Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6, 177), Paul. ex Fest. p. 51, 8 Müller, p. 44, 22 f. Lindsay), that was a well-meant etymology of the Aquae Cutiliae (*Υδρα Κορίλα*). Of greater interest is the account given by Dion Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 15 (after Varro): 'At a distance of seventy furlongs from Reate is Kotylia, a famous town, situated at the base of a mountain. Not far from it is a lake, four hundred feet across, full of spring water which is always flowing and —so they say—has no bottom to it. This lake, having a touch of divinity about it, the natives deem sacred to Victory (*sc.* Vacuna). They enclose it round about with fillets, that nobody should approach the water, and preserve it as a spot unprofaned by human tread except on certain yearly occasions (for *καιρότι τοῖς ἀγροῖς* cod. Vat. has *καιρότι τοῖς ἔργοις*), when they offer customary sacrifices and particular persons charged with the office land on the small island in it. The island is some fifty feet in diameter and rises not more than one foot above the level of the water. It has no fixed position and floats round here there and everywhere, the wind turning it now hither now thither. A plant resembling sedge grows upon it and sundry bushes of no great size—a thing inexplicable to those who have not seen the handywork of nature and a marvel second to none.' On which E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 721 comments: 'It is evident that this marvel arose from the incrustations of carbonate of lime formed by the

waters of the lake, fragments of which might from time to time be detached from the overhanging crust thus formed on the banks: the same phenomenon occurs, though on a smaller scale, at the Aquae Albulae near Tibur. ([Sir W.] Gell [*The Topography of Rome [and its Vicinity]* London 1834 i. 74, *ib.*<sup>2</sup> London 1846 i.] 41.)...The Cutilian Lake still exists under the name of *Pozzo di Ratignano* or *Latignano*, though apparently reduced in size by the continual incrustation of its banks; but the floating island has disappeared.<sup>3</sup>

(15) Two islands in the *Lacus Tarquiniensis* (more often called the *Lacus Volsiniensis*, nowadays the *Lago di Bolsena*, a quondam crater near Volsinii) are described as floating groves blown by the winds now into triangular, now into circular forms, but never into squares (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209). It is not clear how these two islands (the *Isola Martana* and the *Isola Bisentina* (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 52 Vesentini and *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi nos. 2910 Honori Visentium, 2911 Virtuti Visenti = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 3796, 3796<sup>a</sup>)) could suggest either a triangle or a circle, let alone a square. G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*<sup>3</sup> London 1883 ii. 29 shakes his head: 'Shall we not rather refer this unsteady, changeful character to the eyes of the beholders, and conclude that the propagators of the miracle had been making too deep potations in the rich wine of [the lake-side]? Now, at least, the islands have lost their erratic and Protean propensities, and, though still capt with wood, have taken determinate and beautiful forms, no longer plastic beneath the breath of Æolus.' Possibly Santa Cristina, the virgin-martyr of *Bolsena* (July 24), who was cast into the lake and touched bottom—witness her footprints on the rocks—but, despite the millstone round her neck, would not drown and, after gruesome sufferings, had to be bound to a tree and shot with arrows, should be regarded as the Christian successor of a pagan lake-goddess (Diana?). On her see the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1727 Julius v. 495 ff. 'De S. Christina virg. et martyri apud Lacum Vulsinium, ut volunt, in Tuscia' (*Passio* 2. 11 p. 526 f. Urbanus...jussit eam ligari ad saxum, & medio mari dare præcepit: cumque hoc fieret, saxum disruptum est, & ipsa ab angelis suscepta est, & ita pedibus super aquas maris ferebatur, 2. 17 p. 528 A Julianus irâ commotus jussit mammillas ejus abscidere. Christina dixit: Lapideum cor & abominabile, mammillas meas abscidere jussisti; respice & vide, quia pro sanguine lac in terram defluxit, 2. 18 p. 528 B Tunc iratus Julianus duas sagittas [misit] in eam, unam ad cor ejus, & aliam contra latus ejus, & cum percuteretur, cum gaudio reddidit spiritum), S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 viii. 527—531 (p. 530 'on this day [July 24], as we are solemnly assured, her head is seen to swim about the lake'), M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 pp. 26, 143, 193, *alib.*, K. Künstle *Ikonographie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 153 f. The tradition that she walked the water and the belief that her head still swims recall the floating islands mentioned by Pliny. Such wonders die hard.

(16) The *Lacus Statoniensis*, identified by P. Cluverius *Italia antiqua* Lugduni Batavorum 1624 p. 517 with the *Lago di Mezzano*, a tiny sheet of water about five miles west of the *Lago di Bolsena*, had once a floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quæstn.* 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614), but now has none, 'so that we must either reject Cluver's conclusion, or suppose that the island has since disappeared. As there is no other lake in central Etruria which can answer to the Statonian, we must take the alternative, and consider the island to have floated, as it is described, and to have become eventually attached to the shores of the lake' (G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*<sup>3</sup> London 1883 i. 494 f.).

(17) The Vatlimonis Lacus, another lakelet of Etruria, lying on the right bank of the Tiber about four miles above Horta (*Orte*) and in modern times variously termed the *Laghetto* or *Lagherello* or even *Lago di Bussano* or *Basanello* from a village in the neighbourhood, could boast in antiquity not only one floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614) but several (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 38 οὐτὶ δὲ καὶ λάκκος Οὐνδίμωνος καλούμενη λίμνη οὗ μεγάλη ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὄροισι ἔχουσα τησια πλειόνα πάσῃ πνοῇ μετακινούμενα). An interesting account of them is given by Plin. *epist.* 8. 20 (trans. W. Melmoth rev. W. M. L. Hutchinson): 'I went close up to this lake. It is formed exactly circular (in similitudinem iacentis rotae circumscripitus et undique aequalis); there is not the least obliquity or winding, but all is regular and even as if it had been hollowed and cut out by the hand of art. The colour of its water is a whitish-blue, verging upon green, and somewhat cloudy; it has the odour of sulphur and a strong medicinal taste, and possesses the property of cementing fractures. Though it is but of moderate extent, yet the winds have a great effect upon it, throwing it into violent commotions. No vessels are suffered to sail here, as its waters are held sacred; but several grassy islands swim about it, covered with reeds and rushes, and whatever other plants the more prolific neighbouring marsh and the borders of the lake produce. No two are alike in size or shape; but the edges of all of them are worn away by their frequent collision against the shore and one another. They have all the same depth, and the same buoyancy; for their shallow bases are formed like the hull of a boat. This formation is distinctly visible from every point of view; the hull lies half above and half below the water. Sometimes the islands cluster together and seem to form one entire little continent; sometimes they are dispersed by veering winds; at times, when it is calm, they desert their station and float up and down separately [at times the wind falls dead and they are left floating in isolation A.B.C.]. You may frequently see one of the larger islands sailing along with a lesser joined to it, like a ship with its long boat; or perhaps, seeming to strive which shall outswim the other; then again all are driven to one spot of the shore, which they thus advance, and now here, now there, diminish or restore the area of the lake; only ceasing to contract it anywhere, when they occupy the centre. Cattle have often been known, while grazing, to advance upon those islands as upon the border of the lake, without perceiving that they are on moving ground, till, being carried away from shore they are alarmed by finding themselves surrounded with water, as if they had been put on board ship; and when they presently land wherever the wind drives them ashore, they are no more sensible of disembarking than they had been of embarking. This lake empties itself into a river, which after running a little way above ground, sinks into a cavern and pursues a subterraneous course and if anything is thrown in brings it up again where the stream emerges.' But, says G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*<sup>2</sup> London 1883 i. 144, 'he who would expect Pliny's description to be verified, might search for ever in vain. It is, indeed, no easy matter to find the lake; for it has so shrunk in dimensions, that what must have been a spacious tract of water in the olden time, is now but a small stagnant pond, almost lost in the tall reeds and bulrushes that wave over it. These we may conclude represent the islets, which either never had an existence, or have now clubbed together to stop up the lake.'

(18) A floating island *in agro...Mutinensi* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209) is mentioned but once and has not been further identified.

(19) Yet another, on the Lacus Benacus (*Lago di Garda*), the largest of all

the lakes in Italy, is said to have been inhabited and to have been planted with trees (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 37 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ λίμνης καλουμένης μὲν Βηνάκου, οὔσης δὲ τὸ περίμετρον σταδίων φ' (on its real size see E. H. Bunbury in *Smith Dict. Geogr.* i. 389 or C. Hülsen in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc.* iii. 268), νῆσός ἔστιν οἰκουμένη κατάφυτος δένδρεσιν ἡμέραις ἐπινηχομένη καὶ μεταβαίνοντα πρὸς τὰς τῶν πνευμάτων φοράς).

(20) Lastly, at (Aquaæ) Salsulæ in Gallia Narbonensis, the modern *Salces* or *Salses* on the western bank of the *Étang de Leucate*, was a whole plain, green with fine slender reeds and afloat on underlying water. The centre of it, detached from its surroundings, formed an island which could be pushed away from you or pulled towards you. Holes made in the surface of this plain showed the sea beneath; whence ignorant or lying authors had stated that fish were here dug out of the ground (Mela 2. 82 f., cp. Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 89, Polyb. 34. 10. 2—4, and perhaps Liv. 42. 2, also Theophr. *frag.* 171. 7, 11 f. Wimmer, Plin. *nat. hist.* 9. 176, 178, Sen. *nat. quaestn.* 3. 16. 5, 3. 17. 3, Iuv. 13. 65 f.). See further E. Desjardins *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine* Paris 1876 i. 251 f., 256 f. and Keune in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc.* i A. 2012.

It will be obvious from a survey of the foregoing passages that floating islands as such made a deep impression on Greeks and Romans alike and were almost always regarded with naive feelings of awe and veneration. Such phenomena attached themselves readily to the cult of the local deity, often a lake-goddess, and at least in one case gave rise to a popular ritual and an art-type of remarkable beauty. We must not, however, lend an ear to the persuasions of a latter-day mythologist, who would have us believe that the floating islands of Greek story were originally nothing but drifting clouds (F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 69 n. 1 'es sind immer ursprünglich die Wolkeninseln der Sage'). Earthly fact plus heavenly fancy will amply suffice to explain the whole flotilla (see e.g. the Celtic parallels in Sir J. Rhys *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* Oxford 1901 i. 171 f., W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* London 1897 ii. 591, H. Güntert *Kalypso* Halle a. S. 1919 p. 145 f.). Doubters should visit Derwentwater and enquire for the Floating Island near Lodore which 'appears periodically about the middle of October at intervals of four years' (M. J. B. Baddeley *The English Lake District*<sup>10</sup> London 1906 p. 130 with Append. by E. D. Jordan p. 11). It has been studied with scrupulous exactitude by G. J. Symons *The Floating Island in Derwentwater, its History & Mystery, with notes of other dissimilar islands* London 1888 pp. 1—64 (Frontisp. map of the south-east portion of Derwentwater showing the position of three floating islands on Aug. 27, 1884, p. 19 ff. list of recorded appearances from 1753 to 1888 A.D., p. 23 ff. notice of other floating islands, etc.). Another interesting case is examined by Marietta Pallis 'The Structure and History of Plav: the Floating Fen of the Delta of the Danube' in the Linnean Society's *Journal Botany* 1916 xlivi. 233—290 pls. 11—25.

## APPENDIX Q.

## THE PROMPTING EROS.

The evolution of this artistic type deserves fuller treatment than it has yet received. Its successive stages may be exemplified as follows:

(1) A small plaque of reddish gold, found in the third shaft-grave at Mykenai, shows a nude Aphrodite (Astarte?) pressing her breasts, with a dove flying over her head. A second plaque of yellow gold, from the same grave, repeats the motif but adds two other doves flying from her shoulders (H. Schliemann *Mycene* London 1878 p. 180 f. fig. 267 f., C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 197 f. fig. 180 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 652 fig. 293 f., Ch. Tsountas—J. I. Manatt *The Mycenaean Age* London 1897 p. 101 f. fig. 38 f., Stais *Coll. Mycénienne: Athènes* p. 13 ff. no. 27 fig., Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 223 with fig. 169, H. T. Bossert *Altkreta*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1923 pp. 32, 220 fig. 311 e, G. Karo *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* München 1930/33 p. 48 pl. 27, 28 and 27 (=my figs. 822, 823).



Fig. 822.



Fig. 823.

(2) A bronze mirror-stand from Hermione, Greek work of c. 600—550 B.C., now in the Museum antiker Kleinkunst at Munich, represents a nude Aphrodite with two human-headed birds (Sirens) perched on lotos-flowers to left and right of her shoulders (J. Sieveking *Antike Metallgeräte* München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 19 front (=my fig. 824) and back).

(3) Towards the close of 5. vi B.C. other variations were attempted. A bronze mirror-stand from Corinth, now at Athens, figures Aphrodite, draped in Ionic *chitón* and *himátion*, holding a dove in her right hand, while two winged Sphinxes rest a forepaw on either shoulder of the goddess (Stais *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*<sup>2</sup> p. 337 no. 11691 fig., C. D. Mylonas in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 161 no. 1 pl. 14, 1, E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1890 ii. 249 no. 2 pl. 33). Another bronze mirror-stand, Greek (Corinthian? Argive?) work of c. 500 B.C., formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has Aphrodite in Ionic *chitón* and Doric *peplos*, but replaces the soul-

Fig. 826.

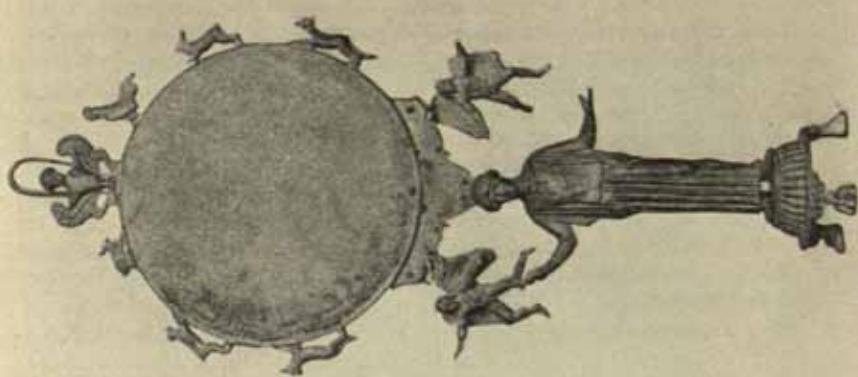


Fig. 825.

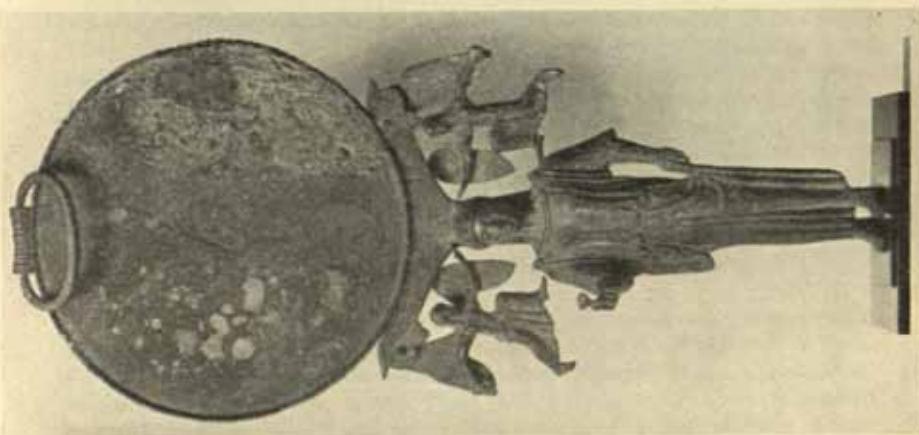
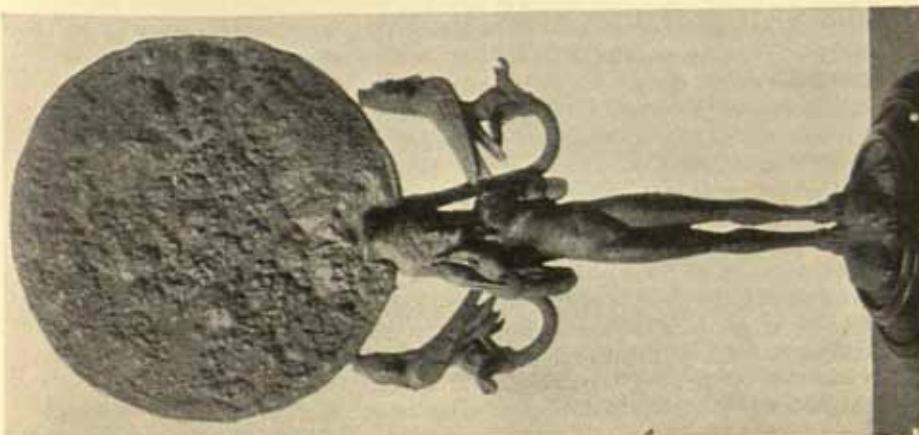


Fig. 824.



birds by two winged female figures (Nikai?), who fly towards the shoulders of the goddess with one hand outstretched and a small object (perfume-vase??) in the other (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 631 Richmond no. 39, Mrs A. Strong in *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 38 no A 8 pl. 45, *a* front, *b* back (wrongly described as 'two hovering Erotes'), Sir C. H. Smith in *Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the Collection of the late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esqre* London 1908 ii. 114 Bronze no. 46 pl. 35 (= my fig. 825: 'two hovering Victories'), K. A. Neugebauer *Antike Bronzesstatuetten* Berlin 1921 p. 45 fig. 25 ('zwei ... Siegesgöttinnen')).

(4) Numerous bronze mirror-stands of s. vi-v (listed by E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain *op. cit.* ii. 249—253: see also Mrs A. Strong *loc. cit.* p. 38) figure an archaic or at least severe Aphrodite flanked by a pair of Erotes hovering above her shoulders (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 24 no. 241 pl. 4 Athens, p. 24 no. 242 Sounion, p. 24 f. no. 243 pl. 4 Corinth, De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 43 no. 1687 pl. 77 Hermione, ii. 43 f. no. 1689 pl. 77 Corinth, ii. 44 no. 1691 pl. 77 (= my fig. 826) Greece, ii. 44 no. 1692 pl. 77 Corinth, Stais *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*<sup>2</sup> p. 335 no. 7576 (6576 is apparently a misprint) with fig. on p. 336, J. Sieveking *Antike Metallgeräte* München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 20 Boston).

(5) About the decade 450—440 B.C. Eros was represented on reliefs in terra cotta or marble as standing on the arm or stepping down from behind the shoulder of Aphrodite (*supra* ii. 1043 fig. 892, 1044). From this it is not a far cry to—

(6) a *krater* from Falerii, now in the Villa Giulia at Rome, which dates from the period of the Peloponnesian War and shows Eros whispering in the ear of Hebe (*supra* ii. 737 fig. 668), or again to a *krater* from Ruvo, now at Naples, which likewise belongs to the latter part of s. v B.C. and makes the small kindred figure of Himeros, kneeling beside the right shoulder of a goddess (Aphrodite??), stretch out his arms to crown a tragic mask held in her left hand (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 546 ff. no. 3240 ('Muse'), J. de Witte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 303 ff. ('Aphrodite'), *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 31, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 114, 1 ('Muse'), B. Arnold in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 388 ff. pl. 5 fig. 422, G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Genève 1908 p. 120 f. fig. 29, M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 91 ff. fig. 97 pl. 48 ('Muse'), P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze 1922 ii. 415 ff. fig. 298).

(7) This conception of Eros or Himeros as a small figure haunting the shoulder to proffer his amatory advice becomes a commonplace on vases produced during the earlier part of s. iv B.C. in the style of the Meidias-painter (G. Nicole *op. cit.* pl. 10, 6—8, pl. 11, 18), e.g. on a *hydria* from Ruvo at Karlsruhe (Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 63 ff. no. 259, F. G. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1845 xvii. 172 ff. no. 59, *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 403 ff. no. 59, E. Gerhard *Apulische Vasenbilder des königlichen Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1845 p. 32 f. pl. D, 2, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 233 ff. no. 67 Atlas pl. 11, 1, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 141 ff. pl. 30, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 65 ff. pl. 2, 2, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 185 f. no. 20, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 595 f. iii. 241 fig. 595, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 459 no. 3, *supra* i. 125 f. pl. xi; Aphrodite and Alexandros), on a *hydria* from Populonia at Florence (L. A. Milani *Monumenti scelti del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze* Firenze 1905 i pls. 4 and 5, 3, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 69 ff. pl. 3, 2, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 185 no. 17, P. Ducati

*op. cit.* ii. 399 ff. fig. 290, Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 593 ff. iii. 240 fig. 594, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 4: Eros with Chrysothemis, Himeros with Adonis), on an *aryballos* from Athens in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 345 f. no. E 697, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 99 f. pl. 78, 2, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 97 no. 1 pl. 7, 1, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 196 no. 60, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 401, 403 fig. 291, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 14: Eros seated on the left shoulder of Aphrodite), on an *aryballos* from Ruvo in the Jatta collection (A. Michaelis *Thamyris und Sappho auf einem Vasenbilde* Leipzig 1865 pp. 1—18 with pl., D. Comparetti in the *Museo italiano di antichità classica* Firenze 1888 ii. 59—64 no. 4 pl. 5=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 526, 1, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1727 f. fig. 1809, G. Jatta ‘La gara di Tamiri con le Muse’ in the *Röm. Mitt.* 1888 iii. 239—253 pl. 9, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 96 f. pl. 7, 4, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 192 no. 47 bis, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 12: Eros seated on the right shoulder of Sappho (ΣΑΟ), two Erotes to right and left of Aphrodite, of whom one lets fly a bird, the other points). Cp. a *hydria* from Nola in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 55 f. no. F 90 pl. 2: Eros stoops to touch the right shoulder of a seated female).

(8) The same conception persists throughout 5. iv B.C. on Attic vases of the ‘Kertch’ variety such as a *hydria* from Jūz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 383 ff. no. 1924, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 pp. 124—127 Atlas pl. 5, 1 and 2=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 9, 4 and 3, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 102 f. pl. 79, 1: Eros leans on the right shoulder of Paris, a second Eros seated above the right shoulder of Helene looks towards him *διροκοτείων*), a *krater* from Jūz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 339 ff. no. 1807, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 1 and 2=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 7, 5 and 6, L. Weniger in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1866 xxiv. 185 ff. pl. 211, *supra* ii. 262 pl. xvii: Eros, standing by Aphrodite’s right shoulder, touches her breast), an *aryballos* from Jūz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 389 f. no. 1929, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 127 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 3 and 4=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 9, 2 and 1: Eros hovers behind the shoulders of Paris, another Eros with torches hovers beside Helene), a *pelike* from Kameiros in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 261 f. no. E 424, A. Salzmann *Nécropole de Camiros* Paris 1875 col. pl. 59, A. Conze in the *Wien. Vorlegeb.* ii pl. 6, 2, 2<sup>a</sup>, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 427 f. fig. 306: Eros hovers above Peleus as he seizes Thetis), a *hydria* from Kyrenaike in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 179 f. no. E 227, G. Dennis in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom* Second Series 1870 ix. 181 f. pls. 3 and 4, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 103 f. no. 2 pl. 79, 2: Eros standing on the right upper arm of Herakles offers him apples from the tree of the Hesperides), and finally a *hydria* from Alexandreia at Munich (Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* i. 204—208 pl. 40, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 432 f. fig. 310, Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 712, iii. 244 fig. 598: Eros, reclining above the head of Paris, leans on the left shoulder of Aphrodite).

(9) B. Schröder in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl Arch. Anz. pp. 364—367 figs. 1—6 and, at greater length, in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Volkskunde* 1925 xxxv. 85 ff. contends that the type of Lysippos’ statue in bronze representing Herakles deprived of his weapons by Eros (*Anth. Plan.* 103. 1—6 (Geminos), 104. 1—6 (Philippus): see Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 279 no. 1474, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 425) can be recovered from a vase in the Louvre, a mirror at Athens, a bronze statuette in the British Museum, and sundry gems, which show the hero with a youthful Eros on his shoulder. Schröder

further supports a suggestion first made by A. von Le Coq *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens* Berlin 1925 pp. 26, 83 fig. 159 (Pāñcika and child) viz. that Herakles with Eros on his shoulder ultimately gave rise to the legend of St Christopher bearing the Christ-child (for bibliography etc. see K. Künstle *Ikonographie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 pp. 154—160 figs. 56—68). It is, however, far from certain that such was the motif of Lysippos' bronze; and another possible prototype for St Christopher and the Child is the Pompeian Polyphemos driven by the infant Eros (*infra* p. 1023).

(10) Eros at-the-shoulder was a motif obviously better suited to painting or to bas-relief than to sculpture in the round. Nevertheless Hellenistic art produced, not only such types as that of a marble statuette from Pella in Makedonia, now at Christ Church, Oxford, which shows Eros standing on a tree-trunk and leaning against the right shoulder of Aphrodite (Mrs A. Strong in *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 21 no. 28 pl. 27 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 231 no. 5), or that of a terra cotta from Myrina, now in the Albertinum at Dresden, which makes him stand on a pillar and rest his hand on her left shoulder (Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 84 fig. 9), but also the type of the little fellow leaning forward all agog over his mother's left shoulder (e.g. the bronzes in Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 632 D figs. 1295 A Turin (A. Fabretti in the *Atti della Società di archeologia e belle arti per la provincia di Torino* 1880 iii. 99 f. pl. 15, 2) and 1295 B Paris = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 342 nos. 4 and 5. Cp. the terracottas given by Winter *op. cit.* iii. 2. 46 fig. 3 (= Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* Terres cuites pl. 133, 2), 195 fig. 7, 200 fig. 9, 202 fig. 4) or perched precariously on either shoulder (e.g. the terracottas in Winter *op. cit.* iii. 2. 85 fig. 8 Asia Minor (= C. Lecuyer *Terres cuites antiques trouvées en Grèce et en Asie mineure* Paris 1882 pl. H<sup>2</sup> (modern?)), 101 fig. 1 Rudiae, cp. 82 fig. 7 Greece but not Tanagra (= Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* Terres cuites pl. 133, 1), 88 fig. 4 Myrina (?), if not duplicated on both (e.g. a stone statuette from Beaune, now at Moulins (*Catalogue du Musée de Moulins* 1885 iii. 125, E. Tudot *Collection de figurines en argile* Paris 1860 pl. 75 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 376 no. 7), and a gold pendant from south Russia, now at Petrograd (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pet.* 1867 p. 47 Atlas pl. 1, 6 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 377 no. 6)), and even ambitious statuary groups in marble like that from Delos, now in the National Museum at Athens, which represents a naked Aphrodite defending herself with uplifted sandal against the advances of Pan and a helpful Eros hovering over her left shoulder (M. Bulard 'Aphrodite, Pan et Eros' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1906 xxx. 610—631 pls. 13—16 (of which pl. 14 = my fig. 827) (fig. 2 is a second Eros belonging to some similar group) = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 230 nos. 2 and 3, C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 263 fig. 103).

(11) Venus with a tiny Cupid on her shoulder appears on denarii struck by M'. Cordius Rufus (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 383 no. 1 f. rev. fig. (c. 49 B.C.), M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 88 no. 1 pl. 4, 92, H. A. Grueber in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep.* i. 523 f. nos. 4037—4039 pl. 51, 11 and 12 (c. 46 B.C.), *supra* ii. 99 n. 1) and by C. Egnatius Maxsumus (Babelon *op. cit.* i. 473 f. nos. 1 *obv.* fig., 2 *rev.* fig. (c. 69 B.C.), H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* i. 399 nos. 3274, 3275 pl. 42, 15, i. 401 nos. 3285—3292 pl. 42, 17 (c. 75 B.C.); see further F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1997 no. (27)), and on others issued by Iulius Caesar (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 11 f. nos. 11 *obv.* fig., 12 *obv.* fig. (c. 50 B.C.), H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* ii. 368 f. nos. 86—88 pl. 101, 9, nos. 89—92 pl. 101, 10 (c. 45 B.C.)).

The same type recurs on a fine fragment of relief in the church of San Vitale at Ravenna (Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 762 no. 1923 f., J. J. Bernoulli *Römische Ikonographie* Berlin und Stuttgart 1886 ii. 1. 254 ff. pl. 6 ('Venus genetrix...eine Umkleidung der LIVIA'), Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 96 ('Venus Genetrix (or Livia?)'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 128 no. 1, C. Picard *op. cit.* ii. 390 ('Vénus genitrix')), on a relief

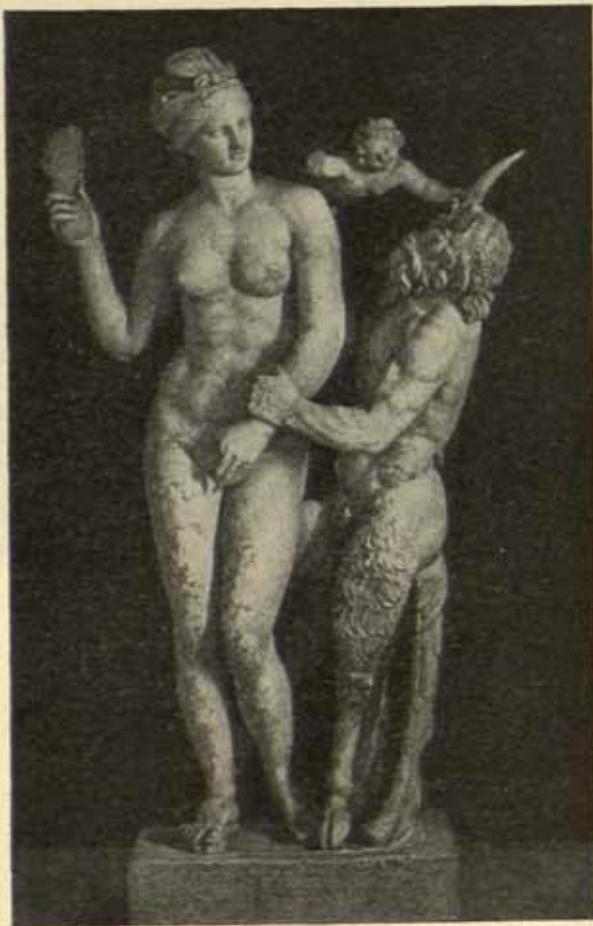


Fig. 827.

in the Villa Medici at Rome (E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1852 xxiv. 338—345, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 40, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 29 ff. no. 3511, Mrs A. Strong *op. cit.* p. 143 f. pl. 43, b, Reinach *op. cit.* iii. 313 no. 1) which represents the pediment of the temple of Mars Ultor (E. Petersen *Ara Pacis Augustae* (*Sonderschriften des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* Band ii) Wien 1902 p. 58 ff. pl. 3, vii and figs. 26, 27) in the Forum Augustum

(H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 443 ff., O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*<sup>2</sup> München 1901 pp. 110—112, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae* Berolini 1912 pp. 25, 91), on a relief decorating the arm of a marble seat found at Solous in Sicily (Domenico lo Faso Pietrasanta Duca di Serradifalco *Le Antichità della Sicilia* Palermo 1842 v. 63 f. pl. 39, A. Conze *Die Familie des Augustus* Halis Saxonum 1867 p. 10, F. Hauser 'Marmorthron aus Solunt' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1889 iv, 255—260 with figs.), on another decorating an altar found at Tarentum (L. Viola in the *Not. Scavi* 1881 p. 388 f.), and on yet another decorating an altar formerly at Civitâ Castellana (A. Reifferscheid in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 367 f.). Cp. a relief found at Carthage (S. Gsell in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 i. 37—43 pl. 2, A. Schulten in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv Arch. Anz. pp. 73—75 fig. 3, E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 184), the 'basis Surrentina' (W. Ameling 'Bemerkungen zur sorrentiner Basis' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 198—210, especially p. 205 f., E. Petersen *op. cit.* pp. 69 ff., 184 f.), and a gem at Petrograd (A. Conze *op. cit.* p. 10).

The contention that the type represented by these coins and reliefs was that of the famous Venus *Genetrix* made by Arkesilaos for her temple in the Forum Iulium (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 156: see further H. Jordan *op. cit.* i. 2. 439 f., O. Richter *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup> p. 110, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *op. cit.* p. 35), though put forward by many scholars (e.g. A. Reifferscheid 'De ara Veneris Genetricis' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 361 ff., G. Wissowa *De Veneris simulacris Romanis* Breslau 1882 p. 22 ff. (=id. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* München 1904 p. 25 ff.), L. von Urlichs *Arkesilaos* Würzburg 1887 p. 10 ff., Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 686 f., E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 187 f., C. Picard *op. cit.* ii. 308), is beset with uncertainties and far from proven (R. Kekulé von Stradonitz in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1879 iii. 8—24, S. Reinach in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 250 ff., *id.* in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1896 ii. 329 ff. =id. *Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 i. 256 ff., H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*<sup>2</sup> Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 pp. 263 ff., 682 f. pl. 124, Sir C. Walston (Waldstein) *Alcamenes* Cambridge 1926 p. 202 ff.).

(12) Pompeian painters went further afield and exploited to the full the possibilities of the type. We find Eros at the shoulder, not only of Aphrodite (e.g. R. Liberatore in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1835 xi pl. 6 with text pp. 1—4, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 76 no. 276, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 no. 7), but also of a human beauty (R. Liberatore *loc. cit.*, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 337 no. 1428, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 no. 8). He occupies the same position in regard to the better-known lovers of mythology (e.g. Paris (W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae* Berlin 1844 ii pl. 31, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Plt.* 1861 p. 123, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 278 no. 1287, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 165 no. 1), Narkissos (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 302 no. 1363, *id. XXIII Tafeln zu dem Werke Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* Leipzig 1868 pl. 17, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 196 no. 4; G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 4 with text pp. 1—5, Helbig *Wandg. Camp.* p. 302 no. 1364, P. Decharme in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 451 fig. 2596, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 196 no. 8), and even Hippolytos (?) (A. Sogliano in the *Not. Scavi* 1897 p. 32 with fig. 4, A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1898 xiii. 26 f., E. Petersen 'Artemis und Hippolytos' *ib.* 1899 xiv. 96 with fig. on p. 93, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 55 no. 4)). See also the medallions grouped together by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 nos. 10 (*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 19—22

pl. 4, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 337 no. 1427<sup>b</sup>), 11 and 12 (W. Zahn *op. cit.* ii pl. 43); to which add *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 25 f. pl. 5, 1.

More often, however, Eros is promoted from being a mere prompter to playing some subordinate part in the action represented. If Aphrodite arrives from the sea, a tiny but helpful Eros hands her ashore (Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 33 no. 132, P. Gusman *Pompéi* Paris 1899 p. 72 col. pl. 1, 1, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 60 no. 3). If Ares makes love to her, a hovering Eros spins the magic *tynx* (H. Hinck in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 82, 93 ff. pl. EF, 2, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 84 no. 325, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 2 Text p. 7, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 3) or removes the god's helmet (G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 18 with text pp. 1—3, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 81 f. no. 316, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 2). And, briefly, wherever Aphrodite's power is manifested, Eros at-the-shoulder has his work to do. If Zeus woos Danae, Eros pours the golden rain from *amphora* or *cornu copiae* (?) (*supra* p. 465 f. with figs. 300 and 301). To the references there given add Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 27 f. pl. 3, 48 b, Welcker *Ant. Denkm.* v. 281, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 349, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 11 no. 1; H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 47 ('urna'), but cp. Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 21 no. 75 ('corno': the 'urna' of previous publications must be due to the unintelligent repetition of a mere misprint), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 10 no. 7). If he seeks Ganymedes, Eros leads the divine bird by the neck towards the dreamy youth (C. Bonucci in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1829 p. 147, G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1831 vii Relazione degli scavi di Pompei p. 5, G. Finati *ib.* 1834 x pl. 56 with text pp. 1—4, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 154, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 538 no. 28 Atlas pl. 8, 14, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 14 no. 8). If he carries off Europe, Eros flits behind them bearing a thunderbolt (P. Gauckler 'Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina' in the *Mon. Piot* 1896 iii. 190 f. fig. 2, *id.* —A. Merlin *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique: Tunisie* Paris 1910—1915 no. 350, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 5) or a *taintia* (J. V. Millingen *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs* Rome 1813 p. 44 f. pl. 25=Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 105 f. pl. 25, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 60 ff. pl. 27, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 438 f. no. 19 Atlas pl. 6, 11, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 863 fig. 2847, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 95 no. F 184) or an *aldbastron* (?) (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 37 no. 124, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 452 no. 34 Atlas pl. 7, 6, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 3), or before them leading the bull by a flowery chain and waving the bridal torch (in a magnificent mosaic from Aquileia *supra* p. 627 n. o (3) with pl. xlvi: cp. the painting, in Astarte's temple at Sidon, described by Ach. Tat. i. 1 "Ἐρως εἰλκε τὸν βοῦν· Ἐρως, μικρὸν παιδίον, ἡπλώκε τὸ πτερόν, φρέγο <τῆν (ins. R. Hercher)> φαρέτραν, ἔκπατε τὸ πτύρον, or beside them driving the bull with reins and a whip (C. Lugebil in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1861 p. 234, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 37 f. no. 128, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 451 no. 32 Atlas pl. 7, 5, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 14 no. 4: cp. Eros standing as a diminutive figure on the left shoulder of the lovesick Polyphemos and driving him with reins in pursuit of Galateia (G. Perrot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1870—1871 N.S. xxii. 47—53 pl. 18 (reduced ½ in my fig. 828)=*id. Mémoires d'archéologie d'épigraphie et d'histoire* Paris 1875 pp. 100—111 pl. 6, A. Mau in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 iii. 136 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* xi col. pl. 23, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1588 with fig., Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 172 no. 7, *supra* p. 1020 (9))).

Attendant Erotes multiply apace. We find two (e.g. with Aphrodite and Ares

(*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 29—31 pl. 6, G. Finati in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1834 x pl. 40 with text p. 1 f., Helbig *op. cit.* p. 85 no. 328, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 10. Cp. G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1827 iii pl. 36 with text p. 1 f., W. Zahn *op. cit.* 1828

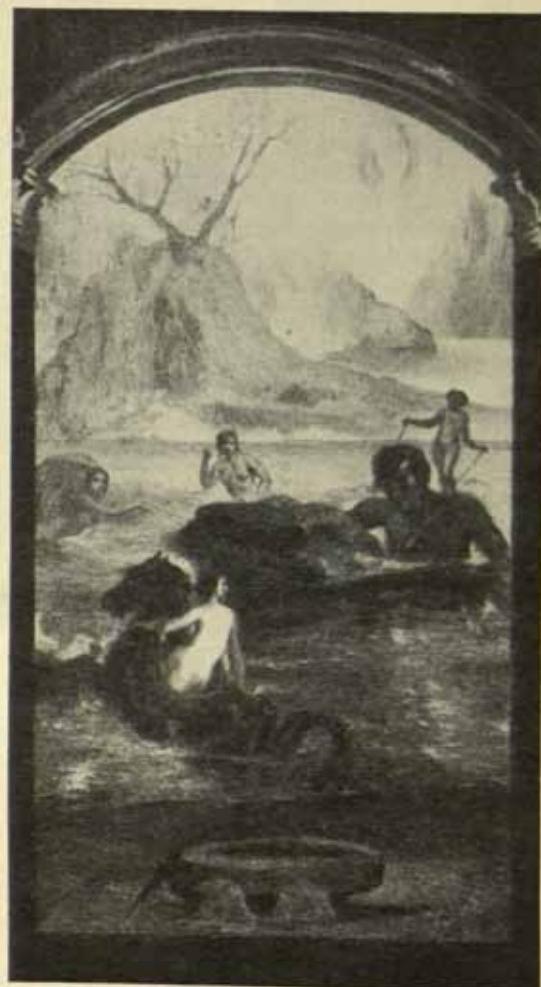


Fig. 828.

i pl. 44, F. G. Welcker in W. Ternite *Wandgemälde aus Pompeji una Herculanum* Berlin (1844) 3. Abth. iv. 13 f. pl. 29 (Helene and Achilles), Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 334—337 Atlas pl. 15, 8 (Helene and Achilles), Helbig *op. cit.* p. 85 no. 327 (Aphrodite and Ares), J. Six in the *Röm. Mittb.* 1917 xxxii. 190 f. fig. 5 (Briseis and Achilles), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 4), with Europe and the bull (R. Engelmann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 130—132

pl. 6, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 2 mosaic from Sparta; *supra* i. 506 with fig. 369 vase at Petrograd)) or three (e.g. with Herakles, Omphale, and Priapos (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 231 f. no. 1140, J. Sieveking in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 889 with fig. 1, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* col. pl. 3, pls. 59, 60 Text pp. 75—77, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 191 no. 5, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 826 f. iii. 284 col. fig. 664)) or four (e.g. with Aphrodite and Adonis (Sir W. Gell *Pompeiana* London 1832 ii. 66 pl. 12, Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iii. 89 f. pl. 139, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 88 no. 339, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 3), with Aphrodite and Ares (A. Sogliano *Monumenta Pompeiana* Naples 1905 ii pl. 85, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 7)) or six (e.g. with Aphrodite (J. P. Bellorius et M. A. Causseus *Picturae antiquae cryptarum Romanarum, et sepulcri Nasonum Romae* 1750 p. 89 f. Appendix pl. 7, O. Benndorf in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1876 i. 63 ff. pl. 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 59 no. 6), with Aphrodite and Adonis (E. G[erhard] in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 88 f. pl. 5, 2, W. Zahn *op. cit.* 1844 ii pl. 30, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 88 f. no. 340, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 52 Text pp. 65—67, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 64 no. 2)) or eight (with Omphale and Herakles (R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1853 p. 239 ff. pl. 19, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 230 f. no. 1138, A. Ruesch in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 322 no. 1354, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 191 no. 6)) or even nine (in Aëtion's picture of Roxane and Alexander the Great as described by Loukian. *Herod. s. Ait.* 4—6—Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 363 no. 1938, A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 376 ff. no. 507, cp. W. Helbig *Untersuchungen über die kampanische Wandmalerei* Leipzig 1873 p. 242, B. Nogara *Le Nozze Aldobrandine* Milano 1907 p. 23, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 771 f., 806). The way is thus prepared for the numerous Erotes of early Christian art, the *putti* of the Renaissance, and the Cupids of modern sentimentalism (O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 515 f., *supra* ii. 1050).

## APPENDIX R.

## THE HIERÒS GÁMOS.

Greek literature from Homeric poetry to Byzantine prose links the name of Zeus with that of Hera. But this tradition, though practically universal, involves certain peculiar and even abnormal features, which, if carefully considered, make it difficult to believe that Hera was from the outset the wife of Zeus. The relations subsisting between them are deserving of detailed study<sup>1</sup>.

Zeus, according to Kallimachos<sup>2</sup> and Nonnos<sup>3</sup>, was courting Hera for a period of three hundred years. Homer<sup>4</sup> states that they met 'without the

<sup>1</sup> Years ago I dealt with the topic, somewhat light-heartedly, in two papers contributed to the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 365—378 and 416—419 (*supra* p. 744 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Kallim. *aitia* 2 frag. 20 Schneider *ap. schol. A.D. II.* 1. 609 and Tretz. *in eund. loc.* (P. Matranga *anecdota Graeca Romae* 1850 ii. 450, 11 ff.) ὡς τε Ζεὺς ἐράτιζε τρυποσίους ἀναυτούς.

<sup>3</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 322 ff. ὅττι πολυχροίσο πόδου δεδουητέων οἰστρῳ (ср. *supra* p. 941 n. 1) Ἡρῆ κέντρον ἔχοντα κατιγήθαν ὄμελαιον | εἰς χόρον ἱερόντα τρυποσίων ἐναυτῶν | Ζῆτα γάμοις ἔζεντα.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* 14. 295 f. οἷον ὅτε τρώτον περ ἐμαγέσθην φιλότυπη, | εἰς τὸντε φοιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆς.

knowledge of their dear parents'; and later authors<sup>1</sup> lay stress on their secrecy, which indeed passed into a proverb. But it must be remembered that such clandestine intercourse was in Samos<sup>2</sup> and at Sparta<sup>3</sup>, if not elsewhere in the Greek world<sup>4</sup>, the recognised beginning of married life. Zeus and Hera were conforming to a custom, which savours of extreme antiquity<sup>5</sup>, though it is not extinct even in modern Europe<sup>6</sup>.

The union of Zeus with Hera, commonly known as the *hieròs gamos* or 'sacred marriage,' involved at once a myth and a ritual, though evidence of the one or the other is often lacking<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Theokr. 15. 64 πάρτα γυναικες λαυτι, και ω Zeis ηγάγεις Ἡρη with schol. ad loc., cp. Plaut. *trin.* 208 scilicet quod Juno fabulata est cum Iove.

<sup>2</sup> In Samos the practice was referred to the example of Zeus (schol. B.L.T.V. II. 14. 296, Eustath. in II. p. 987, 9 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Plout. v. *Iyurg.* 15, Xen. *de rep. Lac.* 1. 5, Hermippus frag. 6 (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* iii. 37 Müller) ap. Athen. 555 c.

<sup>4</sup> The Lydian practice of prenuptial free love (Ail. var. *hist.* 4. 1 Λυδοῖς τῷ ιθότι πρὸ τοῦ σπουδεῖ τὰς γυναικας διδράσσει ἐταίρειν, ἀταξ δὲ καταγενχθεῖσας σωφροτείν· τὴν δὲ ἀμαρτίανταν εἰς ἕτερον συγγνώμην τοχεῖν δόσσατο. ἦν) is hardly analogous. And the Naxian custom of placing a baby boy in the bride's bed on the eve of her wedding (Kallim. *aitia* 3. 1. 1 ff. Mair=B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1910 vii. 15 ff. no. 1011 οὗτοι καὶ κούροι παρθένοι εἴνεσσατο | τέθματο ως ιελένε προνύμφιοι θυντοὶ μάνει | δρασει τὴν τάλαι παιδί σὺν ἀμυθιστοῖ. | Ἡρη γάρ κοτὲ φασι—), though adduced as a parallel by Kallim. loc. cit. and schol. B.L.T.V. II. 14. 296, is better explained as a piece of mimetic magic by A. E. Housman in the *Class. Quart.* 1910 iv. 114 f., D. R. Stuart in *Class. Philol.* 1911 vi. 302 ff., E. Samter 'Ein naxischer Hochzeitsbrauch' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1915 xxxv. 90—98. Cp. E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage* London 1921 ii. 468 'in some parts of Sweden she should have a boy-baby to sleep with her on the night preceding the wedding day in order that her first-born shall be a son.'

<sup>5</sup> P. Wilutzky *Vorgeschichte des Rechts* Breslau 1903 i. 201 argues that monogamy, since it involved the infringement of earlier communal rights, was at first viewed as an offence to society and its practice carefully concealed.

<sup>6</sup> F. G. Welcker in K. Schwenck *Etymologisch-mythologische Andeutungen* Elberfeld 1823 p. 271 cp. 'die Sitte des Kiltgangs, die auch bey den Slaven häufig gefunden werde.' On the *Kiltgang* of the Bernese Oberland see J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1873 v. 704 s.v. KILT (3) 'schweiz. der nächtliche besuch des burschen bei seinem mädchen, das kilten' and in much greater detail F. Staub—L. Tobler—R. Schoch—A. Bachmann—H. Bruppacher in the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* Frauenfeld 1895 iii. 242 ff. s.v. Chilt.

<sup>7</sup> For the subject in general see P. H. Larcher 'Mémoire sur la noce sacrée' (read in 1790) in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1808 xlvi. 323 ff., R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 pp. 1—38, W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 pp. 69—85, id. in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2098—2103, H. Graillot in Daremberg—Saglio *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* iii. 177—181 ('Hiéros Gamos').

The valuable monograph of A. Klinz ΤΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ Halis Saxonum 1933 pp. 1—134 is of wider scope (p. 118 'Gravissimas res breviter complectens affirmaverim me demonstravisse notionem sacrarum nuptiarum in religione Minoiorum vi et notione iuris materni originem atque principium habere, inde in sacra Graecorum sollemnia translata esse, antiquissimis quidem religionis Graecae temporibus numina ethonia fertilitatis et inferorum coniugiis inter se coniungi, sed postea pro iure paterno Indogermanorum tempore religionis Olympiae Iovem ut caeli lucidi deum, qui sacris matrimoniiis cum veteribus terme deabus connectit, auctoritate plurimum posse'), but in pp. 89—111 deals systematically with 'Διὸς γάμος.'

(1) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Samos.

In the case of Samos both are to hand. Parthenia, an old name of the island<sup>1</sup>, was connected with the maidenhood of Hera, who here grew up and was married to Zeus<sup>2</sup>. This myth corresponded with a definite ritual. A statue of Hera in the Samian Heraion—presumably the wooden image made by Smilis of Aigina<sup>3</sup>—was dressed as a bride<sup>4</sup>; and at an annual festival the goddess was married to Zeus<sup>5</sup>. Terra-cotta groups found in Samos show Zeus and Hera

<sup>1</sup> The island was formerly (Strab. 637 πότερος οἰκούστως Καρῶν) named Παρθενία (Aristot. frag. 570 Rose<sup>2</sup> ap. Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 135, Herakleid. resp. Sam. *frag.* 10. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 215 Müller), Kallim. *h. Del.* 48 f., Ap. Rhod. 1. 187 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, Strab. 457, 637, Steph. Byz. s.v. Σάμος, Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 533) after Parthenia the wife of Samos (Loukillos of Tarrha *frag.* 10 Linneburg *ap. schol.* Ap. Rhod. 1. 187), or after the river Parthenios (Strab. 457, Eustath. *loc. cit.*), which was so called because Hera had been brought up there as a virgin (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187). Probably it was believed that Hera renewed her virginity by bathing in the river, just as the Argives declared that she annually became a virgin by washing in the spring Kanathos at Nauplia (*supra* p. 224 n. 3). W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 ii. 360 detected a trace of this notion in the saying still current at Nauplia, that the women of the place are handsome, while those of Argos are ugly, thanks to the different water of the two towns. Similarly, after her marriage with Zeus Hera was said to have bathed in the spring of the Mesopotamian river Aboras: hence the surrounding air was filled with fragrance, and shoals of tame fish dispensed themselves in the water (Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30). Alleged names of Samos include Παρθένεια (Eutekn. *metaphr. in Nik. alex.* 148 f.) and even Παρθενοαρχεία (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 135—a bungled blend of Παρθενία and Δρυούσα, as J. Hardouin saw, cp. Herakleid. *loc. cit.* ἡ δὲ ρῆσος Παρθενία, θερεπος δὲ Δρυούσα). A certain soil found in Samos was known as παρθενία (Nik. *alex.* 149 with schol. *ad loc.*). Hera herself was entitled Παρθενία both in Samos (Kallim. *ap. schol.* Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187, cp. schol. Pind. *OI.* 6. 149) and elsewhere (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1649).

<sup>2</sup> Vatt. *frag.* 399 Funaioli *ap.* Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17. 8 insulam Samum scribit Varro prius Partheniam nominatam, quod ibi Iuno adoleverit ibique etiam Iovi nupserrit.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* i. 444 f. figs. 313, 314, iii. 645 n. o fig. 446. See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmthy.* Hera pp. 12—16 Münztaf. 1, 1—12.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps in the robe called πάτος (Kallim. *frag.* 495 Schneider *ap.* Cramer *anecd.* Oxon. iii. 93, 19 ff., Hesych. s.v. πάτος).

<sup>5</sup> Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17. 8 itaque nobilissimum et antiquissimum templum eius est Sami et simulacrum in habitu nubentis figuratum et sacra eius anniversaria nuptiarum ritu celebrantur, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 6. 7 sacra sunt Iunonis, et haec in eius dilecta insula Samo celebabantur, ubi nuptum data est Iovi.

On the cult of Hera in Samos see now the results of the important excavations (1910—1914 and 1925—1929) described by E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 1—99 and summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 175 f.

Chrysippus *frag.* 1074 von Arnim *ap.* Orig. c. *Cels.* 4. 48 (xi. 1105 C—1108 A Migne) commented at length on a Samian picture *τὸν ἀργοποτοῦσσαν Ἡρα τὸν Δία ἐγέραστο* (cp. *frag.* 1071 von Arnim *ap.* Diog. Laert. 7. 187 f.), and *frag.* 1072 von Arnim *ap.* Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 18 (ii. 188 B Migne) on another of the same sort at Argos *τὸν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς αἰδοῖο φέρειν* (Wilamowitz c. φέρειν) *τῆς Ἡρας τὸ πρόσωπον*. Such works aroused the indignation of Christian (Theophil. *ad Autol.* 3. 3 and 8) and pagan (Diog. Laert. *proem.* 5. 7. 187 f.) alike. But, when it is recollect that Orpheus, possibly in his lines *περὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας* (*frag.* 220 Abel= *frag.* 115 Kern), ascribed such conduct to the gods (Diog. Laert. *proem.* 5), it becomes probable that these pictures were not mere *libidines* but had some religious significance. Cp. e.g. the figure of Geb the

seated side by side (figs. 829 and 830)<sup>1</sup>. Both deities wear the bridal veil<sup>2</sup> and thereby justify R. Foerster's<sup>3</sup> identification of the subject as the *hierōs gámos*.

It is highly probable that a Samian festival called the Tonea stood in some relation to this *hierōs gámos*. The facts regarding it are as follows. A certain willow, which grew in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, was said to be the oldest



Fig. 829.



Fig. 830.

Egyptian earth-god on a papyrus in the British Museum (*Lanzone Dizion. di Mitolo. Egiz.* p. 409 f. pl. 159, 6).

<sup>1</sup> (1) From a child's grave in the Samian necropolis, now at Vienna (J. Böhlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* Leipzig 1898 p. 45, *id.* in the *Jahresk. d. vest. arch. Inst.* 1900 iii. 210 with fig. 84 (= my fig. 829: scale 3)).

(2) and (3) Two similar groups, now at Cassel, said to have come from a single Samian grave. One gives the head of Zeus an opening like a vase-mouth on the top. But both are holed at the bottom (J. Böhlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* pp. 48, 159 pl. 14, 6 and 8).

(4) A similar group, found at Kameiros, now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii, i. 43 fig. 3 = i. 190 fig. 1).

(5) A similar but somewhat more advanced group, formerly in the possession of Sir William Gell (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 1 (= my fig. 830: scale 3)), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstm. Zeus* pp. 20, 251, 558, *ib.* Hera p. 24 f. fig. 4 a, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 115 pl. 5, 8).

(6) and (7) Winter *loc. cit.* notes two similar but smaller groups, the one from Tanagra (?) in the Louvre (L. Henze *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* Paris 1883 p. 9 pl. 11, 6), the other from Kameiros in the British Museum (uncatalogued?).

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* p. 1033.

<sup>3</sup> R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 24 f., followed e.g. by J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 674 fig. 4167.

of all existing trees: it belonged to the species known as *lýgos* or *dgnos* by the Greeks (the *vitex agnus castus* of Linne), and was still thriving in the time of Pausanias<sup>1</sup>. It is shown or at least symbolized on coins struck by Gordianus Pius<sup>2</sup>. Some maintained that the Heraion, where the tree stood, had been founded by the Argonauts, who brought the image of Hera with them from Argos; but the Samians themselves supposed that the goddess had been born in their island beside the river Imbrasos and beneath this very willow<sup>3</sup>. According to Menodotos<sup>4</sup>, a Samian historian, Admete the daughter of Eurystheus<sup>5</sup> once fled from Argos to Samos, where she had a vision of Hera and, wishing to give the goddess a thankoffering for her safe journey, undertook the care of the temple built by the Leleges and the Nymphs. The Argives, indignant at this, bribed Tyrrhenian pirates to carry off the image, in order that the Samians might punish Admete. The Tyrrhenians came to the port of Hera, found the temple without a door to it, carried off the image, and put it on board their ship. But, though they loosed their cables, weighed anchor, and rowed their hardest, they could not get away from the land. So they set the image ashore and, after offering it sundry cakes, took their departure in fear and trembling. Next morning Admete raised the alarm, and the searchers discovered the image on the shore. Being but barbarous Carians<sup>6</sup>, they believed that it had run away of its own accord, placed it against a willow fence<sup>7</sup>, drew towards it the longest branches on either side of it and wrapped it round about with them. Admete released the image from these bonds, purified it, and erected it on the pedestal which it had occupied before. Hence every year the image is carried off to the shore, disappears from view, and has cakes set beside it<sup>8</sup>. The festival in question is named *Tóneia*<sup>9</sup> because the image was so tightly (*syntónos*) bound by those that first sought it. Further it is said that, when the Carians consulted Apollon of Hybla about these occurrences, the god bade them escape serious disaster by paying the goddess a voluntary penalty. Prometheus after his release from bonds had been willing to pay a light penalty, and Zeus had bidden him wear a willow wreath<sup>10</sup>. The Carians must do the same and, when feasting, bind their heads with willow branches just as they had bound the goddess. They were to abandon the use of every other kind of wreath, with the exception of

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 8. 23. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 645 n. o fig. 446.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 7. 4. 4. Cp. *supra* p. 1027 n. 1 f. On the probable site of the *lýgos* towards the south-east corner of the precinct see E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1930 lv. 51 with fig. 7 and pl. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Menodotos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 103 ff. Müller) αρ. Athen. 671 ε ff.

<sup>5</sup> So Syncell. *chron.* 172 A (i. 324 Dindorf) Ἀδμάτα θυγάτηρ Εὐρυσθέως τε Ἄργει λεπάρευσε ἐπη λῃ'. αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ταῦτη τὴν λεπάρευσην διαδεξάμεναι Φαλίδες ἔκαλούντο.

<sup>6</sup> Strab. 637 cited *supra* p. 1027 n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> πρὸς τι λόγου θυράκιον.

<sup>8</sup> E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1930 lv. 33 would associate these rites with a large quadrangular flooring in the south-east corner.

<sup>9</sup> The form *Tóneia* is supported by all the MSS. of Athen. 672 D—E and was accepted by Dindorf. For the termination cp. the *Ποσεῖδεα* of Mytilene and the *Ποσεῖδεα* of Megara (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 83 f.). A. Meineke, however, ej. *Tóneia*, and G. Kaibel ej. *Tóneua*. The name is connectible with *τείνω* 'stretch,' *τόνος* 'tension, force, vigour,' cp. Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel λέγος δὲ διὰ τὸ τείνειν τὸ βέβδοντος αὐτῆς εἴτενον.

<sup>10</sup> It is not definitely stated, but it is probably implied that Prometheus' wreath was of λέγος: cp. Aisch. *Προμηθεὺς λύδεμενος* *frag.* 201 Nauck<sup>2</sup> and *Σφίγξ* *frag.* 235 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 15. Apollod. 2. 5. 11 has δεσμὸν ἐλύδεμενος τὸν τῆς Ἑλαιας. Prometheus' ring (*supra* i. 329 n. o) may be a later variant of his wreath.

bay-leaves which might be worn by those that actually served the goddess. This Samian custom of wearing willow is mentioned elsewhere<sup>1</sup>. Anakreon<sup>2</sup> says of a young friend from Samos:

Megistes whose heart answers mine  
Ten months ago  
Would wreath him so  
With willow and drink deep the honeyed wine.

More important is an epigram by Nikainetos<sup>3</sup> of Samos, which throws some further light upon the usage:

Ah, Philotheros, fain would I  
Fanned by the western breezes lie  
Feasting with Hera—not in town.  
Enough for me a mere shake-down.  
See, nigh at hand there is a spread  
Of native willow for my bed.  
And osiers, the old Carian wear.  
Bring wine, and list the lyre's sweet air,  
That we may drink and praise beside  
Our island-queen, Zeus' glorious bride.

From this it appears that at the feast of Hera the guests not only wreathed their heads with willow, but also reclined upon willow boughs and sang of Hera as the bride of Zeus.

Such rites can be paralleled, at least in part, from other cult-centres. Thus at Sparta the image of Artemis was called *Lygodēma* the 'Willow-bound' as well as *Orthia* the 'Upright' ostensibly because it had been found in a thicket of willows, which twining round it kept it upright<sup>4</sup>. And at Athens it was customary for women celebrating the Thesmophoria to lie on a bed of willows<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, priests in general used to strew willow leaves under their couches<sup>6</sup>, and as late as the eighteenth century Christian monks wore girdles made of willow osiers<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Tenaros *ap.* Athen. 672 A states that willow was *ἀρπάκιον...στεφάμια*. But we do not know who Tenaros was, nor whether his *ἀρπάκιον* were Samians. Still less information is given by the jejune note of Aristarchos *ap.* Athen. 671 F f. δῆται καὶ λύγους στεφανοῦντος οἱ ἀρπάκιοι.

<sup>2</sup> Anakreon *frag.* 41 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 21 Diehl *ap.* Athen. 671 E f., 673 D, cp. Poll. 6. 107. Hephaistion (the metrician?) published a pamphlet *περὶ τῷ παρ' Ἀριστοῖς λύγιστον στεφανοῦντος* (Athen. 673 E).

<sup>3</sup> Nikainetos *ap.* Athen. 673 B ff.

Both Anakreon and Nikainetos speak of the feasters as drinking wine. E. Maass in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 187 n. 3 holds that Hesych. 'Ελυγέτης Διόνεος ἐν Σάμῳ implies the existence of a Dionysos 'in the Willow' (*ἐν λύγῳ*) at Samos. But the order of the words in Hesychios demands the reading 'Ελυγέτης: see M. Schmidt *ad loc.*, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2367.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 3. 16. 11 (quoted *supra* ii. 421 n. 5). Asklepios at Sparta was called 'Αἴγιτας because his wooden image was made of *άγιος* (Paus. 3. 14. 7).

<sup>5</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 9. 26, Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel, Galen. *de simplici medicamenta temp. ac fac.* 6. 2 (xi. 808 Kühn), schol. Nik. *ther.* 71. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1639, 2 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. A *Il.* 11. 105, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 834, 37 ff.

<sup>7</sup> N. Venette *La Génération de l'homme* Londres 1779 i. 231 f. 'quelques moines chrétiens se font aujourd'hui des ceintures avec des branches de cet arbre (sc. agnus)

The reason commonly given for these practices is that the willow possesses antiaphrodisiac qualities<sup>1</sup>. If so, the binding of the Samian Hera and her votaries with willow may have been part of a purificatory ceremony, whereby the goddess after her annual marriage with Zeus was believed to recover her virginity<sup>2</sup>. Artemis *Lygodésma* too was presumably a virgin<sup>3</sup>. And ceremonial purity was incumbent upon women at the Thesmophoria and priests at all times. This explanation might be supported by the fact that the *Tonea* included a visit of Hera to the sea-shore: salt-water cleansed all<sup>4</sup>.

Nevertheless there are not wanting some indications that the willow was credited with powers of a precisely opposite character and regarded as a strong aphrodisiac<sup>5</sup>. Confusion may have arisen owing to the popular but erroneous assumption that the name *dgnos* was derived from *hagnós*, 'pure,' or from *dgonos*, 'unfruitful'<sup>6</sup>. On this showing the ritual above described must have aimed at increasing the fertility of the goddess<sup>7</sup>. But in either case it was

*cattus*), qui se plie comme de l'osier, et ils prétendent par là s'arracher du cœur tous les désirs que l'amour y pourroit faire naître.' Etc.—cited by A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 5. See also P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 388.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the authorities given in p. 1030 n. 5 f. see Paul. Aeg. 7. 3 δῆγνος ἢ λόγος... καὶ πὸς ἀγρειας πειστεῖνται δῆπερ, οὐ μέντος εἰσθίουσιν καὶ πινόμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴποστρωμένος with the note *ad loc.* of F. Adams *Paulus Aegineta* London 1847 iii. 20. Cp. also what is said of the *Iréa* or *salix* by Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 23, schol. *Od.* 10. 510, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1667, 20 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110, Serv. *in Verg. georg.* 2. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 1027 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 130 n. 2, cp. O. Höfer in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* iii. 1662.

<sup>4</sup> On the purificatory virtue of salt-water see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 889 n. 1.

Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 858 n. 3 finds traces of a similar ritual in the Homeric hymn to Dionysos, who appeared by the sea-shore, was captured by Tyrrhenian pirates and bound with withies of willow, but burst his bonds and took vengeance on his captors (*h. Dion.* 1 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> J. Jonston *Thaumaturgraphia naturalis* Amstelodami 1665 p. 191 cites from Scalig. *Exerc.* 175 *sect. 1* [J. C. Scaliger *Exot. exerc.* Lutetiae 1557 p. 226] the following account: 'Agnath est arbor pyri facie & magnitudine perpetuo folio viridissima, nitidissimaque superficie. Adeo validos ad coitum efficit, ut miraculo sit omnibus ejus efficacia.' See further A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* p. 6 f.

Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 60 urinam cinct et menses...lactis ubertatem faciunt, 62 volvam etiam suffit vel adpositu purgat. Cp. Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 129 f. Sprengel.

A. Thomsen 'Orthia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 407 ff. showed that Artemis *Ἄργοδέσμη* or Orthia was a tree-goddess (*supra* ii. 421 n. 8) and that the flogging of Spartan youths, presumably with rods of *λέυκος* (cp. Plout. *sympl.* 6. 8. 1 τύπτοντες ἀγνήστας πάθος at the *Βοειδῶν ἔξελαστι*), transferred her virtue to the sufferers. *Supra* ii. 635 n. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Most of the writers referred to *supra* p. 1030 n. 5 f. and p. 1031 n. 1 connect *ἀγνος* with *ἀγνοι* or *ἀγνοεῖ*—both very dubious etymologies (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 121, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 8).

<sup>7</sup> R. Wünsch *Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta* Leipzig 1902 drew attention to a Maltese custom recorded by an Arab writer of the sixteenth century. Every year a large golden idol set with precious stones was thrown into a field of bean-flowers by a monk, who told the people that their lord had departed. Hereupon there was mourning and fasting for some three days, till the monk announced that the lord's anger was appeased. The idol was then brought back to the town in procession with great rejoicings. Wünsch holds that the idol represented John the Baptist, who here as elsewhere succeeded to the position of Adonis. His hypothesis has been called in question or controverted by

appropriate to a divine marriage, and we must bear in mind the fact that those who took part in the Tonea sang of Hera as 'Zeus' glorious bride'.

(2) *The Hieròs Gámos at Knossos.*

Another locality in which the *hieròs gámos* was represented by both myth and ritual is Knossos at the base of Mount Ide in Crete. The wedding of Zeus and Hera was said to have taken place near the river Theren (the modern *Platyperama*<sup>1</sup>). Here in later times a sanctuary was built and yearly sacrifices offered with traditional wedding-rites<sup>2</sup>. I have suggested that the earlier ceremony involved the ritual pairing of solar bull with lunar cow<sup>3</sup>.

(3) *The Hieròs Gámos on Mount Ide.*

More frequently the *hieròs gámos* is attested by a localised myth without direct evidence of a ritual performance.

Thus the famous passage of the *Iliad* that describes how Zeus consorted with Hera on Mount Ide in the Troad<sup>4</sup> expressly alludes to the tale of their early amours<sup>5</sup>; and we are probably justified in inferring that the tale was told of the mountain in question.

However that may be, it is the myth itself, not the Homeric adaptation of it<sup>6</sup>—and the myth as localised on the Trojan rather than the Cretan

W. H. D. Rouse in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 232 f., K. Lübeck *Adeniskult und Christentum auf Malta* Fulda 1904 p. 7 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 317 f., A. Mayr *Die Insel Malta im Altertum* München 1909 p. 129. In any case it seems probable that contact with the beans was believed to supply the idol with a fresh stock of virility or power to bless: beans = tester.

<sup>1</sup> A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 4 'Dans les noces helléniques, les jeunes mariés portaient des couronnes d'*agnus-castus* employées aussi comme un moyen d'éloigner tout empoisonnement.' I do not know the source of this statement about young married couples, which is copied by R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 208 and reappears in J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 p. 103 f. On the plant and its uses see further P. Wagler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 832—834.

<sup>2</sup> R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 2367.

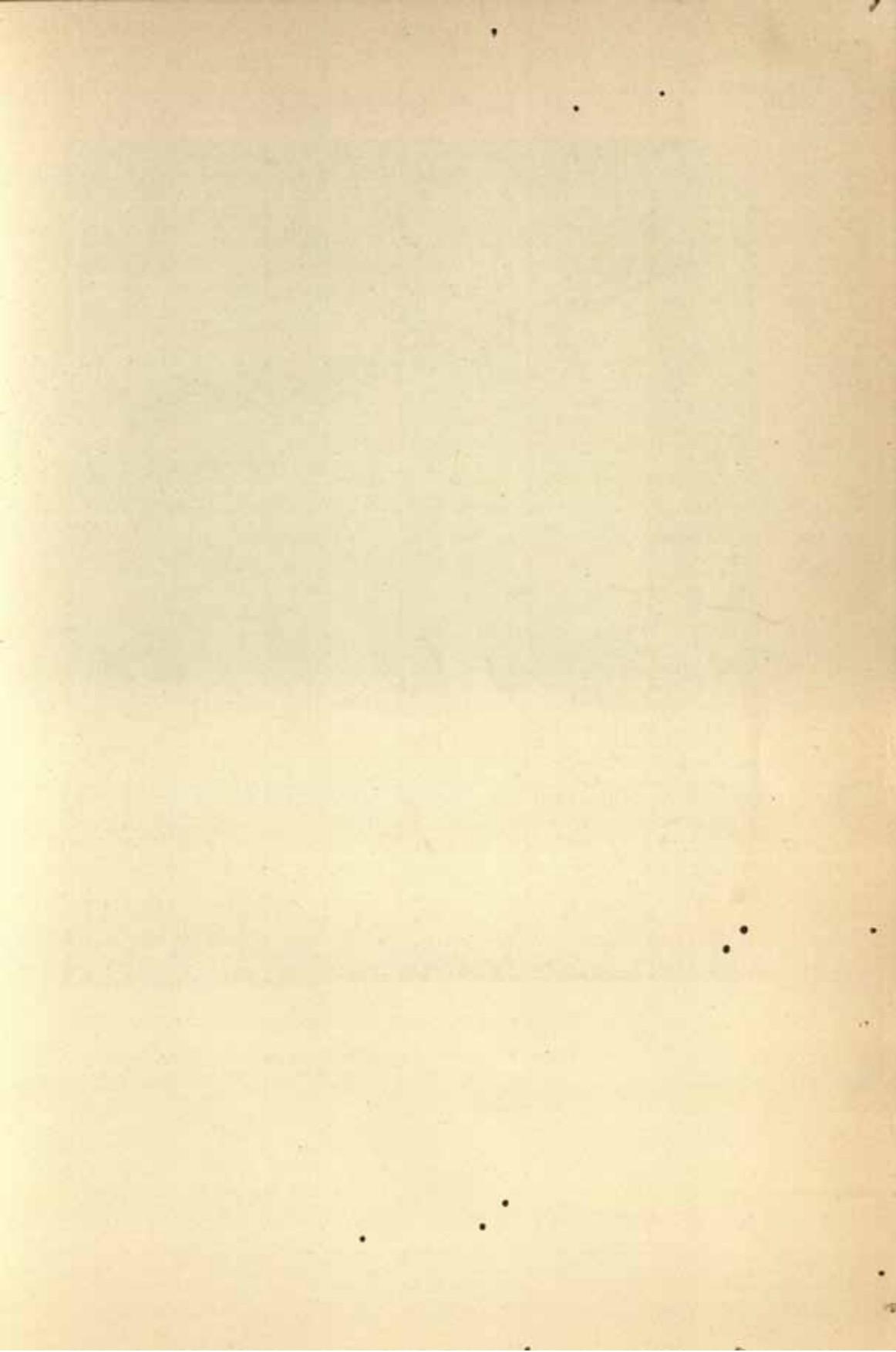
<sup>3</sup> Diod. 5. 72 Μέγαντοι δὲ καὶ τοῖς γάμοις τοῖς τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ήρας ἐν τῷ Κρητικῷ χώρᾳ γενέσθαι κατὰ τίνα τόπου τηλεστοῦ Θύρην ποταμοῦ, καθ' οὐν τὸν ιερὸν στοτίν, τε φυσιας κατ' ἔναντις ἀγλωτὸν ἵπε τὸν ἑγχωρίων συντελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς γάμοις ἀκομμεισθαι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παρεδόθησαν. *Id.* 5. 80 mentions as his authorities for things Cretan Epimenides, Dosides, Sosikrates, and Laosthenidas. The river Theren in Crete may have had the same peculiar properties as the spring Kanathos at Nauplia and perhaps the river Parthenios in Samos (*supra* p. 1027 n. 1). It was apparently an arm of the Amnisos (K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1829 iii. 315), at the mouth of which was the cave of Eileithyia (*Od.* 19. 188, cp. Strab. 476), a daughter of Hera born here (Paus. 1. 18. 5): hence Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 115 Αμνιστοί λεχώσο...σδωρ. It is noteworthy that Artemis the virgin bathes in the Parthenios (a river of Paphlagonia, according to the schol. *ad loc.*) or in the Amnisos, and is escorted by the nymphs of the latter stream (Ap. Rhod. 3. 875 ff., Kallim. *Arc.* 1. 15).

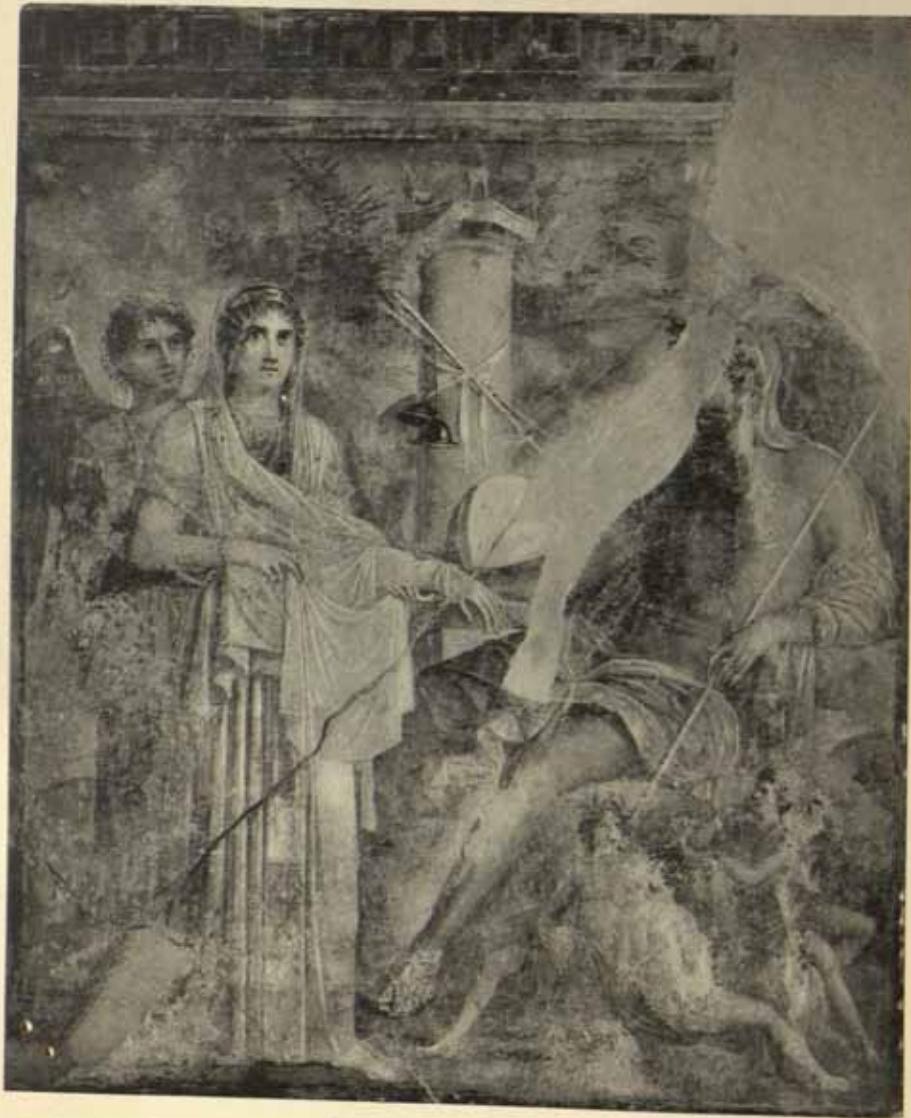
<sup>4</sup> *Supra* i. 523. The myth of the Cretan bull was attached to the same locality (Paus. 1. 27. 9 ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Τεθύνῃ).

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* i. 154, iii. 35, 180.

<sup>6</sup> *Il.* 14. 295. Cp. Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 164.

<sup>7</sup> Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 38 f.





Fresco from Pompeii, now at Naples:  
the *Hieros Gamos* of Zeus and Hera on Mount Ide in the Troad.

*See page 1032 ff.*

Ide<sup>1</sup>—that is represented by the wall-painting found at Pompeii in the ‘House of the Tragic Poet’ (pl. lxxii)<sup>2</sup>. Here we see Zeus, a kingly figure seated on a rocky throne<sup>3</sup>. A *himation* wrapped about his legs is drawn up so as to cover his hair like a veil<sup>4</sup>, and falls again over his shoulder and left arm. The wreath on his head is possibly, but not certainly<sup>5</sup>, composed of oak leaves. He rests his left hand, the fourth finger of which wears a wedding-ring, on a long sceptre. With an affectionate<sup>6</sup> and at the same time symbolic<sup>7</sup> gesture of his right hand he draws towards him his bride. She is robed in a white *péplos* and an ample veil. Her hair is confined by a richly decorated *stephane*; and her jewels include earrings, a necklace, bracelets, and a wedding-ring worn like that of Zeus. Her large and brilliant eyes, which recall the epithet *boubis*<sup>8</sup>, are averted from the face of her bridegroom and with a subtle blend of outward dignity and inward alarm look straight into the distance. The same mixture of feelings is betrayed by her stately yet hesitating advance, and again by the studied nervous way in which she is holding the end of her veil between herself and Zeus. Hera is followed and supported by Iris, a youthful winged figure whose anxious questioning expression is the natural accompaniment of her mistress’ mood. But the difference between bride and bridesmaid is finely brought out by the artist. Hera with head erect and full of virginal pride emerges into the light—a queen indeed. Iris watching her with upturned face obscured by a semi-darkness is plainly subordinate and serves as her foil. On the rocks beside Zeus sit three male figures of diminutive size, scantily clad and wreathed with flowers<sup>9</sup>: they have been interpreted with much probability as the Idaean

<sup>1</sup> In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 413 f. I accepted the conclusions of Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyst.* Zeus pp. 239—243 and maintained that the scenery of the fresco is that of the Cretan mountain. Certainly the woods (*supra* ii. 932 n. 1), the cult of Rhea (Diod. 5. 65 f.), and the Idaean Daktylooi ([Hes.] frag. 14 Flach *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 197, Ap. Rhod. 1. 1129 with schol. *ad loc.*, Diod. 5. 64, Paus. 5. 7. 6 with schol. *ad loc.*, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17, Hesych. s.v. Ἰδαιοὶ Δάκτυλοι, *et. mag.* p. 465, 25 ff., cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 170) all suit the neighbourhood of Knossos. But they suit the Trojan Ide equally well: here too were woods (*supra* ii. 949 n. 5), a cult of Rhea (Strab. 469: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1523 n. 1), and the Idaean Daktylooi (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1126 and 1131, Strab. 473, Diod. 5. 64, 17. 7, Plout. *de music.* 5, Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 15 p. 46, 24 ff. Stählin, Hesych. s.v. Ἰδαιοὶ Δάκτυλοι). Moreover, the other frescoes found in the same *atrium* depict scenes from Homeric *epos* (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* i. 16), and the flowers worn by the Daktylooi may be due to a reminiscence of Il. 14. 347 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. lxxii is from Herrmann *op. cit.* pl. 11, a photographic reproduction which supersedes all previous publications.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* i. 124 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 1028.

<sup>5</sup> Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 17 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. the Homeric ἐπί καρπῷ χείρα κ.τ.λ. (Il. 24. 671, Od. 18. 338, 24. 398).

<sup>7</sup> C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 131 f., R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 15 (who cites *inter alia* Eur. *Ion* 891 ff. Λευκοῖς δ' ἐμφότις καρποῖς χειρῶν | εἰς ἀντρὸν κολτα | κραυγάρ, ω μάτερ, μι αδδώσαν | θεὸς ὄμηνέτας ἥγετ κ.τ.λ.).

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* i. 444. A drawing of Hera’s head, almost full-size, is given by A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 649 fig. 719.

<sup>9</sup> Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 17 n. 3 (cp. *ib.* i. 15 fig. 3) states that their wreaths consist of sprays entwined with flowers, but thinks it impossible to decide whether these flowers are, as Hellbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 33 f. no. 114 supposed, primroses.

Daktyloii<sup>1</sup>, who haunted the woods of Mount Ide and were associated with Rhea, the Idaean Mother<sup>2</sup>. The locality is further indicated by wooded hills in the background and a pillar adorned with Rhea's attributes—three bronze lions standing on its capital, a timbrel lying against its base, flutes and cymbals bound by a fillet to its shaft. The whole fresco must be regarded as a good Pompeian copy of a splendid Hellenistic original<sup>3</sup>.

The presence of Iris as bridesmaid recalls the similar, though not identical, scenes portrayed by a couple of the later Greek poets. Theokritos in the Hellenistic age writes:

So came about the wedlock of the gods,  
Whom puissant Rhea bare to rule Olympos.  
One couch she strewed for the sleep of Zeus and Hera—  
Iris, a maid with hands all perfume-pure<sup>4</sup>.

Nonnos in the age of decadence spoils the picture by far-fetched bombast:

He spake, and rolling cloud on golden cloud  
Tower-wise inglobed a circumambient veil,  
So shaped and fashioned forth a bridal-bower,  
Which then the dazzling diverse-tinted form  
Of Iris the ethereal crowned—a covert  
Of Nature's make for Zeus and his bright-armed bride,  
What time they lay on the mountain, and withal  
A perfect copy of their destined union<sup>5</sup>.

Iris and the Daktyloii, like the landscape-background, were additions to the accepted type. A Hellenistic relief in island marble, unfortunately much corroded, was found in Rhodes and is now in the Rhodian Museum (fig. 831)<sup>6</sup>. It shows Zeus seated on a throne, the side of which is decorated with a large Sphinx. He raises his right hand in admiration of Hera, who stands before him, one hand resting on the god's knee, the other on her own hip. Between them is seen a pillar, on which is perched an eagle with spread wings. A. Maiuri well compares another Hellenistic relief, in Parian marble, likewise found in

<sup>1</sup> Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iv. 96 f. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii. 58 was the first to propound this view. R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 36 n. o suggested that they might be the Σελλοὶ χαματέναι of Dodona—a suggestion refuted by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 241 f. L. Stephani in the *Bulletin histor.-phil. de l'Academie de St. Pétersbourg* 1855 xii. 301 n. 80 and Hellwig *loc. cit.*, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 277 ff., *Rhein. Mus.* 1869 xxiv. 508 ff., *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei* Leipzig 1873 p. 117 argued that they are Λευκάνιοι, personified 'Meadows': cp. Philostr. mai. imagg. 2. 4. 3 λευκῶν δὲ ὁροὶ μεγάλοι, οὓς δαρπάρους ἀνθίσατε, παραινούσι εἴριοι τοι (sc. Hippolytos) τὰ διθῆ and *supra* ii. 164 n. 6 (Leimon). N. Terzaghi in *Atene e Roma* 1902 v. 434 ff. regards them as Καθρητεῖς.

<sup>2</sup> L. v. Sybel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 940 f., O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2018 ff. *Supra* p. 922.

<sup>3</sup> Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 15—17, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 pp. 203—206.

<sup>4</sup> Theokr. 17. 131 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 32. 76 ff. The text of line 78 f. is disputed. I have translated the passage as it stands in the editions of D. F. Graefe (1826) and A. Ludwich (1911), viz. καὶ θαλάμου ποιητὸς ἦν τόπος, διὰ τοῦτο κόκλῳ | Ἱριδος αἰθέριῃς ἐπερχοοστι τοτεφε φοροφή κ.τ.λ. The Count de Marcellus (ed. Paris 1856) prints the conjectural readings διὰ τοῦτο for διὰ τοῦτο and ἐπερχεφε for τοτεφε.

<sup>6</sup> A. Maiuri in *Clara Rhodes* 1932 ii. 44—46 fig. 22 (=my fig. 831).

Rhodes and now in London (fig. 832)<sup>1</sup>. Zeus sitting on a very similar throne, with a winged and lion-headed Sphinx, leans his right hand on a long sceptre. Before him stands Hera, also holding a long sceptre—for she plays queen to

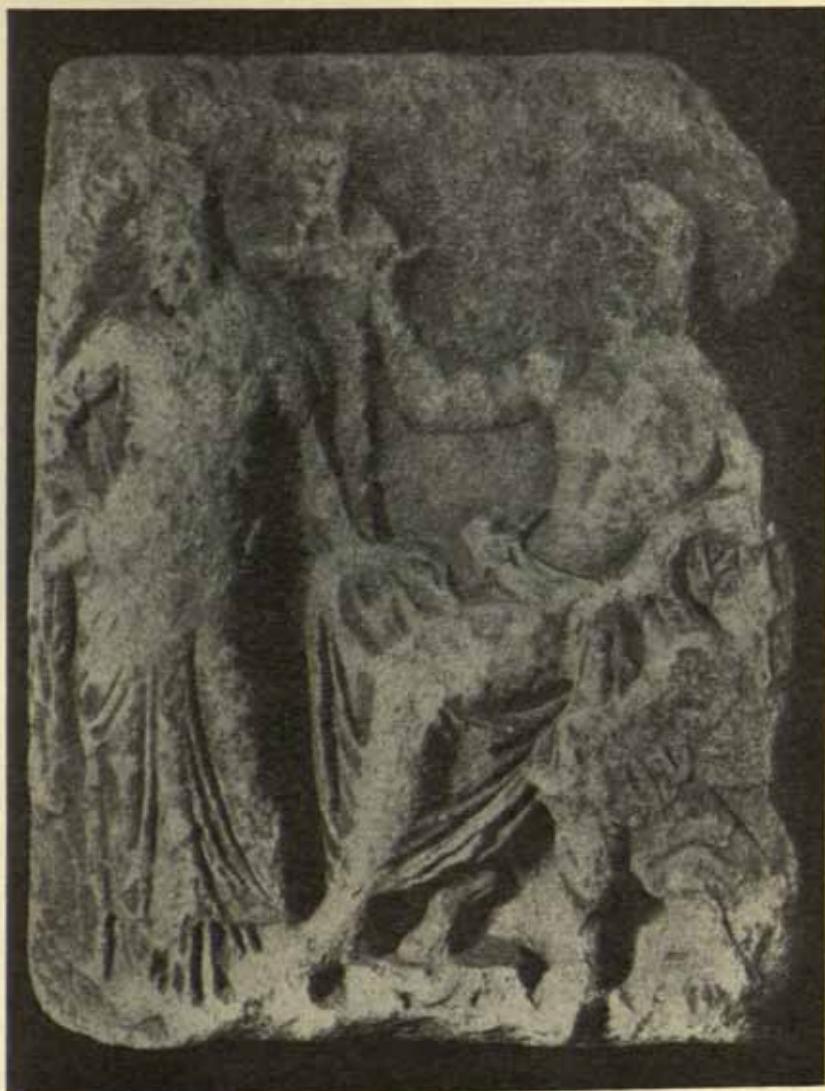


Fig. 831.

his king. Between them appears a pillar, on which are the feet of a small statue. In front of it is an ox (for sacrifice?). Behind Zeus was a standing figure, on a

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 223 f. no. 2150, Reinach *Rep. Reliefs* ii. 493 no. 2. My fig. 832 is from the official photograph.

smaller scale, with a palm-branch in its right hand—possibly Nike, but possibly a victor in some local contest who had dedicated a statue to Zeus and Hera<sup>1</sup>.

The pillar present in these Graeco-Roman compositions was itself no part of the older Hellenic type—witness a metope from Selinous now at Palermo

<sup>1</sup> This relief has been variously interpreted. P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 559 f. pl. 3, 1 thinks that it represents Zeus and Hera, or else Asklepios and Hygieia. W. Amelung in the *Röm. Mitt.* 1901 xvi. 258—263 fig. 1 reverts to an older view that the deities are Sarapis and Isis. Reinach *loc. cit.* is non-committal.



Fig. 832.

A. Maiuri, moved by the new Rhodian discovery, inclines to Zeus and Hera. I agree with him: Sarapis, as Amelung admits, ought to have had a *chitón* and a much more prominent *khlathos*.

For similar thrones see e.g. that of Epiktesis (*supra* i. 536 fig. 407) and that of Dionysos (*supra* i. 710 with pl. xl, 4). A relief in Pentelic marble, now at Munich (A. Furtwängler *Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 28, *id. Glyptothek zu München*<sup>2</sup> p. 183 ff. no. 106, Reinach *Rtp. Reliefs* ii. 75 no. 1. My fig. 833 is from a photograph), again shows Zeus on his throne with Hera (?) standing before him, a group of worshippers at their altar, and a pillar surmounted by two archaic figures, male and female, beneath the boughs of a huge plane-tree. Furtwängler comments (p. 185): ‘Leider fehlt eine Dedikations-Inschrift, so dass wir das göttliche Paar nicht benennen können. Es kann ebensogut irgend ein lokaler Heros und seine Gattin wie etwa Zeus Philios mit Agathe Tyche sein.’

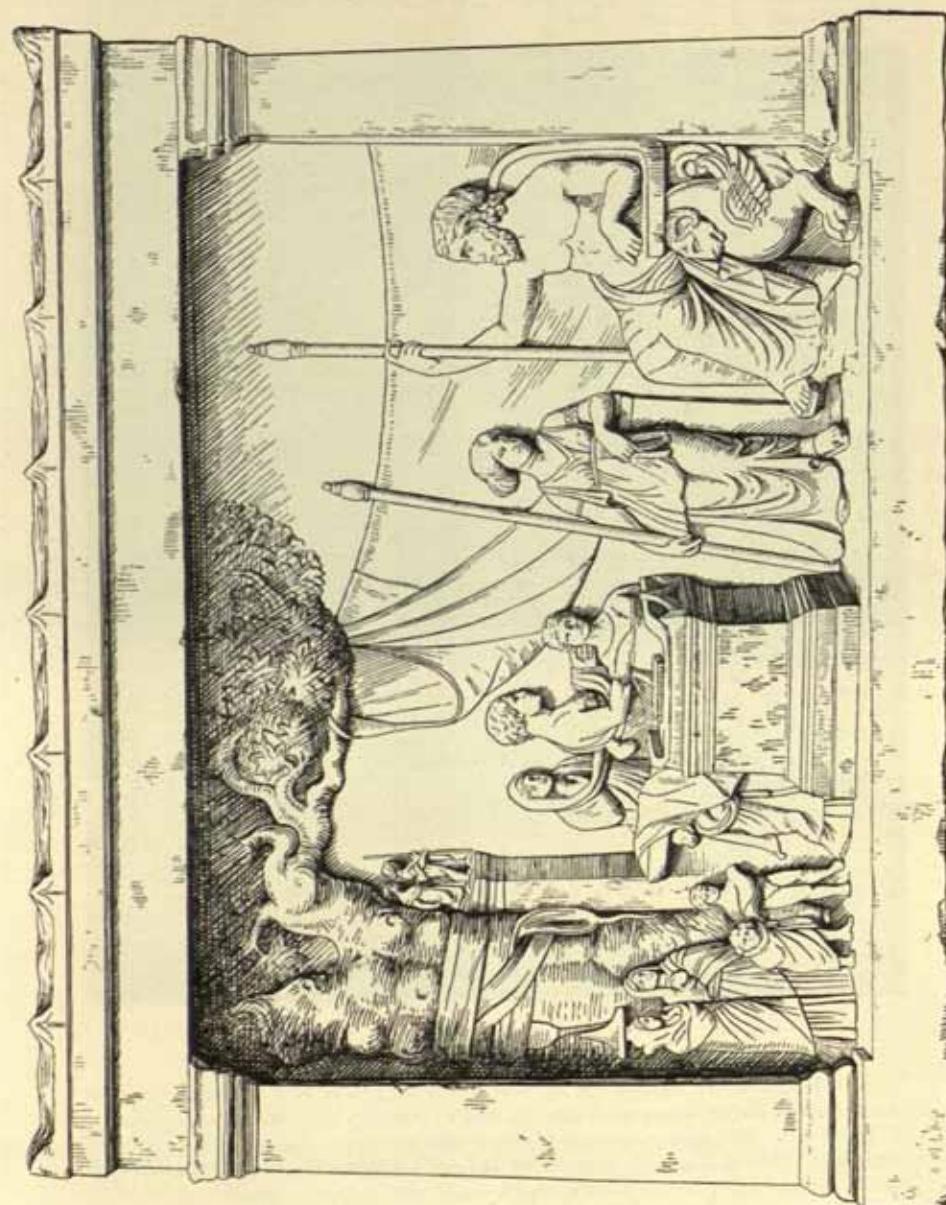


Fig. 833.

(fig. 834)<sup>1</sup>. This metope, which may be referred to the first half of the fifth century B.C., represents Zeus seated on a rock<sup>2</sup>. He has a diadem in his hair and sandals on his feet. A *himation*, which has slipped from his left shoulder,

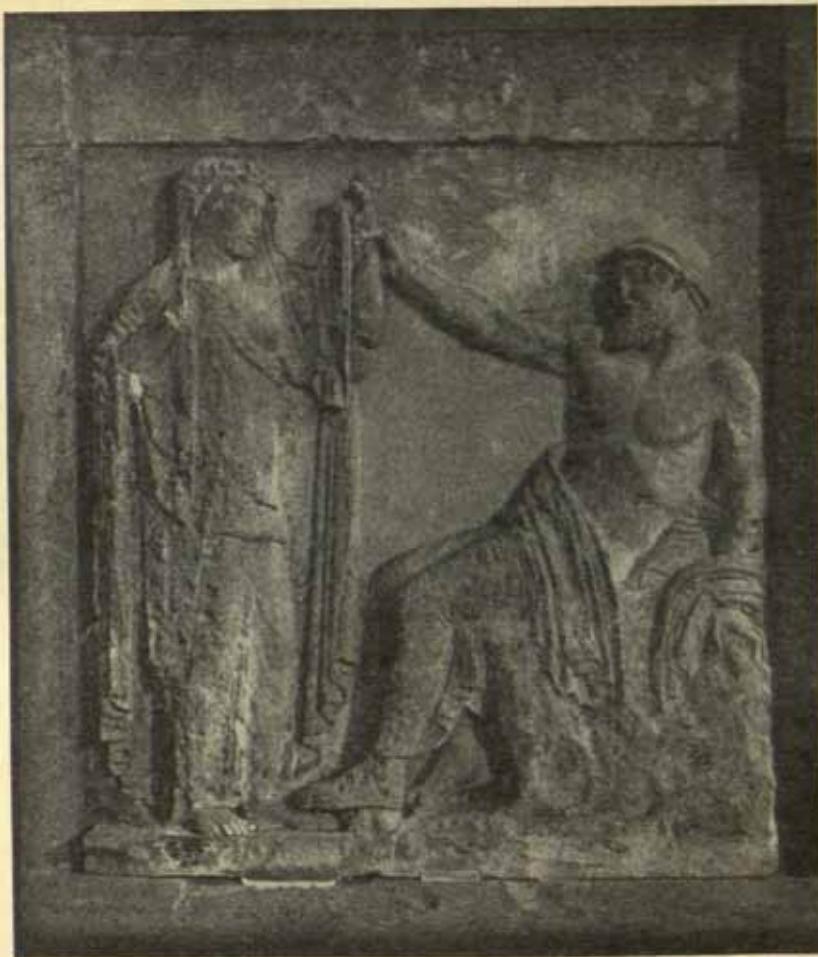
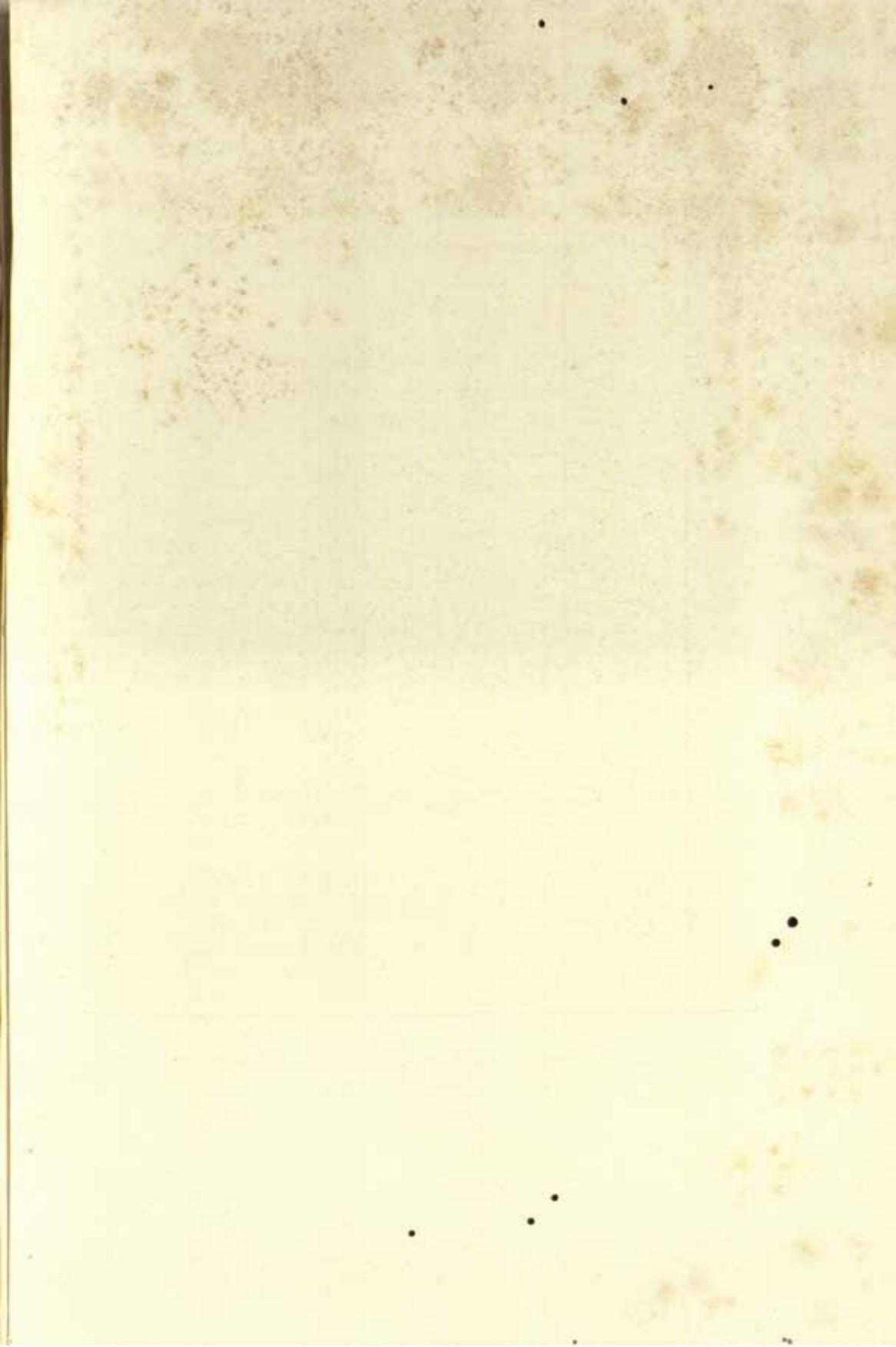
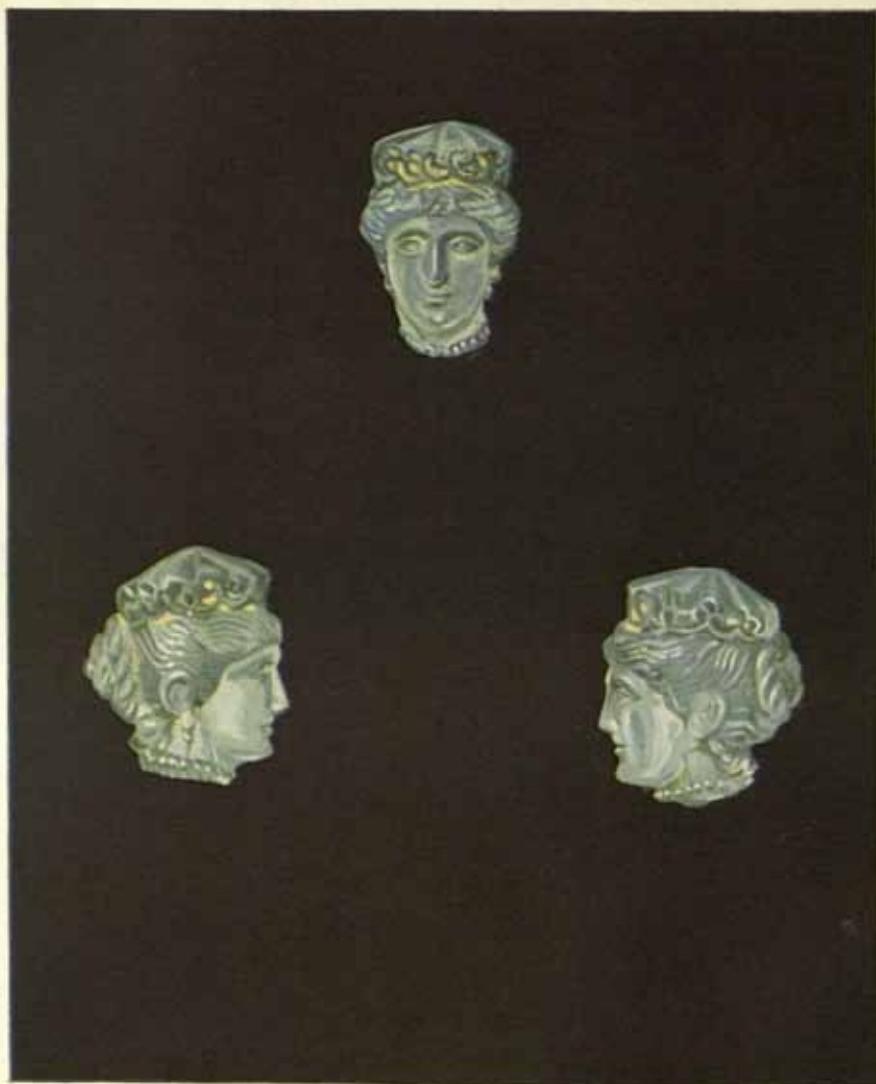


Fig. 834.

<sup>1</sup> O. Benndorf *Die Metopen von Selinunt* Berlin 1873 p. 54 ff. pl. 8, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 290, 1 (=my fig. 834), Reinach *Röp. Reliefs* ii. 399 no. 1. The metope belongs to the temple commonly known as E or R and regarded as that of Hera (?). It is carved in local limestone, the face, hands, and feet of the goddess being added in white marble—a peculiar technique, which together with other traces of archaism (hair of Zeus, full-front torso, costume of Hera, etc.) points to a date c. 475—460 B.C. (G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 31 with fig. 410).

<sup>2</sup> It would be rash to identify this rock with Mt. Ide or any other definite locality.





A head cast in blue glass (Greek work of c. 400 B.C.), from Girgenti, now at Queens' College, Cambridge : Hera *Lakinia* (?).

is wrapped about his legs; but otherwise his broad and powerful figure is undraped. Leaning back on his left hand, he raises his right and clasps Hera by the wrist. She is bare-footed and clad, like the archaic maidens on the akropolis at Athens, in a long sleeved *chitón* with a *himátion* slung over her right shoulder and under her left breast. But the *stepháne* above her brow and the large veil that falls over her head and forms a framework for her whole figure betoken that she is Hera as a bride<sup>1</sup>. With her left hand she is unveiling herself to her bridegroom. In her right she probably held a sceptre.

Variations of the same type may be detected in late Greek vase-paintings, which introduce Zeus and Hera among other deities as accessory figures. Thus a fragmentary Apulian vase in Sir William Hamilton's collection represented a battle of Greeks and Persians below with a council of the gods in the upper



Fig. 835.

register (fig. 835)<sup>2</sup>. Here we see Zeus seated on a rock with Ganymedes (?) standing behind him and Hera in front. Zeus is half-draped in a *himátion* and has a fillet in his hair. His left hand, decorated with a bracelet, holds a long sceptre; his right he raises in conversation with Hera. She wears an Ionic *chitón*, ornamented with a broad stripe down the middle, and a bridal veil, which she is lifting with her right hand. In her left she supports a long sceptre topped by a palmette; and on her head is a handsome *stepháne*.

A large *kráter* from Ruvo, now at Naples, shows the rape of Persephone,

<sup>1</sup> Other interpretations are considered and dismissed by R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 34 n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> W. Tischbein Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases...now in the possession of Sir W<sup>t</sup> Hamilton 1795 ii. 14 ff. pl. 1, F. Köpp in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 125 f. fig., Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 293, 2—3.

again with an upper tier of divine spectators (fig. 836)<sup>1</sup>. The design is much damaged, and the greater part of Zeus is a modern restoration. But enough remains to prove that the god sat on a richly embellished throne, which has a couple of swans by way of arm-rests. A *himation* is wrapped about his legs; and his feet, which are shod, are placed on a footstool. The sceptre in the right hand of Zeus is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings. Before her lord with downcast eyes stands Hera. She is clad in a Doric *péplos* with a long overfold, and has sandals on her feet. She has also a *stephane* on her head and a veil. This she raises with her left hand, while in her right she holds a long sceptre. Behind the throne of Zeus stands Ganymedes. And, between them, a winged thunderbolt points downwards to the scene of tumult in progress below.

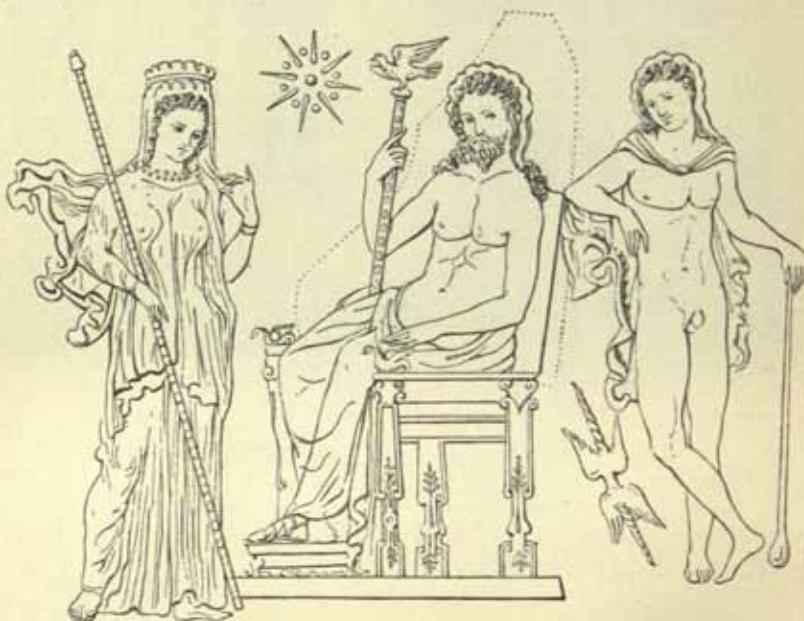


Fig. 836.

On a bell-shaped *krater* from Saticula (*Santa Agata dei Goti*), now in the same collection, there is a further variation of the type (fig. 837)<sup>2</sup>. The centre of the design is occupied by a group of Athena and Perseus. But adjoining them is a seated Zeus and a standing Hera, the pose of both being reminiscent of the *hieròs gámos*. Zeus is clad in a *himation* and wears a wreath in his hair. He rests his right hand on a sceptre and turns to face the centre of interest, regardless of a small hovering Nike, who somewhat needlessly presents him with a second wreath. Before him at a lower level stands Hera, draped in Doric *péplos* and star-spangled veil. In her right hand is a long sceptre, and

<sup>1</sup> Heydemann *Die Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 591 ff. no. 3256, figured in the *Mon. d. Inst.* ii. pl. 31, E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmalern* Berlin 1840 pl. 2, 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 224 ff. no. 2202, C. A. de Jorio in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1829 v. pl. 51 with text pp. 1—7.

on her head a rayed *stephaine*. She too faces the central group, but is obviously conceived as the bride of Zeus.

(4) The Hieròs Gámos on Mount Oche.

Euboia, a great centre of Hera-worship, was another place associated with the *hieròs gámos*. It was believed that Zeus had met Hera on Mount Oche, the highest point in the south of the island. In this belief, no doubt, folk-etymology played a part<sup>1</sup>. But it is to be observed that bronze coins of Karystos at the foot of Mount Oche, struck in s. ii b.c., show sometimes a laureate head of Zeus<sup>2</sup>, sometimes a veiled head of Hera<sup>3</sup>—a suggestive choice of deities<sup>4</sup>.

(5) The Hieròs Gámos at Elymnion.

Elymnion or Elymnia, an island-town off the coast of Euboia<sup>5</sup>, has been identified with the largest of the Petalian Isles near Karystos<sup>6</sup>, but is better placed on the north coast near Oreos<sup>7</sup>. Sophokles<sup>8</sup> in his *Naúplios* spoke of 'bridal Elymnion,' because this too was reputed to have been the spot where



Fig. 837.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* ii. 902 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 103 pl. 19, 4, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 357. Cp. *supra* p. 127 fig. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 104 pl. 19, 5 and 8, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 332 pl. 203, 23, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 357.

<sup>4</sup> There is, however, no reason to connect with either of them the early corbelled building on Mt Oche (for which see T. Wiegand 'Der angebliche Urtempel auf der Ocha' in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1896 xxi. 11–17 pls. 2 and 3).

<sup>5</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ελύμνιος.'

<sup>6</sup> C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1868–1872 ii. 434 n. 1, H. Kiepert *Formae orbis antiqui* Berlin 1894 Map 15 (with a query). Text p. 3 ('very doubtfully').

<sup>7</sup> A. Wilhelm in the *Arch.-ep. Mitt.* 1892 xv. 115, A. Philippson in Pauly–Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2468.

<sup>8</sup> Soph. *Nauplius* frag. 404 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 437 Jebb ap. schol. Aristoph. *Fax* 1126 Καλλίστρατος φησὶ τόπον Εέβοιας τὸ 'Ελύμνιον. Ἀπολλάνειος δὲ ταῦτα (an. leg. νῆσος? A.B.C.) φησί εἶναι τὸν τόπον Εέβοιας. νυμφικὸν δὲ τοῦτο φασίν, διὰ τὸ Ζεὺς τὴν Ήραν ἐκεῖ συνέγνετο. μέμνηται καὶ Σοφοκλῆς 'πρὸς πέτραν 'Ελύμνιοις,' καὶ ἐν Ναυπλίῳ 'νυμφικὸν 'Ελύμνιον.'

Zeus consorted with Hera. But that Zeus in Euboia, like Poseidon in Lesbos<sup>1</sup>, bore the cult-title *Elýmnios* is an unsupported conjecture<sup>2</sup>.

(6) The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Kithairon.

Plutarch, who as a native of Chaironeia knew the mythology of Boiotia well, gives us a more detailed account<sup>3</sup>. Hera was brought up as a virgin in Euboia, but was stolen away by Zeus and carried across the strait to Boiotia. Kithairon, the mountain-god, provided the run-aways with a shady nook and a bridal chamber of nature's making<sup>4</sup>. And, when Makris the nurse of Hera came in search of her and was minded to pry too far, Kithairon prevented her by saying that Zeus was there resting with Leto. So Hera escaped detection and later showed her gratitude by admitting Leto *Mychia*, 'of the Nook,' or *Nychia*, 'of the Night,' to share her altar and her temple. Others declared that Hera herself, since she accompanied there in secret with Zeus, was called *Letò Nychia*, 'the Secret One of the Night'; but when their union was made public—and this happened first in the neighbourhood of Kithairon and Plataiai<sup>5</sup>—came to be known as Hera *Teleia*, 'of the Wedding Rites,' and *Gamélia*, 'the goddess of Marriage'<sup>6</sup>.

Plutarch's narrative proves that the cult of Zeus and Hera on Mount Kithairon, its ancient ritual<sup>7</sup> notwithstanding, had been influenced by the Euboean worship of Hera, and must in fact be treated as the remodelled form of an earlier cult, in which Zeus had been paired, not with Hera at all, but with Leto *Mychia* or *Nychia*<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. Ἐλύμνιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ· καὶ νῆσος τῆς Εἴβοιας. But also Hesych. Ἐλύτιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ.

<sup>2</sup> O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2468, E. Fehle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 623.

<sup>3</sup> Plout. περὶ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Δαιδάλων 3 αρ. Euseb. praepr. ev. 3, 1, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Plout. loc. cit. ἐπίσκοπόν των μυχῶν καὶ θάλαιμον αὐτοφυῆν. Cr. *supra* ii. 898 n. 6. Kithairon is described as 'Ερανών μυχόν by Hermesianax of Kypros frag. 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 428 Müller) ap. [Plout.] de fluv. 2, 3; see further K. Dilthey in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxi. 93 f. and S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 994 f.

<sup>5</sup> Λητώ from λήθη, λανθάνω, and Νύχια from νῆξ, νύχιος. On these derivations see A. Enmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1969 f., to whose references for Λητώ add L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 537, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 267 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 327 s.v. 'lā-' 'verborgen, versteckt sein.' But F. Wehrli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* Suppl. v. 571 ff. supports the connexion of Λητώ, Λατώ, *Letun*, *Latona* with Lycian *lada* (*supra* ii. 455) and adds: 'Darum hat auch die ursprüngliche Identität von Leto-Lato und Leda [*supra* i. 763 n. 4] einige Wahrscheinlichkeit.'

<sup>6</sup> At Plataiai Hera bore the titles *Τελεία* and *Νυχεφενύτη* (Paus. 9, 2, 7).

<sup>7</sup> For these epithets see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1134 nn. 5 and 3 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* ii. 898 n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Schöll—Studemund *anecl. i.* 269 'Ἐπιθέτα "Ηρα... 15 νυχίας with the note: "μυχίας potius quam νυχίας videtur in L exstare; nisi potius νυχίας ex μυχίας correctum est." See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3298.

An interesting relic of this goddess is a paste in the Vienna collection (fig. 838 is enlarged (†) from T. Panofka *Gemmen mit Inschriften Berlin* 1852 pp. 122, 135 pl. 4, 40), which shows a cock surrounded by the inscription ΛΕΤΟΜΥΧΙ (Corps. inscr. Gr. iv no. 7361 d)=Λητο(?) Μυχι(?)<sup>10</sup>. The cock was dear to Leto, as to all women in childbirth, because he stood by her to lighten her labour (Ail. de nat. an. 4, 29). Possibly Leto *Φυτη* of Phaistos (Ant. Lib. 17 (after



Fig. 838.

(7) The *Hieròs Gámos* in the Cave of Achilleus.

A parallel to the 'nook' of Kithairon in the Boeotian myth is furnished by the cave of Achilleus. Ptolemaios *Chénos* ('the Quail'), who flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, in his *New or Surprising History* told the tale as follows<sup>1</sup>. When Hera was fleeing from the embraces of Zeus, Achilleus the earth-born received her in his cave and persuaded her to yield to the importunity of the god. This was their first union, and Zeus rewarded Achilleus by a promise that all who bore his name thereafter should become famous. Hence the fame of Achilleus son of Thetis. The teacher of Cheiron, too, was called Achilleus; indeed Peleus' son was named after him by Cheiron. Now we are not definitely told by Ptolemaios where his cave of Achilleus was situated. But it may fairly be surmised that Achilleus the earth-born was one with Achilleus the teacher of Cheiron; and, if so, the cave of Achilleus the earth-born must have been the famous cave of Cheiron on Mount Pelion<sup>2</sup>. The whole story is meant to sound like a genuine Magnesian myth.

(8) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Argos.

## (a) Zeus and Hera at Hermione.

Another locality specially connected with the *hieròs gámos* is the Argolid. At Hermione there was a sanctuary of Hera *Parthénos*; and pious but ignorant folk derived the name of the town from the notion that Zeus and Hera had come to an 'anchorage' here after their voyage from Crete<sup>3</sup>. Aristotle, or perhaps rather Aristokles<sup>4</sup>, in a lost treatise on the cults of Hermione had included the local myth, which told how Zeus had transformed himself into a cuckoo in order to consort with Hera<sup>5</sup>. But we have no proof that the union of these two deities was celebrated at Hermione by actual marriage rites.

## (β) Zeus and Hera at Argos.

The same conception of the manner in which Zeus gained his desires was current at Argos also, thirty miles away, in the fifth century B.C. The cult-statue of Hera at the Argive Heraion<sup>6</sup> had in one hand a pomegranate

Nikandros ἑτεροιδέμενα book 2) stood in some relation to Zeus *felixdès* of Phaistos, whose sacred bird was the cock (*supra* ii. 946 f. n. o figs. 838–841).

<sup>1</sup> Ptol. *nov. hist.* 6 (p. 196, 11 ff. ed. Westermann)=Phot. *bibl.* p. 152 a 19 ff. Bekker. The bona fides of Ptolemaios Chenos, impugned by R. Hercher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1856 i. 269–293, was vainly defended by C. Müller *Geographi Graeci minores* Parisii 1882 ii p. lvii. See W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*<sup>6</sup> München 1920 ii. 1. 421 f.

<sup>2</sup> On the cave of Cheiron see *supra* ii. 869 n. 2. Zeus was worshipped on Mt Pelion as 'Ακταιος (*ib.*) and 'Αχαιος (*supra* ii. 871 n. 3 (1)).

<sup>3</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ερμών καὶ 'Ερμόνη'... 'Ερμών δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Ήραν ἵεταιθε ἀπὸ Κρήτης ἀφικομένους ὄμμασθωνται, καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ σεῖται, ὅπερ καὶ λεπτὸς Ήρας παρθένους ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ (cp. Eustath. in *Il.* p. 286, 39 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Aristot. *frag.* 287 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 Müller)=Aristokl. *frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 258 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. vet. *Theokr.* 15. 64 (Eudok. *viol.* 414<sup>h</sup>) cited *supra* ii. 893 n. 2. For attempts to alter 'Αριστοκλῆς into 'Αριστοφάνης, 'Αριστεῖδης, 'Αριστοκλῆς, etc. see C. Müller *ad loc.* The most plausible emendation is 'Αριστοκλῆς, on whom see Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 126 ff. (*frag.* 1).

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 65 from Paus. 2. 36. 2 (cited *supra* ii. 893 n. 2).

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 65 f.

(fig. 839)<sup>1</sup> about which strange things were said, and in the other a cuckoo-sceptre which Pausanias<sup>2</sup> explains by the story of Zeus' metamorphosis.

But was the *hieròs gámos* at Argos represented by definite rites? W. H. Roscher<sup>3</sup> has collected various facts which point towards that conclusion. On the right hand side of the *prónaos* or vestibule of the Heraion stood a couch known as Hera's couch<sup>4</sup>. A sacrifice offered to the goddess was called by the Argives *Lechérna*<sup>5</sup>, a name presumably related to the word *lēchos* 'a bed.' In the story of Kleobis and Biton the priestess of Hera had to visit her temple on a car drawn by white oxen<sup>6</sup>—a circumstance suggestive of a bridal procession<sup>7</sup>.



Fig. 839.



Fig. 840.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 149 nos. 155 and 156 pl. 28, 16 (my fig. 839 is from a cast) Antoninus Pius, p. 150 no. 159 L. Verus, p. 151 no. 164 Septimius Severus, cp. p. 152 no. 172 pl. 28, 24 Caracalla, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 154 no. 23 Antoninus Pius, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstm myth. Hera* p. 44 ff. Münztaf. 3, 2 Iulia Domna, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 34 pl. 1, 12 Antoninus Pius, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1, 130 pl. 12, 5 Iulia Domna.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 2. 17. 4 (cited *supra* p. 65 n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 79 f., *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2101 f.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 2. 17. 3 κλίνη τῆς Ήρας, cp. Poll. 3. 43 κλίνη τις ἀνομάλητο γαμήσῃ.

S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 137–142 developed the curious view that the central figure of the 'Ludovisi Throne' is Hera, who annually recovers her virginity by bathing in the spring Kanathos (Paus. 2. 38. 2; *supra* p. 224 n. 3). She is successively Τελεῖα and Παρθένος (cp. Paus. 8. 22. 2). As Τελεῖα she is immersed with breasts covered by a cloth symbolic of matronhood. As Παρθένος she emerges with cloth lowered and virginal breasts fully displayed. The figures on the side-arms are typical of Τελεῖα and Παρθένος.

J. N. Svoronos 'Le lit de la Héra d'Argos œuvre de Polyclète ou le "trône Ludovisi" avec son "pendant" à Boston' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1920–21 xx. 108–159 pl. 3 f. goes further and fares worse. He contends that the 'Ludovisi Throne' and its Boston pendant were the actual couch of Hera seen by Pausanias in the Heraion, and that every detail of their relief-decoration has reference to the *hieròs gámos* of the goddess. He cites as relevant Philarg. *expl. in Verg. ecl. 4. 63* (H. Hagen *Appendix Serviana Lipsiae* 1902 p. 88, 6 ff.) pueris nobilibus editis in atrio Iunoni Lucinae lectus ponitur, Herculi mensa, Myth. Vat. 1. 177 templum Iunonis fuit, in quo mensam Hercules et Diana lectum habuit; ubi portabantur pueri ut de ipsa mensa ederent et inde acciperent fortitudinem, et in lecto Diana dormirent ut omnibus amabiles fierent et illorum generatio succresceret. But Philargyrius is obviously alluding to a Roman custom (*Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 374), and the Vatican mythographer is copying him with a blunder or two thrown in. Neither writer says a word about the Argive Heraion.

<sup>5</sup> Hesych. Λεχέρνα· ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἡ θυσία ἐπιτελεούμενη τῷ Ήρᾳ.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* i. 447 f.

<sup>7</sup> Phot. *lex. s.v.* ζεῦγος ἡμερικόν ἡ βοεικόν· ζεῦχαρτες τὴν λεγομένην κλινίδα, ἡ ἔστιν διωλα δεδώρω, τὴν τῇ νέμφῃ μέθοδον τοιοῦνται· κ.τ.λ. M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1651.

And on billion coins of Alexandreia struck by Nero (fig. 840)<sup>1</sup> Hera *Argela* is conspicuously veiled.

These considerations, despite the doubts of M. P. Nilsson<sup>2</sup>, do raise a certain presumption that the marriage of Hera was duly celebrated at Argos, though they do not of course prove that the original consort of the goddess was Zeus<sup>3</sup>. But that as early as the fifth century B.C. Zeus had come to be regarded as the rightful partner of the Argive Hera, and that their union was commemorated by the ritual of a *hierōs gámos*, seems to me a reasonable inference from the final scene of Aristophanes' *Birds*<sup>4</sup>.

At this point the argument can be strengthened by taking into account Roman as well as Greek evidence. Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* makes Psyche pray to Hera as follows: 'O sister and wife of mighty Zeus, whether thou abidest in the ancient temple of Samos, which alone can boast thy birth, thine infant cries, and thy nursing, or hauntest thy blissful seat in lofty Carthage, which worships thee as a virgin carried up to heaven on a lion<sup>5</sup>, or presidest over the famous walls of the Argives near the banks of the Inachos, which tells of thee as already the bride of the Thunderer and the queen of the gods<sup>6</sup>', etc. etc. Argos is here chosen as a typical centre for the cult of Hera conceived as the bride of Zeus. The same conception underlies the *Agamemnon* of Seneca, in which a chorus of Mycenaean women invokes Hera thus:

Come, consort of the mighty sceptre, come,  
Hera the Queen,—  
All we that in Mykenai have our home  
On thee must lean<sup>7</sup>.

Later in the play Agamemnon on reaching his palace exclaims:

O father, hurler of the cruel bolt,  
Driver of clouds, sovereign of stars and lands,  
To whom the conqueror brings his triumph-spoils,  
And thou too, sister of an almighty lord,  
Argolic Hera, gladly will I serve you  
With gifts of Araby and suppliant entrails<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 17 nos. 132, 133 pl. 1 (=my fig. 840), 134 f., Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 416 nos. 114 pl. 85, 23, 115 f., J. G. Milne Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins Oxford 1933 p. 8 nos. 266 f., 281—284, 291, 297.

<sup>2</sup> Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 44. He notes, however, that the marriage of Hebe and Herakles, a relief on a silver altar in the Heraion (Paus. 2. 17. 6), was perhaps viewed as a parallel to the marriage of Hera and Zeus. And he accepts as probable the suggestion of W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 33 that the wedding of Demetrios Poliorketes, when *agonothētēs* at the Heraia, with Deidameia, daughter of the Molessian king Aiakides and sister of Pyrrhos (Plout. v. *Demetr.* 25), was designed in imitation of the *hierōs gámos*.

<sup>3</sup> I am hinting at Herakles, on whose relations to Hera I have said my say in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 371 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra* p. 58 ff.

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 612 ff., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1247—1250, H. Frère 'Sur le culte de Caelestis' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 21—35, A. von Domaszewski *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig—Berlin 1909 pp. 148—150 ('Virgo Caelestis'). Cp. *supra* ii. 68 n. 2, 869 n. 9, iii. 834.

<sup>6</sup> Apul. *met.* 6. 4 sive prope ripas Inachi, qui te iam nuptam Tonantis et reginam deorum memorat, inclitis Argivorum praesides moenibus.

<sup>7</sup> Sen. *Ag.* 348 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Sen. *Ag.* 839 ff.

But more explicit and detailed is a passage in the *Thebaid* of Statius<sup>1</sup>. The poet is describing how the wives and children of the Argive warriors implored Hera to protect their absent ones in the perilous expedition against Thebes:

The day of prayer was done, but all night long  
They kept their vigil round the altars' flame.  
Ay, and they brought a robe by way of gift,  
Whose wondrous woof no barren hand had woven  
Nor such as lacked a husband—this they brought  
In a basket as a veil acceptable  
To their chaste goddess. Rich the purple shone  
With broidered work and threads of glittering gold—  
On it the bride of the great Thunderer  
Within her bridal bower: nought she knows  
Of wedlock and is fearful to lay by  
Her sisterhood; with down-dropped eye she kisses  
The lips of youthful Zeus, a simple maid  
As yet untroubled by his stolen loves.  
With this same veil the Argolic matrons clothed  
The ivory goddess, and with tears and prayers  
Besought her:—‘Look now on the sinful towers  
Of Kadmos' daughter, who seduced thy lord,  
Queen of the starry sky. Oh, bring to nought  
The foemen's rebel hill, and on their Thebes  
Fling—for thou canst—another thunderbolt.’

We are surely justified in maintaining that this veil, woven for Hera by fruitful wives and embroidered to represent her wedlock with Zeus, implies the existence of an actual marriage-rite.

One other indication of such a rite is forthcoming, and that from a late and unexpected source. Cyprian, bishop of Antioch, *d' propos* of the numerous pagan ceremonies through which he passed in his youth<sup>2</sup>, says: ‘I went and at Argos, in Hera's rite, was there initiated into the purposes of union—the union, I mean, of lower with upper and of upper with lower air, and likewise of earth with water and of water with lower air<sup>3</sup>.’ It can hardly be doubted that this, as L. Preller<sup>4</sup> long since conjectured, refers to the old *hierōs gámos* of Zeus and Hera, still kept up in the third century A.D., though then encumbered with a symbolic and quasi-philosophical significance<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 10. 54 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *supra* i. 110 f., iii. 775.

<sup>3</sup> *Confessio S. Cypriani* (in *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Septembbris vii. 222 ff.) : ήλιος καὶ ἐν Ἀργει, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ήρας τελετῇ, ἐμνήθη ἵκει βουλᾶς ἐνέτητος, ἀέρος πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ αἰθέρος πρὸς άέρα, ἀμα δὲ καὶ γῆς πρὸς θάλασσαν καὶ θάλασσας πρὸς άέρα. Hence Eudok. de s. *Cyprian.* 2. 52 ff. Ἔπειτα ἐτίτειβοτος θαλερόν γενόμην κατὰ Ἀργος. | ην δὲ Τιθωνίδος ἔρωτι λευχεῖμανος Ὕον. | μόνην δὲ αὐτὴν γενόμην, καὶ αὐτόθι ἥρος ἄμμα (so A. Ludwich for ἄμμα cod. L) | ἥδε τολυπτύχοις πόλου καὶ εἶδον ἄμμα, | σιγγηνίην δὲ ὕδατων καὶ ἑφόρβου δρούρην | ἥδ' αὐτὶ δροσερῶν ναμάτων εἰς ήρα διέσει.

<sup>4</sup> L. Preller in *Philologus* 1846 i. 351. Cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 44 n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> For Zeus as *αἰθέρη* and Hera as *άέρη* see *supra* i. 31. Such teaching as that to which Cyprian listened would easily be grafted upon the Heraclitean doctrine of flux or a Stoic adaptation of the same (*supra* i. 28 ff.).

## (9) The Hieros Gamos at Athens.

At Athens, and at Athens alone, we have evidence of the rite without the myth. The Athenians had a definite festival called the *Hieros Gamos*, at which they commemorated the marriage of Zeus and Hera<sup>1</sup>. A. Mommsen<sup>2</sup> rightly identified this festival with the Theogamia, which took place towards the end<sup>3</sup> of Gamelion, the month of Hera<sup>4</sup> (our January to February). H. Usener<sup>5</sup> drew attention to a passage of Menandros<sup>6</sup>, which enables us to fix the date more exactly as the twenty-fourth or the twenty-seventh of that month<sup>7</sup>. H. von Prott<sup>8</sup> and L. Deubner<sup>9</sup> further connect with the same festival the sacrifice of a pig for Zeus *Heralos* recorded in a ritual calendar of the early fifth century found on the Akropolis at Athens<sup>10</sup>. The unique epithet by which the husband is named after the wife<sup>11</sup> recalls the fact that at Samos<sup>12</sup> and perhaps elsewhere<sup>13</sup> Zeus in deference to Hera wore the bridal veil<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. *Iepōt γάμος*: ἑορτὴ Διὸς καὶ Ἡρᾶς, Phot. *lex. s.v. Iepōt γάμος*: Ἀθηναῖοι ἑορτὴ Διὸς ἄγουσι καὶ Ἡρᾶς, *Iepōt γάμος καλούντες*, et. mag. p. 468, 56 f. *Iepōt γάμος*: Λαθηναῖοι ἑορτὴ Διὸς ἄγουσι καὶ Ἡρᾶς, οὗτοι καλούντες (text reconstituted by T. Gaisford).

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 381 f. But his subsequent contention that Hephaistos and Athena, conceived at the Theogamia, were born nine months later at the Chalkeia and Athenais respectively is neither proved nor probable.

<sup>3</sup> Prokl. in Hes. o.d. 780 δέ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ πρὸς σύνοδον ἡμέρας ἔξελέγοντα πρὸς γάμους καὶ τὰ Θεογάμα ἐτῶν, τῷ φυσικῷ εἶραι πρῶτον οὐρανοί γάμοι, τῇ σελήνης οὐρανοῖ (H. Usener ej. *Iobētēs*) πρὸς ἡλιον σύνοδον. T. Bergk *Beiträge zur griechischen Monatsskunde* Giessen 1845 p. 36 f. and W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 and in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100 held that Proklos was referring to the first day of the month. But A. Mommsen *Hortologie* Leipzig 1864 p. 343 and A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 524 showed that the reference must be to the last third of the month, when the conjunction of sun and moon was approaching.

<sup>4</sup> Hesych. Γαμῆλιον ὁ (τὸ) τῶν μηνῶν, τῆς Ἡρᾶς *Iepōt*.

<sup>5</sup> H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1879 xxxiv. 428.

<sup>6</sup> Menand. *Méthē frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 162 Meineke) αρ. Athen. 243 A—B ιμὲ γάρ διέτρυψεν ὁ | κομψότατος ἀνδρῶν Χαιρεφῶν *Iepōt γάμος* | φάσκων ποίησιν δευτέρᾳ μετ' εἰκάδαν (so Usener for δευτέραν εἰκάδαν) | καθ' αὐτῶν, Ια τῇ τετράδι δευτέρῃ παρ' ἔτρεπον: | τὸ τῇ θεοῦ γάρ πατραχῶν ἔχειν καλῶς. J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 4 expounds: "gloriatur Chaerophyo calliditate sua dicens matrimonium Iovis ac Iunonis, quod Gamelionis diei ultimo adtribuisse usum sacram sumendum est, domi sese die nefasto [cp. et. mag. p. 131, 13 ff.] antecedente celebraturum esse, ne hospites accedant; at Anthesterionis sollemni Veneris apud alios esse cenaturum."

<sup>7</sup> F. G. Allinson *ad loc.*: "here the 'Fourth' may mean the 24th, i.e. the fourth day after the twentieth, or, more probably, the 27th, i.e. the fourth (the third) day before the 'New and the Old.'"

<sup>8</sup> J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 177 f.

<sup>10</sup> J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 1 ff. no. 1, 20 f., *Inter. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 840, A 20 f. [- - - Δ]ιἱ *hepaloi*: χοῖρος -- -. *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 416 n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 4 "Plane singularem esse Δια Ἡραῖον ipse fateor. Non est quod miremur Ἀθηναῖοι Ἡφαιστιαῖοι [supra p. 216 n. 2], Ἀμφιτρίτηοι Ποσειδωνῖαι (schol. Hom. γ 91) aut Ἀπόλλωνοι Λατύφων, Διώνοις Θεωντα. At deum ab uxore denominari aliud est." He adds *ib.* n. 4 "Non habeo exemplum simile nisi Hesychii glossam Ἡραῖον Ἡρακλέα [supra p. 216 n. 1]."

<sup>12</sup> *Supra* p. 1028 figs. 819 and 830.

<sup>13</sup> *Supra* p. 1033 pl. lxxii.

<sup>14</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 378.

Greek art normally recognises Hera as the lawful bride of Zeus. Accordingly they are grouped together in a succession of hieratic types, which perhaps postulate a ritual origin<sup>1</sup>.

(a) *Zeus with Hera behind him.*

Vases of the mid sixth century, whether Attic<sup>2</sup> or otherwise<sup>3</sup>, represent Olympos by the king and queen of the gods sitting in state. Zeus is enthroned to the right. Hera is enthroned to the right behind him.

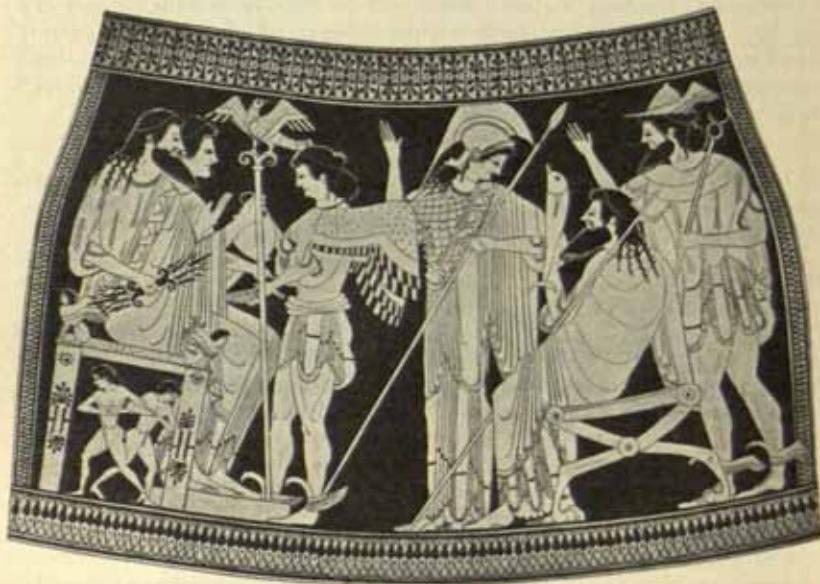


Fig. 841.

(B) *Zeus with Hera beside him.*

By the end of the sixth century painters had learnt to economize their design. They now represented Olympos by Zeus enthroned to the right with Hera sitting at his side<sup>4</sup>. Zeus as the more important deity is nearer to the eye

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *supra* pp. 668, 669 f., 688.

<sup>2</sup> So on the *krater* of Klitiās and Ergotimōs (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* I. 58 pl. 11—12, Hoppin *Black-fig. Vases* p. 150 ff. no. 2, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* I. 255 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> So on a 'Chalcidian' *kylix* in the British Museum (*supra* II. 771 n. 1 with fig. 734).

<sup>4</sup> The red-figured *kylix* by the potter Sosias, at Berlin (*supra* II. 1167 n. 6, III. 818 n. 6), shows Zeus seated with Hera by his side. The upper part of both figures is missing, but enough remains to prove that Zeus in *chitón* and *himation* was holding out a *phiale*, while his eagle-tipped sceptre leaned against his stool (lion-footed and covered with a spotted lion-skin), and that Hera in like costume held sceptre and *phiale*. Before her stands Hebe ('H[ε]bē', not [Nikē], nor 'H[ε]pa'), with spread wings, filling Hera's *phiale* from an *oinochōe*.

A red-figured *amphora* at Munich, attributed to 'the Nikoxenos painter' (Gerhard

of the spectator<sup>1</sup> (fig. 841). Hebe or Iris or other attendants may stand before them.

(γ) *Zeus with Hera facing him.*

Meantime other painters had hit upon a more effective arrangement. They represent Olympos as an assemblage of deities seated *vis-à-vis*<sup>2</sup>. The partner of Zeus, who still looks towards the right, is almost always Hera, though once



Fig. 842.

*Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 31 ff. pl. 7, Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 137 f. no. 405, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 31 (i), 32 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 233 no. 6, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 91 no. 1, E. Buschor in Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 250 f. pl. 158 (=my fig. 841)), again has Zeus and Hera seated side by side and served by a winged attendant—Hebe (Gerhard, Jahn, Hoppin) or Iris (Beazley) or possibly Nike (Buschor). Buschor notes that the throne of Zeus is shown as if seen from the front, the two Sphinxes being arm-rests and the two wrestlers decorative supports for the seat (cp. *supra* p. 682 figs. 492 and 493). He draws up a list of such thrones, which he regards as characteristic of Zeus.

<sup>1</sup> A black-figured *hydria* from Vulci, at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 387 f. no. 1899, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 39 ff. pl. 22 (=my fig. 842)), promotes Athena to the place of honour—a novelty pardonable on the part of an Athenian painter. With a spear that length she can hardly be Hera, *pace* R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 31 f.

<sup>2</sup> (1) A black-figured *kylix* at Berlin (*supra* ii. 776 n. 3 with fig. 740).

(2) A red-figured *kylix* at Corneto, by the potter Euxitheos and the painter Oltos (H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875 xlvi. 254—267, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 23—24 (=my fig. 843), Wien. *Vorlegeb.* d pl. 1—2, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2141 pl. 93, P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 71 ff., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 203, 4—8, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 250 f. no. 2 fig., Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 431 f., iii. 103 figs. 359 f.,

J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925* p. 15 no. 49), has Zeus served by Ganymedes and Hestia seated in place of Hera. The figures from left to right are A: Hebe (pomegranate, flower), Hermes (flower), Athena (spear, helmet), Zeus (*phiale*, thunderbolt), Ganymedes (*einochós*), Hestia (branch, flower), Aphrodite (flower, dove), Ares (spear, helmet), and B: Thero (*thérēs*, doe, snake), Terpes



Fig. 843.



Fig. 844.

(*pléktron, phorminx*), Dionysos (vine, *kántharos*), Kalis (lion, *thýrsos*), Terpon (double flute). On the foot is an Etruscan graffito: *Itun Turunc Veneda Telinas Tinae Cintiaras*.

(3) A red-figured *stámmos* in the Louvre, by the 'Providence painter' (*supra* ii. 735 n. 4, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3<sup>me</sup> Série Paris 1922 p. 237 f. no. 6 370 pl. 138, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 134 no. 31). My fig. 844 is from the *Mon. d. Inst.* vi-vii pl. 58, 2. The figures from left to right are: Zeus, Nike, Apollon, Hera, Hermes, Poseidon, Athena, Plouton, Persephone (?).

(4) A red-figured *kylix* in the British Museum, attributed to the school of Brygos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 90 f. no. 8 67, E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefäße des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen* Berlin 1848 i. 25 f. pl. D

(=my fig. 845), P. Hartwig *op. cit.* p. 361 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 131 no. 61, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 184 no. 1), shows Zeus seated over against Hera. Ganymedes serves the one; Iris, the other. Ares as a sample god stands between them.

(5) A red-figured *hydria* at Leyden, by the 'Oinanthe painter' (Roulez *Vases de Leide*



Fig. 845.

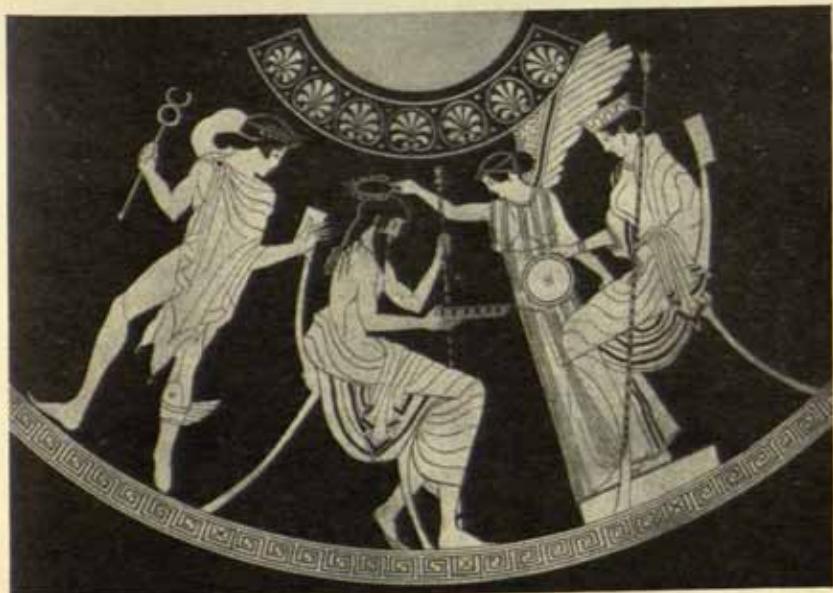


Fig. 846.

p. 1 ff. pl. 1 (=my fig. 846), Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 16 f. pl. 1, 7, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 266, 1, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 252 no. 3). Zeus is seated opposite to Hera. Nike (rather than Iris) crowns his head. Hermes starts away, prepared to do his bidding. J. Roulez, followed with some hesitation by S. Reinach, took this vase to

by way of exception, Hestia takes her place<sup>1</sup>. Iris or Ganymedes or both may be there, and sometimes a Doric column marks the scene as the celestial palace. Others again varied the scheme by making Zeus and Hera change sides, so



Fig. 847.

represent the *hieros gimos*. But K. Wernicke concludes: 'Einen tiefen Sinn in dem Bilde zu suchen wäre verfehlt; es ist gewissermassen eine Genrescene im Olymp.'

(6) The fragment of a red-figured *skypfer* from Tarentum, now at New York (G. M. A. Richter) in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1912 vi. 97 fig. 5 (=my fig. 847), K. Schefold in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 iii. 60 with



Fig. 848.

fig. 19). Zeus seated on an elaborate throne (arm-rest, supported on a lion, ends in a Gorgon-head) has his *himation* drawn up like a veil over the back of his head and holds a sceptre tipped with a dove (Richter) or, more probably, a small eagle (Schefold). Opposite to him is a seated goddess, presumably Hera. And Eros, flying from her to him, presents him with a wreath. Again the scene is suggestive of the *hieros gimos*.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 1050 n. 0 (1) fig. On the association of Zeus with Hestia see *supra* i. 17 n. 1, 149 n. 2, 330 n. 4, ii. 259 n. 0, 317 n. 2, 960 n. 0, 1228 f. More in Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1405 n. 2 and Süss in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1300 f.

that he looks to the left and she to the right<sup>1</sup>. But such transposition is due to mere love of variety<sup>2</sup>.

(8) *Zeus with Hera on the frieze of the Parthenon.*

The 'Kodros painter,' as Professor Beazley<sup>3</sup> put it, was 'Parthenonian' in his effects. But the Parthenon itself on its eastern frieze<sup>4</sup> combined in one triumphant synthesis all three traditional types—the tandem, the side-by-side, and the face-to-face arrangement. The deities are mostly seen *en échelon*. Hera is thus behind Zeus, and yet beside him, while with a gesture characteristic of the bride<sup>5</sup> she turns herself to face her bridegroom. Zeus, alone of the gods, sits on a throne with back and arms: its top-bar terminates in a circular disk and its side-rail is supported on a winged Sphinx. His attitude is one of dignified ease<sup>6</sup>. The right arm, sceptre in hand, rests on his lap; the left leans on the back of his throne. He wears a wreath or fillet in his hair, a *himation* about his legs, and sandals on his feet. Hera sits on a stool, wearing sandals, a Doric *péplos*, and a large outspread veil. She too has a wreath, which is composed of pointed and serrated leaves—probably those of her sacred tree, the willow<sup>7</sup>. At her side in a Doric *péplos* stands Iris<sup>8</sup>, who raises her left hand to adjust a mass of hair and in her right probably held a fillet or garland. In this complex Pheidias—for the design was surely his—has given faultless expression to the current Athenian belief about the wedlock of Zeus and Hera. Moreover, as in the vase-paintings, so on the frieze the group of Zeus and Hera is extended to include a series of other seated deities.

<sup>1</sup> (1) A red-figured *stamnos*, formerly with Depoletti at Rome, latterly with Kaledjian in Paris, and now attributed to the painter Hermonax (F. T. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 293–298, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 1 (=my fig. 848), *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 360, 362 ff. pl. 24 b, Reinach *Rtp. Vases* i. 157, 1, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 476 no. 12 bis) arranges from left to right: a goddess (*quis?*), Dionysos (*kyatharos*, vine-staff), Aphrodite (swan, apple), Poseidon? (restored as Dionysos), Plouton (*cornu copiae*), Hera (sceptre), Iris rather than Nike (*oinochoe*, *caduceus*), Zeus (*phiale*, sceptre).

<sup>2</sup> (2) A red-figured *kýlix* in the British Museum, assigned to the 'Kodros painter' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 108 ff. no. E 82, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1853 xxv. 103–113, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 49 (=my fig. 849), A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2141 f. pl. 92 fig. 2401, Reinach *Rtp. Vases* i. 143, 1 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 154 no. 3, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 425 no. 5), depicts a symposium of the gods. Outside, *A* Amphitrite (dipper, *alabastron*), Poseidon (trident, *phiale*), Hera (sceptre), Zeus (sceptre, *phiale*), Ganymedes (strainer seen edgewise): *B* Aphrodite (*mematothéke?*), Ares (spear, *phiale* on table), Ariadne (love-gesture of fingers, cp. C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 256, 287 n. 2), Dionysos (*phiale*, *thyrsos*), Komos. Inside, Pherophattha (love-gesture of fingers?), Plouton (*phiale*, *cornu copiae*).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *supra* p. 694 fig. 502.

<sup>4</sup> J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 425 'Sehr feine Schalen mit Anklängen an Parthenonisches.'

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* ii. 1135 n. 5 with pl. xliv.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. *supra* p. 1038 fig. 834.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* i. 91 f. fig. 64.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 1028 ff. So already A. H. Smith *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 76.

<sup>9</sup> The choice lies between Nike (Overbeck *Gr. Plastik* i. 444, F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgöttin* Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 9, 39–40) and Iris (J. Stuart and N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1787 ii. 13 pl. 24, followed by most modern critics). Somewhat in favour of the former is her long clothing; but decisive for the latter is her position next Hera, not Zeus.



Fig. 849.

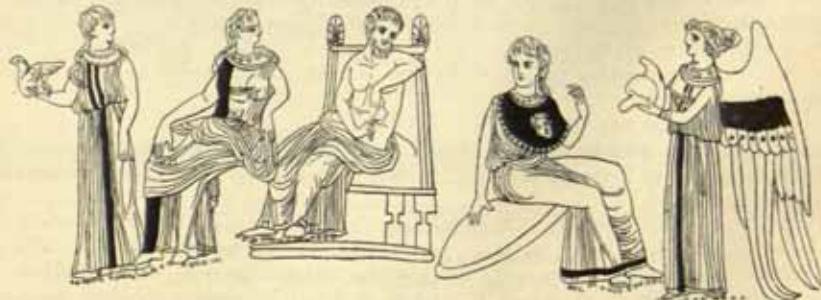


Fig. 850.

Not altogether uninfluenced by the Parthenon frieze is the upper<sup>1</sup> row of figures on an 'Apulian' *amphora* in the Santangelo collection at Naples (fig. 850)<sup>2</sup>. The painter of this vase has represented in crude and clumsy juxtaposition a sequence of Aphrodite, Hera, Zeus, Athena, and Nike. The arrangement of Hera, Zeus, and perhaps Athena<sup>3</sup> owes something to the Pheidias scheme, modified of course to suit the subject in hand.

(e) *Zeus with Hera in archaic reliefs.*

Zeus and Hera, conceived as a wedded pair, had long since taken their place among the traditional gods of Greece. They figure therefore as two of the canonical twelve, who from the fifth century onwards tend to be represented in an affected archaic style suggestive of long-standing cults. O. Weinreich<sup>4</sup> in a recent article has traced with masterly skill the whole rise and development of these 'Zwölfsgötter.' He shows convincingly that they were *ab origine* the Olympian counterpart of an earthly 'Zwölftstaat'—a divine 'Synoikismos' which shaped itself on Ionian soil at least as far back as the seventh century B.C.<sup>5</sup>, that in the fourth century owing to Iranian influence on the Platonic school they came to be viewed as 'Monats- oder Zodiakusgötter'<sup>6</sup>, and that in Graeco-Roman times they played a noteworthy part in the formation of political and social ideals<sup>7</sup>, in theological speculation<sup>8</sup>, and in magic<sup>9</sup>. Here I am concerned merely to illustrate the various positions assigned to Zeus and Hera in the archaic renderings of the canon.

A votive relief, said to have been found at Tarentum and offered for sale in Paris, was well published by E. Schmidt (fig. 851)<sup>10</sup>, who now dates it as early as c. 460 B.C.<sup>11</sup>. It represents, on Pentelic (?) marble and in curiously flat technique, the twelve gods standing, not walking, with left foot advanced, as if they were lined up for the start of a procession. Their order from right to left is Apollon

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *supra* i. 200 n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 636 ff. Santangelo no. 24, Raoul-Rochette *Monuments inédits d'antiquités figurées* Paris 1833 p. 201 ff. pl. 41 (part of which = my fig. 850).

<sup>3</sup> Her relative position may be reminiscent of the Parthenon frieze, but her type is obviously taken from the balustrade of Nike *Apteros* (R. Kekulé *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike* Stuttgart 1881 p. 7 pl. 2, 8, R. Heberdey 'Die Komposition der Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike' in the *Jahresheft d. west. arch. Inst.* 1922 xi—xxii. 14 f. fig. 10), as is that of the helmet-bearing Nike who stands beside her (Kekulé *op. cit.* p. 8 pl. 4, 8, Heberdey *loc. cit.* p. 22 f. fig. 18).

<sup>4</sup> O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 764—848. See also the same scholar's earlier works: 'Lykische Zwölfsgötter-Reliefs' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1913 Abb. v. 1—42 fig. 1 and pls. 1—3, *Triskaidekatische Studien* Giessen 1916 pp. 1—124, 'Zwölfsgötter, Zwölfzahl und Zwölftstaat' in *Aus Unterricht und Forschung* 1935 vii. 319—331.

<sup>5</sup> O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 768 f., 771 f., 829 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.* vi. 770, 823 ff. Cp. a weighty passage in F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 pp. 476—478.

<sup>7</sup> O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 830 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Id. ib.* vi. 837 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkschr. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 660 (=my fig. 851) with text by E. Schmidt pp. 1—11, O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 790 ff. fig. 2. Width: 1.195 m.

<sup>10</sup> E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 p. 57.

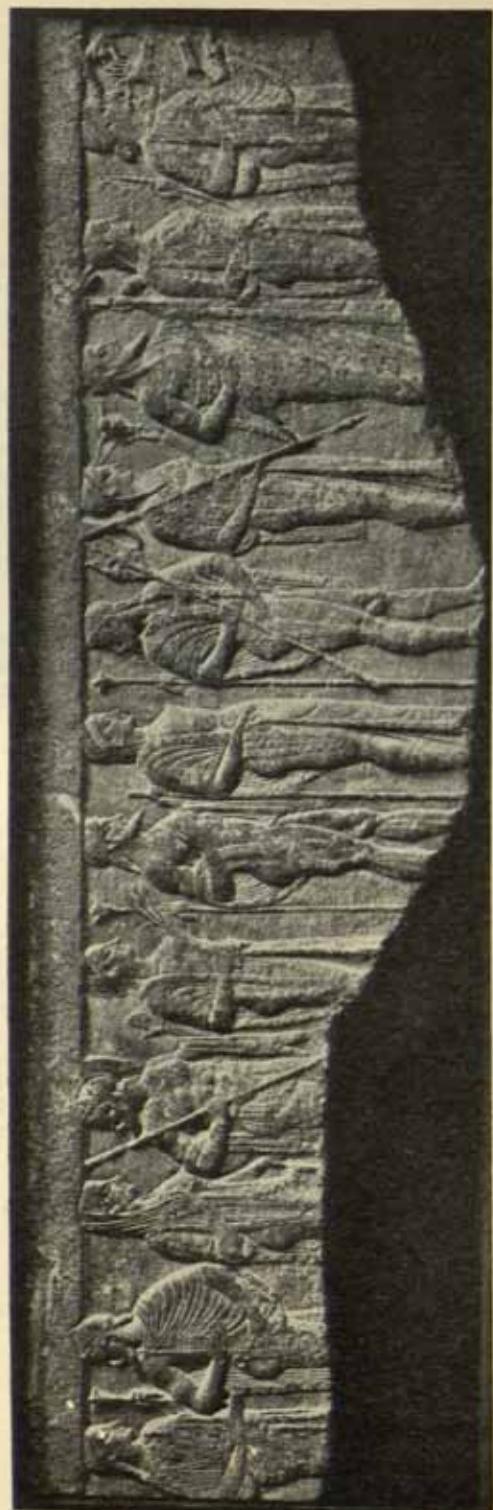


Fig. 821.

(*pléktron, kithára*, bay-wreath), Artemis (bow, quiver), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Athena (spear, owl, helmet, *aigis*); Poseidon (trident), Hera (sceptre), Hephaistos (shorter staff), Demeter (corn-ears, sceptre); Ares (spear, helmet, breastplate), Aphrodite (small oval fruit between fingers of right hand), Hermes (*caduceus, pilos*), Hestia (*phiale*, sceptre). The twelve form three fours, the divisions between them being marked by the fact that the leader of the second and third group turns to address his immediate follower—an action repeated by the final pair. Throughout the line god alternates with goddess. But it is to be observed that Hera's place next Zeus is usurped by Athena—a variation which, as in the case of a black-figured vase already mentioned<sup>1</sup>, points to the patriotic design of an Athenian craftsman.

The same arrangement in three fours appears five centuries later on the so-called *ara Borghese* in the Louvre (fig. 852, *a—c*)<sup>2</sup>. This triangular base of Pentelic marble, meant to support a *candelabrum* or a tripod, is embellished with two ranges of divine figures. Above we see the twelve gods grouped as follows from left to right: Zeus (thunderbolt) with Hera (sceptre, bridal veil) and Poseidon (trident) with Demeter (corn-ears?); Apollon (*pléktron, kithára*?—wrongly restored as a goddess<sup>3</sup>!) with Artemis (arrow?, quiver?, bow) and Hephaistos (pincers—again wrongly restored as a goddess!) with Athena (spear, *aigis*, helmet?, shield?); Ares (spear, shield, helmet?, breastplate?) with Aphrodite (dove) and Hermes (*caduceus, talaria*) with Hestia (veil, sceptre). Below on a larger scale are the three Charites (joining hands for the dance); the three Horai (flower, grapes, corn); the three Moirai (sceptres). The general effect is that of an archaizing *santa conversazione*. But it is clear that Zeus and Hera head the assembly, and that the Charites<sup>4</sup>, the Horai<sup>5</sup>, the Moirai<sup>6</sup> are all introduced in relation to Zeus.

The arrangement in fours underlies also the grouping of the twelve on the *puteal Albani*, a well-mouth of Roman date formerly in the Albani collection but now in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 853)<sup>7</sup>. This relief, of Greek marble but Roman design<sup>8</sup>, divides the gods into two unequal companies, eight moving towards the right, four towards the left. On the one hand we have Zeus (thunderbolt, sceptre), Hera (stephdne, bridal veil), Athena (*aigis*, helmet, spear),

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 1049 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 1. 170—181 pls. 172—174 figs. 11—17 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 65 f., Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 8 pl. 12, 43 and 44, pl. 13, 45 (=my fig. 852, *a, c, δ*), Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 3 ff. no. 1. Height: 2·089m.

<sup>3</sup> O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1868 p. 193 pl. 5, 1—3 published sketches of the base, made by Pighius c. 1500 A.D., which show the figures without the misleading alterations. A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2137 with figs. 2394—2396 inserts the sketches of Pighius into the drawings of Müller—Wieseler.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* i. 155, ii. 232 n. 6 fig. 160, iii. 955.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1, 94 n. 2, 232 n. 6, 372 f., 1138 n. 5, iii. 955.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* ii. 231 n. 8, 1138 n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 106 ff. Galleria no. 31 b pl. 29 (six photographs, each showing two deities), Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 137 ff. pl. 18, 197 (=my fig. 853), W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*<sup>2</sup> Leipzig 1912 i. 431 ff. no. 783 (who notes that, according to old drawings, the present restored head of Aphrodite should have been looking backwards to link up with the other company), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 798 f. with fig. 4. Height: 0·493m.

<sup>8</sup> E. Schmidt *Archäistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 p. 25 f. ('flavische Zeit ist mir das wahrscheinlichste, hadrianische das späteste mögliche Datum').

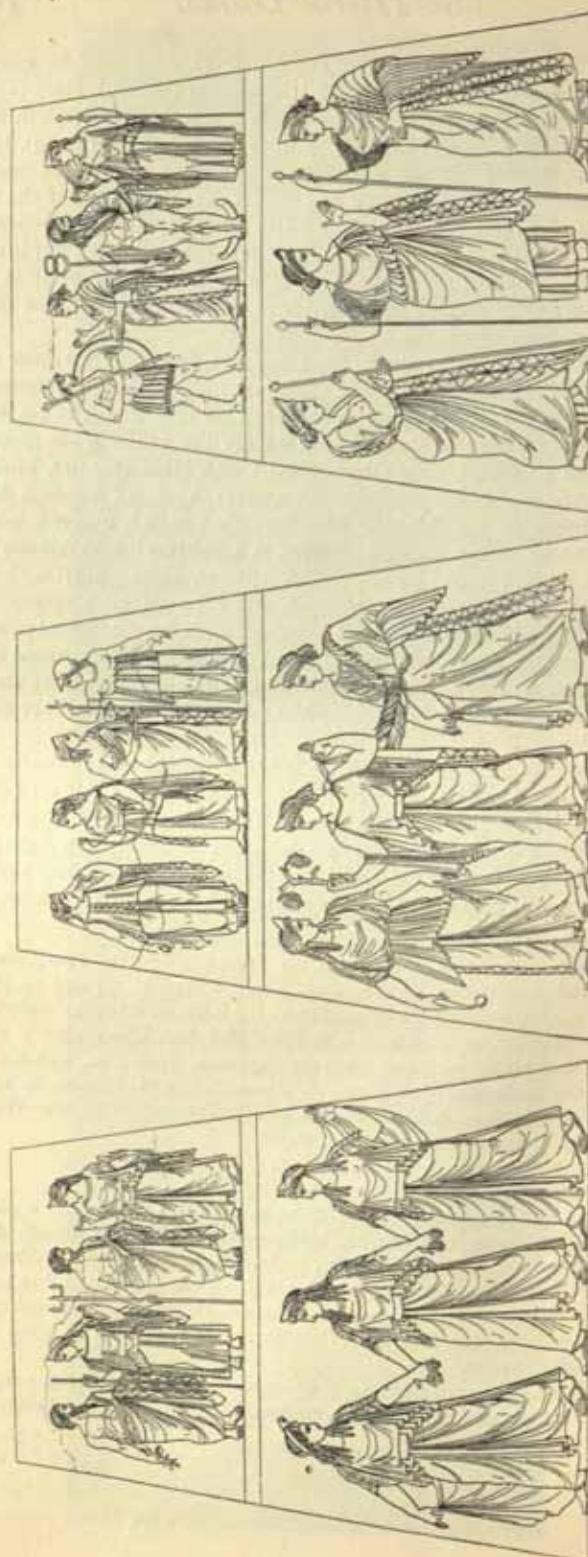


Fig. 852.

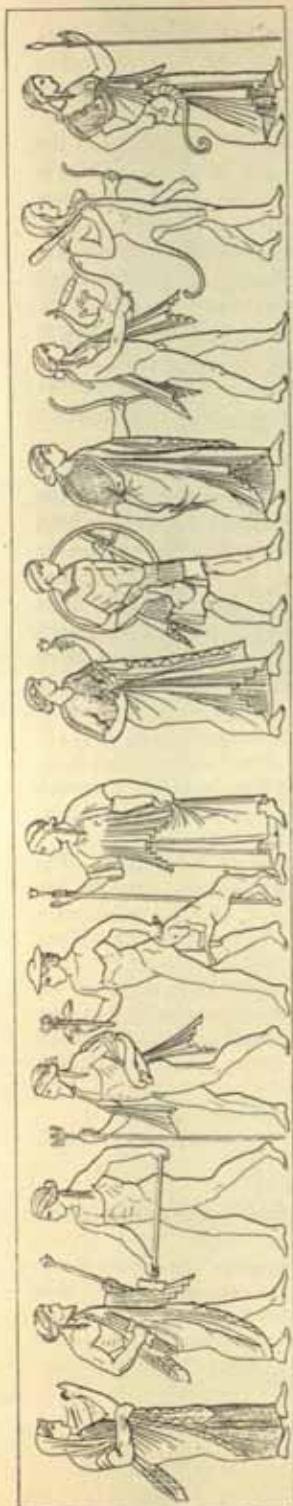


Fig. 853.



Fig. 854.

Herakles (lion-skin, club, bow), Apollon (*pīlektron*, lyre), Artemis (bow), Ares (breastplate, helmet, shield, greaves), Aphrodite (bud, flower); on the other hand, Hephaistos (double axe), Poseidon (trident, dolphin), Hermes (*pēltas*, winged *caduceus*, goat), Hestia? (sceptre).

Not three fours, but four threes, was the distribution of the twelve on the so-called *ara Albani*, a quadrangular base of marble still in the Villa Albani (fig. 855)<sup>1</sup>. Three slabs only of this relief are extant. They represent a procession of deities passing from left to right—Artemis (torches), Leto?<sup>2</sup> (sceptre), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Hera (*stephāne*, sceptre, bridal veil), Poseidon (trident), Demeter (poppies and corn-ears, sceptre), Dionysos (*nebris* restored as breastplate, *thyrsos*), Hermes (*caduceus*, *talaria*). But these figures were not all. A fragment of drapery to be seen in front of Artemis' right knee (fig. 855, c) makes it probable that Apollon, chanting, originally led the way. And a forearm visible behind Hermes (fig. 855, a) proves that he was followed by another deity, possibly Hestia. It seems likely that the canonical number was completed by the presence of two more gods on the missing slab.

J. G. Zoega<sup>3</sup> was the first to suggest that this monument showed the wedding of Zeus and Hera. His opinion was adopted by F. G. Welcker<sup>4</sup>, who noted the wreaths worn by all the extant figures, and met P. A. Visconti's objection that Zeus and Hera appear on separate slabs by the conjecture that the procession was designed for a circular, not a quadrangular, base. K. Wernicke<sup>5</sup> too endorses Zoega's view, though with some hesitation. But W. Amelung<sup>6</sup> finds this explanation far from convincing. No doubt a well-mouth so decorated would be suitable enough in a private house: the wedding of Zeus and Hera was the prototype of all weddings<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless it would be safer to conclude

<sup>1</sup> Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14—26 pl. 1, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmuth.* Hera p. 174 ff. Atlas pl. 10, 29 a—c, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 129 no. 1, W. Helbig *op. cit.* ii. 458 f. no. 1930, O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 800. My fig. 855, a—c is from photographs of the cast at Cambridge. Height: 0·65m.

The face of Hera has been retouched, that of Demeter more seriously altered. The head and right arm of Hermes, the face and right arm of Dionysos, perhaps also the legs of the latter, are modern. Hermes was originally bearded; and Dionysos wore, not a breastplate, but a *nebris* over his short *chitón*. The bird on the sceptre of Zeus is not a cuckoo, as G. Zoega thought, but an eagle.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 19 'Hier, unmittelbar vor dem Brautpaar, ist die Stelle der Brautmutter; man hat daher entweder auf Rhea oder Tethys (als Pflegemutter) gedeutet; der Gedanke an Leto (weil sie den Mantelzipfel der Artemis fasst) ist entschieden zu verwerfen, solche in dieser Klasse von Reliefs typischen Züge sind inhaltlich ohne Bedeutung.'

<sup>3</sup> G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 ii. 251—257 pl. 101.

<sup>4</sup> F. G. Welcker 'Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1842 i. 420 ff. =id. *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14 ff. pl. 1, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9.

<sup>6</sup> W. Amelung in W. Helbig *op. cit.* ii. 459: 'Doch ist die Deutung auf den Hochzeitzug des Zeus und der Hera keineswegs zwingend.'

<sup>7</sup> Diod. 5. 73 *προθύσασι δὲ πρότερον ἄστρας τῷ Διὶ τῷ Τελείῳ καὶ Ἡρῷ Τελείᾳ διὰ τὸ τοῦτον ἀρχηγὸν γεγονέναι καὶ πάντας εἰπεῖς*, Dion. Hal. *ars rhet.* 2. 2 καὶ διὰ οὗτοι (sc. οἱ θεοὶ) οἱ εὐρόντες καὶ δεῖξαντες τοὺς γάμους τοὺς διεθράπτοις. Ζεὺς γάρ καὶ Ἡρα, πρῶτος ἐπιγνώντες τε καὶ συνδιάζοντες οὗτα τοὺς μὲν καὶ Πατήρα καλεῖται πάστων, ἡ δὲ Ζεύσις ἀπὸ τοῦ γεγονότος τὸ θῆλυ τῷ διπέρι. Cp. Aisch. *Ἐπίγονοι frag.* 55 Nauck<sup>2</sup> ap. schol. Aristoph. *Isthm.* 6. 10 and see also schol. Aristoph. *therm.* 973.



Fig. 845.  
*a*



Fig. 845.  
*b*



*c*

that the twelve gods are here portrayed simply as a divine team arriving<sup>1</sup> to bless the home of their worshippers. They are the plastic counterpart of the painted twelve found more than once at Pompeii<sup>2</sup> (figs. 856, 857). It may be doubted whether their religious significance was much greater than that of our own Apostle-spoons.

(10) *The Hieròs Gámos in the Far West.*

There is no reason to think that the myth of the *hieròs gámos* was ever located at Athens<sup>3</sup>. Athenian poets do indeed occasionally refer to such a myth. Sophokles speaks of the Gardens of Zeus and their proverbial felicity<sup>4</sup>, Aristophanes of the Plain of Zeus and the bridal bed towards which at the triumphant close of his great comedy the birds wing their way<sup>5</sup>. But the home

W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 n. o (=id. in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100) 'Nach den Worten des Lex. rhet. p. 670, 28 Pors. [on which source consult W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*<sup>6</sup> München 1924 ii. 2. 876 f.] οἱ γαμοῦσες τοιούστι τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῷ Ἡρῷ ιεροῖς γάμοις scheint man jede Hochzeit als eine Art Hieros-gamos aufgefasst zu haben.' But?

<sup>1</sup> Cp. e.g. Plaut. *Epid.* 610 f. si undecim deos praeter sese secum adducat Iuppiter, ita non omnes ex cruciati poterunt eximere Epidiculum.

<sup>2</sup> (1) On the outer wall of a corner-house, where the *Vicolo dei dodici iddi* runs into the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (*Reg.* viii. 3) (E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850 xxii. 206—214 pl. K, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 5 f. no. 7, J. Overbeck *Pompeji* Leipzig 1884 p. 244, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 62 ff. pl. 6, 2 (=my fig. 856), A. Mau *Pompeii its Life and Art*<sup>2</sup> trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 p. 236, Reinach *Rtp. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 5 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*<sup>6</sup> Leipzig 1928 p. 120). The gods, standing between two bay-trees, are—from left to right—Vesta (cup (not apple), sceptre, ass), Diana (spear, bow and arrows, fawn), Apollo (*cithara*), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Minerva (helmet, spear, shield), Iupiter apparently of youthful beardless type (sceptre), Iuno (sceptre), Volcanus of beardless type (*pileus*, hammer, tongs), Venus *Pompicianæ* (*modius*, small branch?, sceptre, rudder?), Mars (helmet, breastplate, greaves, shield), Neptunus (trident), Mercurius (winged *pétasos*, *talaria*, purse, winged *caducus*). Beneath the twelve and under their protection was the painting of an altar set out with various fruits and approached by two snakes (beards, crests, forked tongues) with a background of bay-bushes.

(2) On the outer wall of a house in the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (*Reg.* ix. 11) (M. Della Corte in the *Not. Scavi* 1911 p. 417 ff. figs. 1, 2, 2a, R. Delbrueck in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsh. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxxviii Arch. Anz. p. 162 with fig. 17, Reinach *Rtp. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 6 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*<sup>6</sup> Leipzig 1928 p. 133 fig. 62, F. Saxl *Mithras* Berlin 1931 p. 75 n. 4 with pl. 30 fig. 165 (=my fig. 857), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 808 with fig. 5). The gods, standing *en face* between two (?) Corinthian pillars, are—from left to right—Iupiter (sceptre, thunderbolt), Iuno (*stephdne*, veil, *patera*, sceptre), Mars (Oscan helmet, breastplate, spear, round shield, *balteus*, sword?), Minerva (crested Corinthian helmet, *Gorgoneion*, *patera*, spear, round shield), Hercules (lion-skin, *balteus*, *skifphos*, club), Venus (veil, winged Cupid), Mercurius (purse, *caducus*), Proserpina (*modius*, sceptre), Volcanus of juvenile type (*pileus*, hammer), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Apollo (bow, quiver, *plectrum*, lyre), Diana (crown, bow, quiver, *patera*, sceptre). Adjoining this group is an altar on which were found charcoal and cinders, remains of the last offering, and above it the painting of a sacrifice by the *vicomagistri*.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 1047.

<sup>2</sup> Soph. *Ion* frag. 197 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 320 Jebb (cited *supra* ii. 1021).

<sup>3</sup> Aristoph. *av.* 1758 (cited *supra* ii. 1021, iii. 59).



Fig. 856.



Fig. 857.

of Zeus is placed in the far west—a sunset fancy, for which mortals sigh in vain. Thus Euripides in his *Hippolytes* makes a chorus of Troezenian women, fain to escape from the troubles of this life, exclaim :

O to win to the strand where the apples are growing  
 Of the Hesperid chanters kept in ward,  
 Where the path over Ocean purple-glowing  
 By the Sea's Lord is to the seafarer barred!  
 O to light where Atlas hath aye in his keeping  
 The bourn twixt earth and the heavens bestarred,  
 Where the fountains ambrosial sunward are leaping  
 By the couches where Zeus in his halls lieth sleeping,  
 Where the bounty of Earth the life-bestowing  
 The bliss of the Gods ever higher is heaping!<sup>1</sup>

The myth here touched upon is set out more fully by Pherekydes, the logographer of Leros, who is called an Athenian<sup>2</sup> also, probably because he spent most of his life at Athens. When Zeus married Hera,—he says<sup>3</sup>—the gods brought wedding-gifts to the bride. Among them came Ge, bearing boughs of golden apples. Hera, astonished at the sight, bade plant the boughs in her garden<sup>4</sup> hard by Mount Atlas. But Atlas' virgin daughters, the Hesperides, kept taking of the apples; so Hera set a monstrous snake to guard the tree. This snake was slain by Herakles and translated to the stars by Hera<sup>5</sup>.

Pherekydes' tale gives prominence to Ge; and it is to be observed that a Pindaric fragment<sup>6</sup>, our oldest source for a marriage of Zeus in the remote west, mentions as his consort, not Hera at all, but Themis—a goddess expressly identified with Ge both in the poetry of Aischylos and in the official nomenclature of Athens<sup>7</sup>.

#### (11) Inferences concerning the *Hierōs Gámos*.

We have now passed in review the evidence, both literary and monumental, for the *hierōs gámos* of Zeus and Hera. Two points emerge and must be emphasised.

<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Hipp.* 747–751 trans. A. S. Way.

<sup>2</sup> Soudi. s.v. Φερέκυδης, on which see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*<sup>6</sup> München 1912 i. 454 ff. and W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1929 i. 1. 710 ff. *Supra* p. 455.

<sup>3</sup> Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 79 f. Müller)=*frag.* 16 c (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 65 Jacoby) *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 3, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3, Myth. Vat. 1. 106, 2. 161, schol. Caes. Germ. *Arates* p. 382, 21 ff. Eyssenhardt. Cp. the longer account in Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 78 f. Müller)=*frag.* 16 a and *frag.* 17 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 65 f. Jacoby). See also Athen. 83 C (*supra* ii. 1021).

<sup>4</sup> This garden is called Ἡρᾶς λειμῶν (Kallim. h. *Artem.* 164) or θεῶν κῆπος (Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 a (*supra* n. 3)). It is identical with the Οὐκεανοῦ κῆπος, where the Clouds array their dance (Aristoph. *nub.* 271). Cp. τοὺς Σελήνης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης λειμῶνας (Plout. *amat.* 20).

Here grew the trefoil ὁκύθοος (Hesych. s.v.), used as fodder by the fawns of Artemis and the horses of Zeus (Kallim. h. *Artem.* 163 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 489 figs. 318 and 319.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* ii. 176 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1.

On Themis as 'an emanation from Ge' see Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 12 ff. Cp. also Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 475 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 101 n. 5 ff., 148 n. 5 f., 1066, 1080 n. 6, 1094, 1166 n. 13.

In the first place, the great bulk of the evidence is comparatively late. If we except one passage in the *Iliad*, neither ritual nor myth is attested before the fifth century B.C. Moreover, the single exception is itself certainly an addition, probably a late addition, to the *Iliad*. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield assigned it to the third and latest stratum of the poem, a stratum which they date between 1000 and 800 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Professor G. Murray, who lays stress on the 'Milesian' tone of the episode, speaks of it as 'that late Homeric story of the *Outwitting of Zeus*' and refers it to a period when 'the Epos as a form of living and growing poetry was doomed'.<sup>2</sup> However that may be, not a single allusion to the sacred marriage of Zeus with Hera is forthcoming from the Homeric hymns or Hesiod, from Pindar or the other lyrical poets, one indirect reference only from Aischylos<sup>3</sup>, none from Sophokles, none from Herodotos, Thukydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Platon, none even from Pausanias. Nor is the scene represented by monuments of any kind belonging to the genuinely archaic period of Greek civilisation. This almost complete absence of early evidence raises a suspicion that the *hieròs gámos* was of comparatively recent introduction.

In the second place, this suspicion is deepened by the fact that here and there, even where the *hieròs gámos* is attested, Zeus seems to have had an older partner, who was not Hera, or Hera an older partner, who was not Zeus. For example, we have seen reason to think that on Mount Kithairon Leto *Mychla* or *Nychia* was paired with Zeus before the arrival of Hera<sup>4</sup>, and that in the myth of Zeus' western marriage Themis, not Hera, was the original bride<sup>5</sup>. A *kylix* by the painter Oltos strangely ignored Hera in favour of Hestia in a scene perhaps reminiscent of the *hieròs gámos*<sup>6</sup>. At Argos the evidence pointed to a marriage of Hera, but did not prove that her original consort was Zeus<sup>7</sup>; while at Knossos it was practically certain that the ritual marriage of Zeus and Hera had been preceded by a ritual marriage of a sun-god and a moon-goddess in bovine form<sup>8</sup>.

In short, the case for Hera as essentially and *ab origine* the bride of Zeus is neither proven nor probable.

<sup>1</sup> *The Iliad of Homer* ed. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield London 1898 ii pp. xx, xxiii, 329 ff.

<sup>2</sup> G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic* Oxford 1907 p. 242 ff. *Id. ib.*<sup>3</sup> Oxford 1924 p. 275 still speaks of 'that late Homeric story of the *Tricking of Zeus*'.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1060 n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 1042.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 1064.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 1049 n. 2 (2), fig. 843.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 1045.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* i. 523, iii. 1032.

## ADDENDA

i. 2 n. 2. For the blue-black eyebrows of Zeus cp. Apul. *met.* 6. 7 *nec renuit Iovis caerulum supercilium*. See also S. Marinatos in the *Aρχ. ΒΦ.* 1927—1928 p. 198 f. (Mesopotamian technique with inlay of *lapis lazuli* or blue paste), J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Berkeley, California 1930 p. 192 f. (normal colouring of Mediterranean physique).

i. 7 n. 2. Add *Anth. Plan.* 121. 3 ἢν ἐφορῶσιν ἀπ' αἰθέρος αἱ Δίδεις αὐγαί.

i. 15 n. 6. A parallel to the line of Ennius is the fine passage in Pacuvius *Chryses* frag. 6 (*Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 99 f. Ribbeck) ap. *Varr. de ling. Lat.* 5. 17, *Cic. de nat. deor.* 2. 91, *de div.* 1. 131, *Non. Marc.* p. 209, 8 f. Lindsay.

i. 18 n. 3. See now the dissertation of H. Oppermann *De Jove Panamaro* Bonn 1919—1920, revised and partly rewritten in his *Zeus Panamaros* Giessen 1924 pp. 1—94, J. Hatzfeld 'Inscriptions de Panamara' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 II. 57—122 (text of 139 inscriptions), P. Roussel 'Les mystères de Panamara' ib. pp. 123—137 (summary by E. H. Hefner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 517 f.). P. Roussel 'Le miracle de Zeus Panamaros' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 IV. 70—116 with pls. 5 and 6 restores a long inscription, from the wall of the temple, recording how Zeus with sudden flame and fog repulsed troops (perhaps those of Q. Labienus in 41—40 B.C. (Dion Cass. 48. 26)) attacking his sanctuary (summarised by P. Roussel in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1932 xlvi. 223 and by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 539). When the enemy attempted a night-surprise, 7 [—ό θεὸς μετὰ φω]τὸς φλόγα πολλήρ [α]γόρας ἀπειράζεις τε[ρ]α—]. When they resumed operations the next day, 10 [—συνέβη αὐτοῖς περιχούσιοις ὄμιχλοι βαθεῖαις ὅπεις τοῖς μὲν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαχομένοις λαβεῖν αὐτοῖς] [—καὶ καὶ δέ τοι τὸ μέρος τοῦ χωρίου καθ' ὃ προσβάλλεις ἔπειρησας] [ἔπειρησας χειμῶνα μέγαν καὶ καταρραγῆναι βροντής συνεχεῖς καὶ διαστοσις [διστρα]πάτη. διὰ ταῦτα δὴ δεινῶς κατεπάγησαν] [οἱ πολέμους καὶ κραυγῆς πολλή ἡ τῶν βοη[η]ούσια τῶν μὲν ΙΧΩΡΗΝ (so G. Cousin) φωνούσια[ν], ἐπὶ δὲ αἴρασθαις τῶν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ μέταρ εἰσι Διὶ Παναμαρο, κ.τ.λ. A third and final assault was defeated by the shouting of unseen helpers and the baying of supernatural hounds: 24 [—κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ χωρίον πολιορκοῦστον, δάλαγρος τε ἀπήκοστος ὡς βοηθείας] [ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔπειρησαντης, κατέπερ οὐδεποτέ φανομένου, καὶ κύνοις ὑλαγροῖς ἐγείροντο πολὺ ὡς προστλ[ε]κομένων τοῖς προσβάλλοντος] κ.τ.λ. A. Laumonier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 lviii. 336 f. no. 20 with fig. (Stratonikeia) Δαιμόστεχος | Διεὶ Παναμάρο | καὶ Βατύ | on a marble slab above a lion-head (fountain-jet?) in relief.

i. 23 n. 6. On hair-offering see further L. Sommer *Das Haar in Religion und Aberglauben der Griechen* Münster i. W. 1912 pp. 1—86, G. Wilke 'Ein altnordisches Haaropfer' in *Mannus* 1924 xvi. 64 ff., G. Kossinna 'Zum Haaropfer' 112, R. Moschkau 'Nachtrag zum germanischen Haaropfer' ib. 1925 xvii. 121, H. Lewy 'Haarscheren als "rite de passage"' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 203 f., H. Bachtold-Stäubli in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1239—1288 ('Haar'), Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 475 ff.

S. Aurigemma II. R. Museo di Spina Ferrara 1935 p. 116 pl. 62 publishes a fine Etruscan statuette, of bronze washed in silver, which represents a boy, clad in a *chlamys*, severing a long tress of his hair with his sword.

i. 26 n. 10. Eustath. in Dionys. *per. epist.* p. 209, 14 ff. Müller καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὁ παρ' Οὐραφ, τοῖς περὶ Οὐραφῶν θύκοις ἐπιτρέπων αἰθέρος, αὐτῷ γαὶς αὐτῷ τε θαλάσσην τὰ κάτω μεταστοχεῖσθαι βρεφθεῖσα, αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ ἡν διενθύνει κάτω ἀλαζορεύεται. κ.τ.λ., id. in *Il. p. 1057, 49* Ζεῦ ἀνα Διδώναις, τοντότοις αἰθέρει καὶ περίγεις.

i. 27. A. Plaissart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 I. 408 no. 22 records a dedication from Thespiae [Κα]λλιμαχος [Διότι] | Αἰθέροι | [Ι]αρεῖν Αθάν[αι].

i. 34 n. 3. On the pediment of the temple of Jupiter *Capitolinus* see now A. M. Colini in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1925 lxxi. 160—200 figs. 1—8 and pl.

i. 38. The heads hanging on the palace-wall appear also on a sarcophagus-lid found in Rome and published by R. Paribeni in the *Nat. Scav.* 1926 p. 295 f. pl. 8, a.

i. 41 ff. See further the careful dissertation of A. Schlachter *Der Globus: seine Entstehung und Verwendung in der Antike* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ viii) Leipzig—Berlin 1927 pp. 1—118.

i. 46. Cp. R. Browning *The Bishop orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church* 47 ff.  
'So, let the blue lump poise between my knees, | Like God the Father's globe on both  
his hands | Ye worship in the Jesu Church so gay.'

i. 47. A gilded bronze statuette with eyes of silver inlay, formerly in the Somzée Collection, represented Zeus enthroned with his left foot resting on a high footstool, restored as a large globe (A. Furtwängler *Sammlung Somzée* München 1897 p. 58 f. no. 87 pl. 34, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 780 no. 1).

i. 52 n. 7. R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1924 xxxv. 223 n. 29 f. deals with this apple as the 'orb of dominion.'

i. 53 with fig. 31. E. Lattes *Le incisioni paleolatine dei fittili e dei bronzi di provenienza etrusca* Milano 1892 pp. 104 f., 111, *id. Saggi e appunti intorno alla iscrizione etrusca della mummia* Milano 1894 p. 24 f. regards the Orvieto cone as an altar for libation to the dead, and reads *Tinia tincivl i. asi. sacni* = Iovis diuina (haec est super ara sancta).

i. 53 f. On the stone of Terminus see also E. Samter 'Die Entwicklung des Terminuskultus' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 137—144 (with which I do not wholly agree: *supra* p. 441), Louise A. Holland in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 553 n. 1, and Agnes Kirsopp Lake 'Lapis Capitolinus' in *Class. Philol.* 1936 xxxi. 72 f. (summarised in the *Class. Quart.* 1936 xxx. 219).

i. 53 n. 1 *Grabphalli*. Add F. Schachermeyr in the *Ath. Mittb.* 1916 xli. 377 (Lydia, Karia, Phrygia?), E. S. Hartland in *J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 825<sup>b</sup> (Scandinavia), G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 396 (Lydia, raising a series of interesting philological possibilities), H. Shetelig—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 247 f. (Scandinavia), A. T. Curle in *Antiquity* 1937 xi. 352 ff. pls. 5—8 (British Somailand, cp. Galla provinces of southern Ethiopia).

i. 56 with fig. 36. A complete publication of this important sarcophagus is now available, F. Gerke *Der Sarkophag des Junius Bassus* Berlin 1936 pp. 1—37 with 32 plates.

i. 65. S. Luria 'Asteropos' in the *Berl. Philol. Woch.* Juni 19, 1926 p. 701 f. makes Asteropos the ephor (Plout. v. *Kleom.* 10) no proper name but an old religious epithet of the ephor as such (cp. Plout. v. *Agid.* 11 ἡφορος... πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέπων). V. Ehrenberg 'Asteropos' *ib.* Jan. 1, 1927 p. 27 ff. rightly demurs.

i. 66 n. 5. See further J. van der Vliet 'Quo discrimine dei et homines inter se dignoscantur' in *Mnemosyne* 1901 xxix. 207 f. and S. A. Naber 'Deorum coronae' *ib.* 1901 xxix. 304—306.

i. 67 n. 3. W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 172 doubts my explanation of Plutarch's human θάφοι. But such usages are very ancient and wide-spread. Engraved and painted on the rock-wall of a cave at Les Trois-Frères near S. Girons (Ariège) is a male figure of the middle Magdalenian period. He has human hands and feet, and a full beard, but hairy animal ears, stag's antlers, and an equine tail (H. Obermaier *Fossil Man in Spain* Yale Univ. Press 1924 p. 233 fig. 103, M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte des bildenden Kunst in Europa*<sup>3</sup> Wien 1925 p. 668 ff. fig. 1, R. de Saint-Périer *L'Art préhistorique (Époque paléolithique)* Paris 1932 p. 57 pl. 49, 6).

Stag-mummers in south Gaul c. 500 A.D. are attested by Caesarius of Arles and Eligius of Noyon. Caesarius *serm.* 130. 1 says: 'Quid enim est tam demens, quam virilem sexum in formam mulieris turpi habitu commutare? quid tam demens, quam deformare faciem et vultus induere, quos ipsi etiam daemones expavescunt? quid tam demens, quam incompositis motibus et impudicis carminibus vitiorum laudes invercunda delectatione cantare, indui ferino habitu et capreae aut cervo similem fieri, ut homo ad imaginem Dei et similitudinem factus sacrificium daemonum fiat?' (xxxix. 2003 Migne), *id. ib.* 130. 2: 'Quicumque ergo in Calendis Januariis quibuscumque miseria hominibus sacrilego ritu insanientibus potius quam ludentibus aliquam humanitatem dederint, non hominibus sed demonibus se dedisse cognoscant. Et ideo si in peccatis eorum particeps esse non vultis, cervulum sive caniculam (so E. Maass for *anniculan*, *anulas*, *agriculan* codd.) aut aliqua quelibet portenta ante domos vestras venire non permittatis...' (xxxix. 2004 Migne). Eligius *de rectitudine catholicae conversationis* 5 follows suit: 'Nullus in Calendis Januariis nefanda et ridiculosa, vetulas aut cervulos aut <canes vena> ticos (so I would read for *joticos*, *jotticos*, *jotricos* codd.), faciat...' (xl. 1172 Migne). E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 108 ff. infers that at Arelate on the first of January three mummers represented an old woman, a stag, and a hound—in short, the masque of Aktaion, whose story as portrayed by Polygnotos at Delphi involved precisely these three figures (Paus. 10. 30. 5). J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 260 f.

more wisely postulates a native origin for the custom. And R. D. Barnett in *Folk-Lore* 1929 xl. 393 f. does good service by collecting allusions to it and by noting that a last trace of it is 'the running of the deer' in the carol *The Holly and the Iey*. A. Nicoll *Masks, Mimes and Miracles* London 1931 p. 165 fig. 115 shows a performance of such masked dancers (stag, hare, fox, old woman, etc.) from a fourteenth-century miniature in the Bodleian MS. 264 of *Li Romans d'Alixandre*.

J. G. McKay 'The Deer-Cult and the Deer-Goddess Cult of the Ancient Caledonians' in *Folk-Lore* 1932 xliii. 144—174 breaks fresh ground and raises a whole crop of important contentions (succinctly stated on pp. 167—169).

My own interpretation of the 'island stones' as representing masked dancers (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 133 ff. 'The Cult of the Stag') was accepted by Sir W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1931 ii. 484—487 and has of late been vigorously defended by E. Herkenrath 'Mykenische Kultzezene. ii. Masken' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 420—422. J. L. Myres *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Cernuda Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 150 f. publishes two statuettes of votaries in Assyrian style, to be dated c. 700—650 B.C.: no. 1029 wears a bull's head as a mask; no. 1030 wears a stag's head, which he is on the point of removing. Cp. Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 487 f. no. 688 a limestone slab with the barbaric relief of a [κυνο]κέφαλος or [λευκο]κέφαλος on one side, that of a bear-headed man on the other.

i. 68 n. 1. The Hesychasts of Mt Athos in the fourteenth century held that divine light shone about the summit of Mt Tabor (S. V. Troitsky in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 427<sup>b</sup>).

i. 70. C. T. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 165 pl. 35, 8 shows that *Chari-* and *Olym-* must be the names of magistrates, not engravers.

i. 70 ff. On the human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios* see now F. Schwenn *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* Giessen 1915 pp. 20—25 ('Der "Wolfgott" hatte anfangs mit dem hellenischen Zeus nichts zu tun; später erst wurde Lykaios ein Beiname des Zeus; es war der—allerdings wohl noch spätere—Ausdruck dieser Vermischung, wenn der "wölfische Zeus" das Symbol des Adlers mit übernahm. Der Priester, der sich im Kindesopfer mit dem Gott selbst vereinigt hatte, war selbst wie der Gott ein "Wolf"). O. Kern *Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 15, 187 (follows Schwenn), Lily Weiser-Aall in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 224 ('Lykaios bedeutet: der Wölfische; die Ähnlichkeit mit der Erzählung der Völsungasaga [Kap. 8] fällt auf').

i. 81 n. o. Add J. A. MacCulloch 'Lycanthropy' in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 206—220<sup>a</sup>; M. Schuster 'Der Werwolf und die Hexen. Zwei Schauermärchen bei Petronius' [Petron. sat. 61. 5—62. 14 and 63. 1—64. 1] in *Wiener Studien* 1930 xlviii. 149—178, W. Kroll 'Etwas vom Werwolf' ib. 1937 iv. 168—172.

i. 87 n. 6. The origin of the sceptre is discussed by C. F. Hermann *Disputatio de sceptri regii antiquitate et origine* Gottingae 1851 pp. 1—17, and more recently by A. Hug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 368 ff., C. Borchling in F. Saxl *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg: Vorträge 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 235 ff., F. J. M. de Waal *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity* The Hague 1927 p. 117 ff.

i. 100. *Olympos*, a pre-Greek word for 'mountain' (C. Theander in *Eranos* 1915 xv. 127—136, M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 269). R. J. H. Jenkins in a valuable, but unpublished, dissertation on *The Religions and Cults of Olympia during the Bronze Age* Cambridge 1932 p. 71 n. 4 (MS.) conjectures that 'Ολυμπός was 'the Early Anatolian for "Mountain," and that at Olympia it was Early Helladic or Early Macedonian (two branches, south and north, of the same race).

i. 102 n. 4. D. M. Robinson in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1934 lxv. 103 ff. publishes an inscription, of 356 B.C., recording a treaty between Philip of Makedonia and the Chalcidians. This was to be set up by Philip (line 9) [ε]ρ Λιὸς ἐτ [τὸ] λεπὼ τῷ Διὸς τ[οῦ] Ολυμπίου, κ.τ.λ. *Id. ib.* p. 117 n. 26 speaks of the excavations at Dion.

i. 102 n. 5. Mt Carmel affords a good parallel to Mt Argaios (Tac. *hist.* 2. 78 est Iudeam inter Syriamque Carmelus: ita vocant montem deumque. nec simulacrum deo aut templum—sic tradidere maiores—: ara tantum et reverentia). In Mexico and Peru the most prominent peaks were likewise objects of direct worship (E. J. Payne *History of the New World called America* Oxford 1892 i. 404).

i. 107. Professor G. Murray kindly pointed out to me that *Anaktoteli/stai* should be rendered 'initiators,' not 'initiates.' Cp. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 202 on the analogous *Orpheoteli/stai*.



Fig. 858.



Fig. 859.



Fig. 860.

i. 107 n. 2. On the Korybantes see further J. Poerner 'De Curetibus et Corybantibus' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* 1913 xxii. 245—428.

i. 109. On Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos consult also Margaret C. Waites 'The Deities of the Sacred Axe' in the *Journ. Am. Arch.* 1923 xxvii. 25—56, E. Maass in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 225 f., F. W. Schelling *Samothrake und Kabirische Mysterien* Stuttgart 1929 pp. 1—45 ('Über die Gottheiten von Samothrake').

i. 119 n. 2. On the relief signed by Archelaos see further J. Sieveking 'Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene' in the *Römi. Mittb.* 1917 xxxii. 74—89, G. Lippold 'Musengruppen' ib. 1918 xxxiii. 77—80, M. Schede 'Zu Philiskos, Archelaos und den Musen' ib. 1920 xxxv. 65—82 pl. 1, G. W. Elderkin 'The Deification of Homer by Archelaos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 496—500 fig. 1.

i. 131. A. Plaissart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1916 I. 493 f. no. 19 a base from Thespiai formerly supporting three statuettes and inscribed *Zεύς Μηνοστίνη Απόλλων*.

i. 132. W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 48 f. argues that Archelaos was representing the *omphalos* of Branchidai and the Thessalian or the Mysian Olympos.

i. 134 ff. A rock-cut throne on a mountain near Temenothyrai in Lydia was taken to be that of Geryon son of Chrysaor (Paus. 1. 35. 7).

W. K. C. Guthrie in 1932 discovered, just outside a village called *Selki*, on *Findos Tepe* at the western edge of the Konieh plain, a double rock-cut throne with footstools (figs. 858, 859). Close by were two narrow rock-cut troughs, 'like couches in shape' (fig. 860). I am indebted to Mr Guthrie for the photographs here given of the thrones as seen from below and above, and of the 'couches'.

H. Lattermann and F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mittb.* 1915 xl. 75 ff. fig. 3 and pl. 13, 2 record a rock-throne near the village of *Kionia* (Stymphalos). They suggest that this throne, which is cut in conglomerate over an empty grave (?) chamber, is to be connected with the local cult of Hera *Xήρα* (Paus. 8. 22. 2), implying a dead Zeus as in Crete.

i. 150. The sword-dance of the Kuretes and Korybantes round the infant Zeus is discussed by L. von Schröder *Mysterium und Minus im Rigveda* Leipzig 1908 p. 118, F. Kidson—M. Neal *English Folk-song and Dance* Cambridge 1915 p. 146 f. See, however, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 38: 'Es ist doch... ungleich wahrscheinlicher, dass die göttlichen Kureten und Korybanten mythische Gegenbilder zu irdischen Tänzern sind, als dass diese den Göttertanz nachahmten, wie Schröder (131 ff.) glaubt.'

i. 152. On the cult of Zeus at Synnada see also W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 14 no. 49 pl. 19= my fig. 861 (white marble stèle of local style, c. 200 B.C., showing Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in right hand and round object in left, votary with round object in right hand, bag or basket on left arm, and two eagles in pediment).

i. 152 fig. 125. A coin of Akmenaei with similar type is published by E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1891 ix. 38 f. pl. 4. 4.

i. 153 fig. 129. An interesting variant of this coin is given by C. Bosch in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. p. 452 with fig. 11.

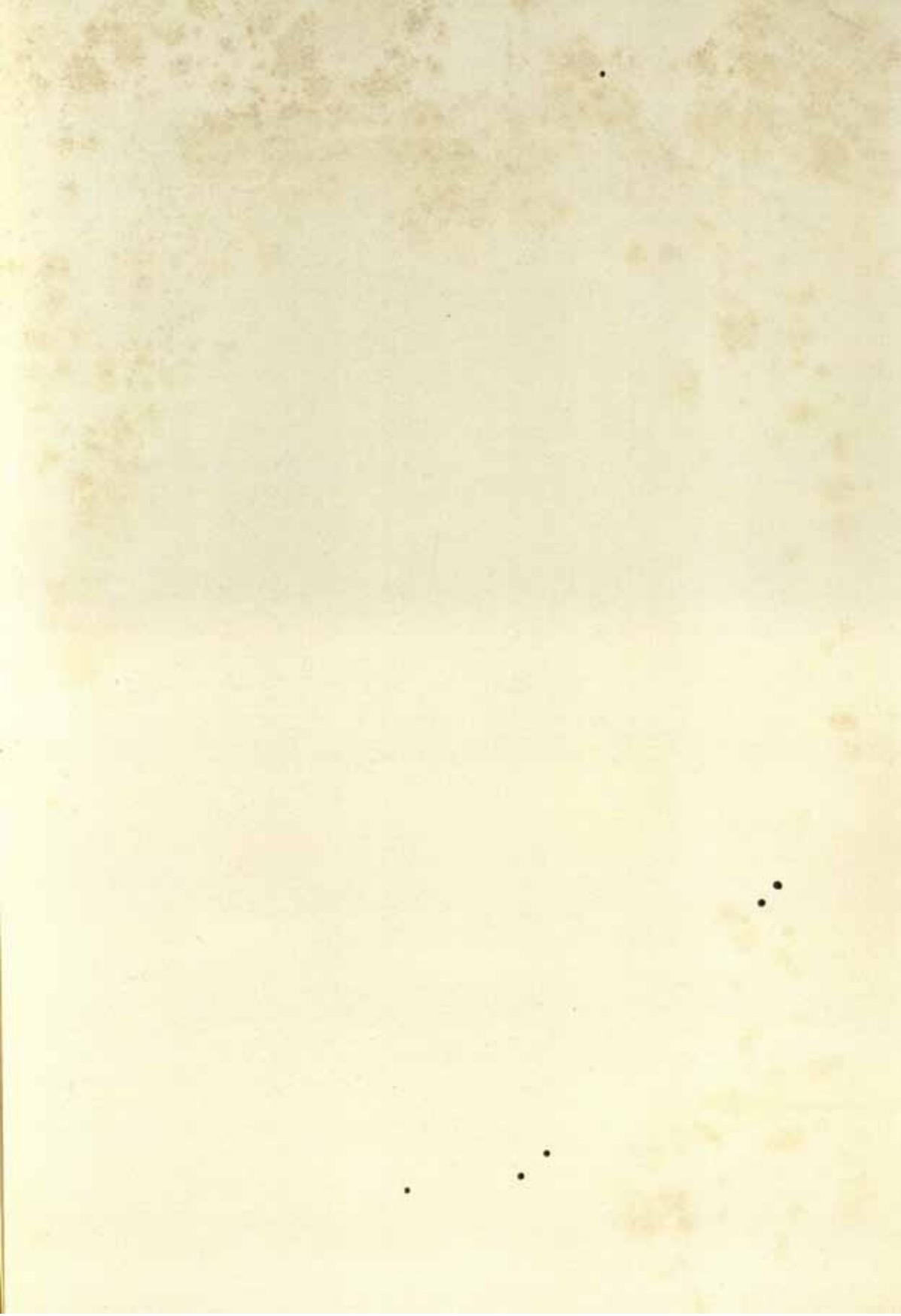
i. 155 n. 8. Add B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 105 no. 1793 col. ix, 1 f. *οἰκέτη γυνάτι | ταῖς εἰς Ἡραὶ στροφαὶ Εἵρεβοιν* (i.e. the Charites, cp. Paus. 1. 17. 4).

i. 157 n. 3. My friend and former pupil Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury writes to me: 'The following is the story I heard in June 1935 from an old friend Kosta Kounales of Anogeia, who really does know his mountains *γαρουχά γαρουχά* as they say. It was à propos of a small heap of stones by the Church of Holy Cross on the Nidha Plain, called locally *στροφός τοῦ Τροχάλων*. "They say that in Venetian times there was a prince Eerotkritos who was out hunting wild boar, and one day his foot slipped as he was about to spear the boar, and his friends shot quickly with their bows to help him, but they shot him instead and they buried him here." In view of what A. Papadakes reports concerning the tomb of Zeus at Anogeia (*supra* i. 163), it seems fairly certain that we have here a local modification of the belief that Zeus was a Cretan prince killed by a wild boar and buried.'

i. 162 n. 1. Cp. Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 154 with fig. 113 b, 1928 ii. 1. 81 f. figs. 37 and 38.

i. 169. See further Olga Rojdestvensky *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen âge latin* Paris 1922 pp. 1—72 (summarised by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1922 ii. 357).

i. 181 n. o. On horse-sacrifice in antiquity see H. M. Hubbell in *Yale Classical Studies* 1928 i. 181—192.





A bust of Zeus Sarapis (*supra* i. 188 ff.) in *lapis lazuli*, presented by Sir H. Howorth in 1912 to the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*<sup>2</sup> p. 368 no. 3939 fig. 94). Height 0'131". A socket worked in the top of the head implies the insertion of a *khlathos*.

The technique points to a date c. 300 A.D.

i. 187. Cp. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 36 no. 113 (a) an altar at Kara Adili, adorned with reliefs of eagle (front), ox-head (left side), etc. and inscribed in lettering of i. ii or iii A.D. [Καρπτοφί][όρε]τη μ[ισ]θωτη Β[λ]Μ[ω]ν και Δι εθ[χη].

i. 187 n. 4. See now E. Peterson ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ Göttingen 1926 pp. 139, 241, 306.

i. 192. In Bekker *aneed.* i. 338, 26 Ἀγος· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κυστέροις the *ordo verborum* demands 'Αγος. F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 223 held that the epithet 'referred to an Avenger of Blood.'



Fig. 861.

i. 193 n. 3. W. M. Calder in the *Class. Rev.* 1910 xxiv. 77 ff. no. 2 (*id. ib.* 1924 xxxviii. 29 n. 1) published the inscription, of c. 260—270 A.D. (not of 1. i), on an oblong pillar built into a house-wall at *Batiuk-Lam* and derived from a temple of Zeus at or near Sedasa (*Ak-Kilisse*), where Zeus was identified with the sun-god and presented with a sun-dial: Τοῦ Μ[α]κρειούς δι και Αβάσκαντος και Βάτου ου Βρεταΐδος Ερμῆς Μέγατος και τε εὐχήριος επισκευείσας στον άρολογημα εκ τῶν πολλῶν αριστερής ησαν Διος ΒΛΜ[ω]. Since Sedasa lay some twenty-five miles south-west of Lystra, this association of Zeus and Hermes is rightly held to illustrate Acts 14. 12. Moreover, in 1926, at *Karak* near Lystra, W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder found an altar dedicated 'to the Epēkoos and to...and to Hermes' (*Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 114) and saw a bronze statuette of Hermes with a caduceus resting on his left shoulder and an eagle beside his right foot (*The Manchester Guardian* for Jan. 19, 1926, S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 ii. 281)—further proof of the same association.

i. 195. Another cult-epithet of Zeus that may be of solar significance is Hesych. Φότιος. θλιος. ἡ Ζεύς.

i. 196 n. 9. Mr A. S. F. Gow in a letter dated 1 July, 1917, drew my attention to Cornut. *theol.* 11 p. 11, 20 Lang πάντες εφορᾶς Διός δρθαλαμός και πάντες επακούει.

i. 198 on the sun conceived as a wheel. Actios *plac.* 2. 20. 1 (p. 348, 3 ff. Diels) 'Αραξίμανδρος κύκλος εἶναι (sc. τὸν ὄλιον) δεινοκαίσαταλασίον τῆς γῆς, ἀριστεῖ τροχῷ παραπλήσιον, τὴν ἀψίδα ἔχοντα κοίλην, πλήρη πυρός, κ.τ.λ., Achilleus Tatios *isag.* 19 (p. 46, 20 ff. Mass) τινὲς δέ, ὡς ἔστι καὶ Αραξίμανδρος, φοιτάπτειν αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν ὄλιον) τὸ φῶς σχῆμα ἔχοντα τροχόν· ὥσπερ γάρ ἐτούτῳ τῷ τροχῷ κοίλη ἔστιν ἡ πλάνην, ἔχει δέ ἄπλοντα πατεραπέμπει τὰς κηνωδίας πρὸς τὴν ἔξωθεν τῆς ἀψίδος περιφοράν, οὗτον καὶ αὐτὸν κοίλουν τὸ φῶς ἐπείπετο τὴν ἀνάτασιν τῶν ἀστέρων ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐτὸς κύλων φωτίζειν, κ.τ.λ., Ennius *frag.* 335 Böhrens *ap.* Isid. *orig.* 18. 36. 3 inde patescit radiis rota candida caelum, Apul. *met.* 9. 28 cum primum rota solis lucida diem peperit.

i. 198. E. H. Sturtevant 'Centaurs and Macedonian Kings' in *Class. Philol.* 1916 xxii. 235—249 takes Κέραυρος (*κερ-* αυρο-) to be a Thracian term for Φύλαττος.

i. 199 ff. on representations of Ixion. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for photographs of an unpublished amphora in the Museo Campano di Capua (pl. lxxv), which shows the hero on his fiery wheel.

Dimitar P. Dimitrov in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 iii Arch. Anz. pp. 69—75 compares the British Museum mirror (*supra* i. 204 pl. xvii) with a Roman relief of Ixion and Tantalos in the Museum of Stara-Zagora, Bulgaria, and with an Attic red-figure sherd from the Forum Romanum (*ib.* figs. 1—3).

R. von Schneider in the *Serta Harteliana* Wien 1896 p. 281 f. with fig. (after the *Bullettino di arti e curiosità veneziane* 1895 iv. 39 f. fig.) notes a relief of c. 1100 A.D., found between the Duomo and the Baptistry at Torcello near Venice, in which Ixion appears stretched, face outwards, round the external circumference of a wheel. To right and left of him stand two women, in long girded attire, one with her torch raised, the other with her torch lowered.

i. 211 on the religious origin of punishments. Cp. F. Kunze 'Der Birkenbesen ein Symbol des Donar' in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 1900 xiii. 130 f. ('to kiss the rod' implies its sanctity).

i. 225 n. 4 Dryas. Another parallel is the myth of *Idas* ('Woodman') as told by schol. B.D. II. 9. 557.

Sphairos occurs as a magistrate's name on a bronze coin of Rhodes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria*, etc. p. 261 pl. 41, 4). F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a.d.S. 1917 p. 605 notes Σφαῖρος Λάκων as an Olympic victor of 640 B.C. (Euseb. *chron.* i (i. 198, 30 Schoene)).

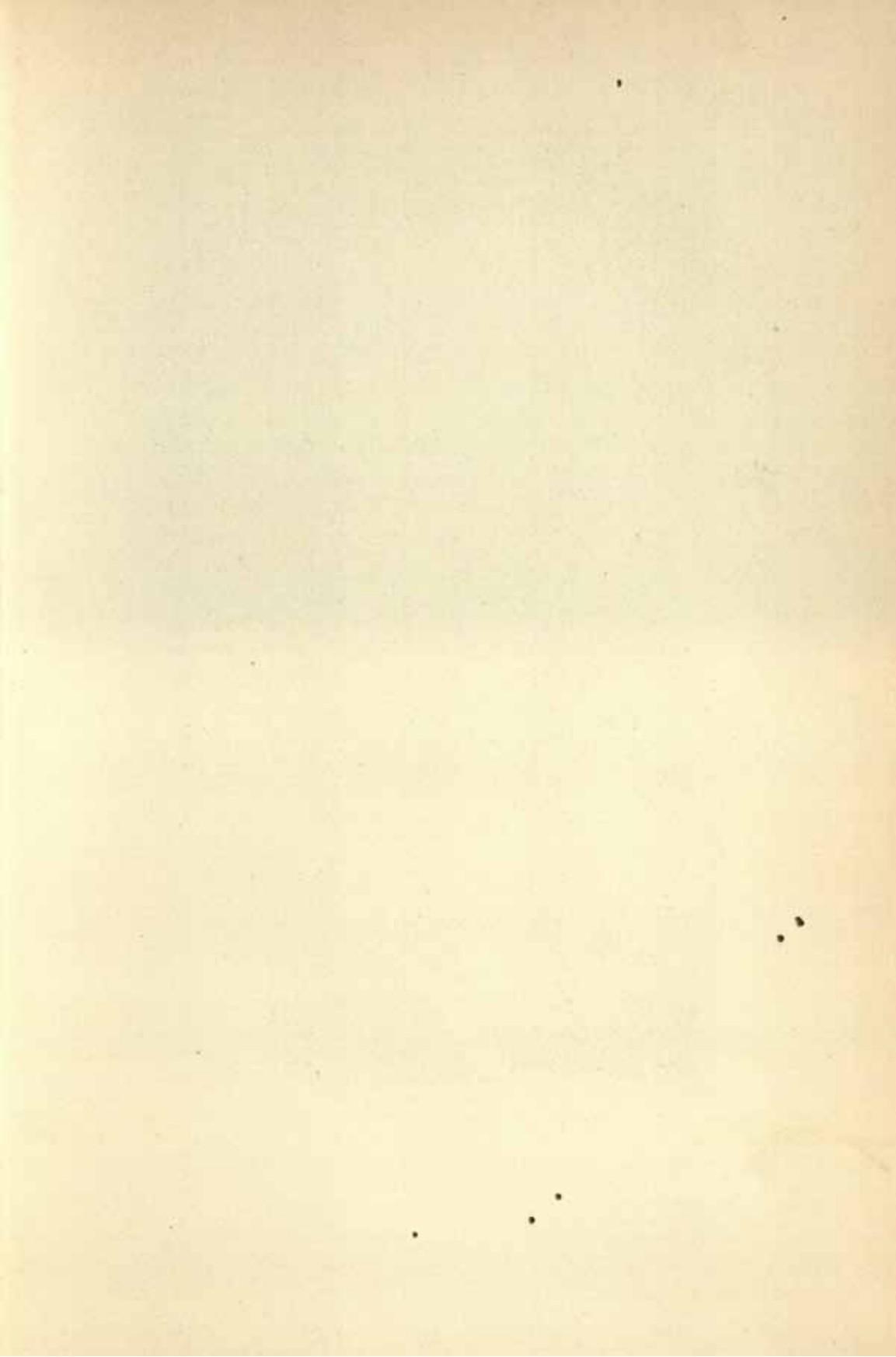
i. 231 n. 8. P. Couissin deals with 'casques à roue' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 ii. 77 ff.

i. 232. Professor S. A. Cook informs me (Oct. 1, 1939) that he regards the lettering of the Gaza coin as Aramaic rather than Phoenician, on account of the *H.* *Id. The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 147 n. 1 'The lettering resembles that on the papyri of Elephantine and is rather more archaic than the jar-handles of Jericho; it is Aramaic rather than Phoenician (note the form of the *h*).'  
cp. *ib.* p. 186.

E. L. Sukenik in *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1934 xiv. 178 ff. pl. 2 and fig. 1 cites a fourth-century silver coin, of the same Philisto-Arabian or Egypto-Arabian series, now at Jerusalem in the collection of M. Salzberger, which reads, not *Yhd*, but *Yhd*—that is *Yehud* 'Judah.' He and others following his lead (e.g. W. F. Albright in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 1934 iii. 20—22, R. Dussaud in *Syria* 1935 xvi. 211 f., D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 451) conclude that *Yhd* must be the true reading of the coin in the British Museum. But Professor S. A. Cook in a further letter to me (Oct. 23, 1935) asks very pertinently 'Is it natural to put a mere place-name on a coin, like "Judah"?' Any Greek numismatist would answer 'No.'

In this connexion note also the seal of 'Elishama son of Gedaliah' published by G. Dalman in the *Palaestina-Jahrbuch des deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* 1906 ii. 44 ff. (S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine* p. 34 f. pl. 9, 1, A. T. Olmstead *History of Palestine and Syria* New York—London 1931 p. 528 with fig. 177). The seal shows Jehovah as a bearded god in long robe and high crown, apparently brandishing a thunderbolt in his uplifted right hand. He is seated on a throne, with a footstool, between two stands supporting seven-branched palmettes—the whole on a boat, which at stem and stern ends in a bird's head.

i. 238 ff. On Kirke's gloriole see S. Eitrem in the *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 22 f. The alleged Persian *lab* is perhaps derived from the ἐπιμολυγία τοῦ ἀλφαρζήτου in the *et. Gud.* p. 598 λαμβά...ταρά τὸ λάβ. λάβ δὲ τὸ διά μέσον τοῦ σέραροῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς χάραμα λέγεται.





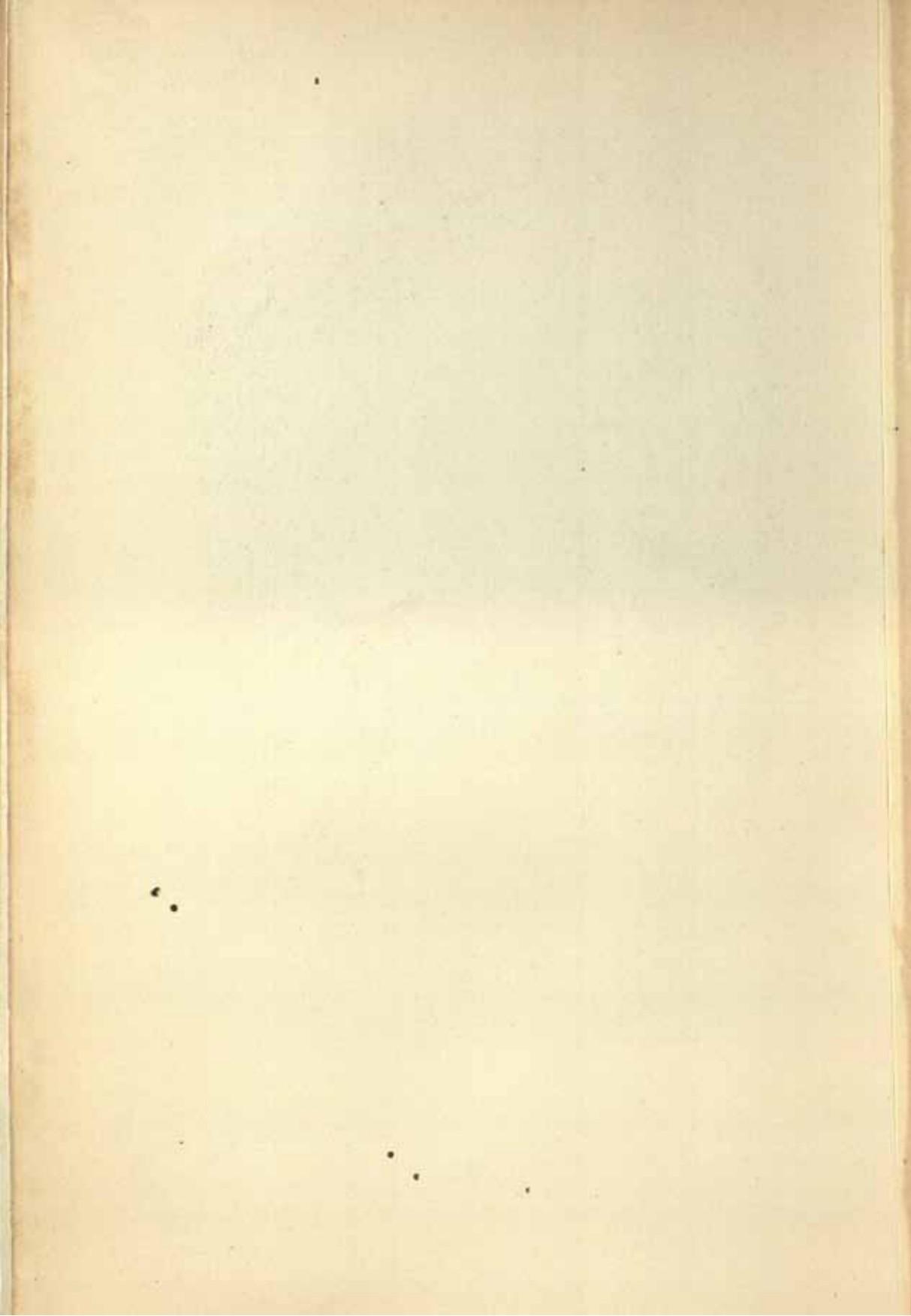
a



b

*Amphora* in the Museo Campano di Capua:  
Ixion on his fiery wheel.

See page 1072.



cp. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1341 Λάβ τὸ σπάριον πῦρ, and see further F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 30 f.

P. Wolters 'Kirke' in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1930 iv. 209—236 pls. 14 and 15 discusses a Boeotian *skephos* at Nauplia, which represents Kirke as magician, Odysseus, and three of his sailors transformed into swine.

E. Schwyzer in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1910 xxxviii. 158 f. takes *Alain* (*r̄n̄os*) to be for *dal̄y*=*afal̄y*, 'die Insel der Morgenröte.' But R. B. Onians in the *Cambridge University Reporter* for Nov. 30, 1926 p. 454 derives *Alain* and *Al̄r̄ns* from *Ala*=*Al̄a*, the Hebrew or Phoenician word for 'sparrow-hawk, falcon.' See further V. Bérard *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* Paris 1902 I. 214, 1903 II. 261 ff. An altar at Ptolemais (*Menthishéj*) dedicated to *Ἀρδαρεῖον καὶ Ἱέρᾳ θεῶν* [εταιρίᾳ] κ.τ.λ. (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 52) implies that Horos was conceived as a sparrow-hawk (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 636 f.). The hawk is also an attribute of Apollon (*supra* i. 626 n. o; add J. D. Beazley *The Lewis House Collection of Ancient Gems* Oxford 1920 p. 41 f. no. 47 pl. 3).

E. Reiss 'Studies in Superstition and Folklore' vii. Homer' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1925 xlvi. 222 ff. discusses the magic circle (pp. 222—224) and Kirke as a witch (p. 227 f.).

i. 247 n. 2. See now A. de Ridder *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* Paris 1915 II. 45 f. no. 1699 pl. 81, W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1919 p. 179 fig. 1.

i. 255 f. Cp. A. S. F. Gow 'ΙΤΤΩΣ, ΡΟΜΒΟΣ, rhombus, turbo' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 1—13 with 11 figs.

i. 259 n. o. The fragment of Pindar has now turned up on a papyrus of i. 1 A.D. (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 84 ff. no. 1791 pl. 3). It confirms the conjecture of Schneidewin. See also D. S. Robertson in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 218.

i. 262 *lynges* of gold. G. Karo 'Schatz von Tiryns' in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1930 lv. 127 f., 138 f., pls. 30 A and 31, publishes a pair of wheels made in gold wire with four spokes of bronze covered with amber beads, and portions of a second similar pair of wheels, dating apparently from late Mycenaean times. Karo *ib.* p. 128 compares the 'ear-phones' of the Lady of Elche, and *ib.* p. 139 conjectures a northern origin for the head-gear. Is it possible, however, that the wheels were solar *lynges*?

i. 269 ff. on the wheel of Nemesis. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesiskult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 296—321 with figs. 1—4 has an important collection of texts and monuments: *id. ib.* p. 310 n. 2 discusses the association of Nemesis with Helios and the solar symbolism of her wheel. B. Schweitzer 'Dea Nemesis Regina' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlii. 175—246 pl. 1 f. and figs. 1—21 publishes an interesting relief at Brindisi, in which Nemesis confronts us standing on a naked human figure (summary by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 533). H. Herter in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2338—2380 devotes a long and painstaking article to the goddess, accepting many of my results, but demurring to some.

i. 270 n. 5. But H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*<sup>2</sup> p. 183 no. 1696 points out that the supposed car is merely a wheel at her feet plus a fracture of the stone!

i. 271 on the wheel of Fortuna. D. M. Robinson 'The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 501 ff. describes and illustrates Hellenic pebble-mosaics from the two rooms in the north-east corner (fig. 1) showing a four-spoked wheel with quadruple rim and a smaller four-spoked wheel with double rim—the whole accompanied by the inscription ΑΓΑΘΟΤΥΧΗ (fig. 2, b), also a double axe, *swastika*, hand (?), etc. disposed round a Macedonian square, which is lettered ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΚΑΛΗ and accompanied by a second inscription ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΚΑΛΗ (fig. 2, a). *Id. ib.* p. 505 n. 1 collects literary allusions from Pind. *Ol.* 2. 23 f. and Soph. *frag.* 787 Nauck<sup>1</sup>=871 Jebb ap. Plout. *v. Demetr.* 45 (cp. *frag.* 575 Jebb) onwards, adding that the wheel of Fortune appears here for the first time in art.

i. 273. For A. C. Orlando's investigation of the site at Rhamnous see his 'Note sur le sanctuaire de Némésis à Rhamnonte' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1914 xlvi. 305—320 with figs. 1—11 and pls. 8—12 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 109 f.). Further study of the site by W. Zschietzschmann in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlii. Arch. Anz. pp. 441—451 figs. 1—4.

i. 273 on the relation of *Nemesis* to *Nemeton* etc. J. Coman *L'idée de la Nemesis chez Eschyle* Paris 1931 p. 21 f. states and criticises the theory here advanced. He accepts the first part of it, but objects to my suggestion (i. 285) of a confusion between *Nemesis* goddess 'of the Greenwood' and *nemētēs* 'righteous wrath.' On p. 22 n. 2

Coman, following Boisacq, tries to find a possible link. F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2385 f. inclines to my view of *Nemeton* as akin to *Némésis*.

i. 276 n. 5. On *ὑπερέχειρ χείρα* or *χείρας*, Hyperdexios, Hypercheirios, etc. see J. G. Leroux in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 i. 260 f.

i. 283 n. o. See further H. Mager *Water Diviners and their Methods* trans. A. H. Bell London 1931.

i. 285. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 81 ff. no. 286 fig. 125 publishes a plaque (antefix?) of black terra cotta dug up at Plovdiv (Philippopolis). On it is a relief representing a horned head (Tyche? Nemesis? Men??) surmounted by a wheel with eight projecting spokes.

i. 288 f. The Celtic god with a wheel. M. Prou in the *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1915 pp. 100—104 with 2 figs. publishes a terra-cotta statuette of this god (Taranis?) found at Néris (Allier). His head and the lower parts of his legs are missing. His right hand, which is slightly flexed, holds a wheel against his side. His left hand rests on the head of a small figure with uplifted arms.

i. 292 n. 2. The second disk from Corinth is now included in De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 44 no. 1694 pl. 76 ('Oracle d'amour (?)'). A third from Corinth is in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 161 no. 878 ('Child's Toy'). Another, of somewhat simpler type, from a tomb at Vulci, is figured by E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines* 1561 fig. 2064 ('Crepitaculum, Crepitacillum').

i. 292 n. 8. Strictly comparable with the great terra-cotta disk from Olympia are the fragments of two *akrotéria*, in terra cotta, from the older temple at Phigaleia (K. A. Rhomaios in the *Aegaeum* 1933 p. 1 ff. col. pl. 2 and pl. 3). See further C. Praschniker *Zur Geschichte des Akroteros* Brünn, Prag, Leipzig, Wien 1929 pp. 1—56 with 4 pls. and 12 figs. (reviewed by E. Douglas Van Buren in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 1930 xxxiv. 520 f., by C. Picard in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1930 pp. 177—179, by S. C[asson] in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 iii. 133).

i. 297 n. 2. See now L. B. Holland 'Mycenaean Plumes' in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 1929 xxxiii. 173—205 with 11 figs. Examples could be multiplied—an ivory seal from Perachora (H. G. G. Payne in *The Illustrated London News* for July 8, 1933 p. 66 fig. 10), a Thasian *pithos* of c. vii b.c. (*id. in the Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 iii. 253 with fig. 14), etc.

i. 299 *Seirios* used of the sun. Cp. S. Ronzevalle 'Hélioseiros' in *Artthuse* 1930 pp. 1—12 with 4 pls. and 5 figs. (an important article).

i. 299 ff. the Lycian Symbol. Cp. Anna Roes *Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin* Oxford 1933 p. 19 ff. figs. 21—23.

i. 303 the Kyklopes as builders. So B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1919 xiii. 33 no. 1604 Pind. *dith.* 1. 6 f. [Κυκλώπων πτερόεσσιν ἀπάσιν] | [ ] περ Αργείας μεγάλων. See further S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2329 f., 2342.

i. 305 n. 9 G. F. Hill on the Sicilian *triskelés*. But C. T. Seltman in his *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 190 shows that the *triskelés* as symbol of Sicily occurs first on coins of Dionysios i struck shortly before 383 b.c., then on those of Timoleon, and thirdly on those of Agathokles.

i. 307. H. Mattingly in *The British Museum Quarterly* 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 9 publishes as 'probably unique' an *as* with rev. SICILIA S.C. and a large Gorgon's head in a *triskelés*.

See also J. Newton 'The armorial bearings of the Isle of Man; their origin, history and meaning' in the *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool* xxxix. 205—226.

i. 309 figs. 247 and 248. N. E. Henry 'Classic Sicily' in *Art and Archaeology* 1916 iii. 147 figures an 'Ancient Mosaic Symbol representing Three-Cornered Sicily'—much like the coins of Ebora Cerialis.

i. 309 on solar legs. P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 35 n. 5: 'En Haute-Bretagne, on dit que le soleil a des jambes [ou des tirsants] quand il y a en dessous des rayons qui semblent toucher la terre' (*id. in his Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne* Paris 1882 ii. 303).

i. 312 fig. 249. A photograph of this wall-painting is given by F. Weege *Etruskische Malerei* Halle (Saale) 1921 p. 28 pl. 65.

C. C. van Essen 'De Cyclope et Cuclu' in *Mnemosyne* 1930 lviii. 302—308 advances some venturesome views. Basing on Eva Fiesel *Namen des griechischen Mythos im Etruskischen* (Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung Ergänzungsheft v) Göttingen 1928 pp. 35 and 48—56, he argues that pre-Indo-European peoples of the period

Helladic i knew a god of death, \**Cuelup* (Etruscan *Cuelu*), dwelling in a cave. Into this cave a sea-faring hero \**Uthisse* descends with followers, some of whom he is forced to leave behind. Early in the second millennium B.C. Indo-Europeans arrive with a story involving the 'No-man' stratagem (*supra* ii. 989). Hence in the Mycenaean age \**Uthisse* develops into both *Otris* and 'Olyseus' (οὐλεύσας), while \**Cuelup* becomes Κέλωψ, and in the *Odyssey* the original *καρδάστης* is attached to other adventures of Odysseus. Summary in the *Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 213.

i. 326. On the fire-boards of the Chuckchees see also Miss W. S. Blackman in *Folk-Lore* 1916 xxvii. 361 f.

i. 327. L. Siret 'Prométhée' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 132—135 with 2 figs. attempts to show that the myth of Prometheus' offence and punishment is but an animistic interpretation of the fire-drill, the wood anthropomorphized into the hero, the bow zoomorphized into his eagle.

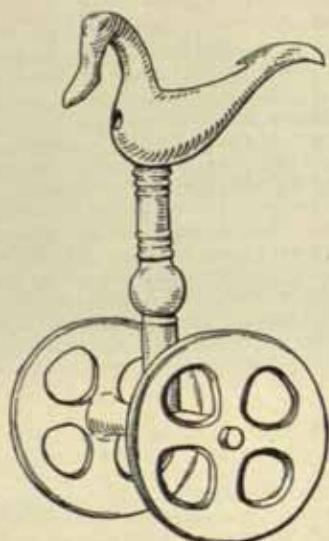


Fig. 862.

Cp. G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 i. 64 *Vafþrúðnismál* 22 'Mundilfari (Fire-auger) was the father of the Moon and also of the Sun' with note *ib.* ii. 468 'the Fire-Augur, the holy Drill by which some Teutonic Prometheus first woke the elemental flame.'

i. 328 Odysseus akin to Prometheus the fire-god (?). J. A. Scott 'Odysseus as a Sun-God' in *Class. Philol.* 1917 xii. 244—252 justly ridicules the contentions of J. Menrad *Der Urmhythos der Odyssee und seine dichterische Erneuerung, Des Sonnengottes Erdenfahrt* München—Lindau 1910.

i. 330 n. 1. Eumath. 6. 14 τοῦτο φῆς τῷ δεῖρῷ (*supra* ii. 1141) ὑπανττεσθαι τῆς τοῦ Διὸς προμηθείας plays on the connexion of Zeus with Prometheus, cp. 6. 15 τῷ γάρ τῷ Ἐπιμηθέᾳ τῷ μεταμελεῖν ἀνιψελῶς ἀφωνίστωται. κ.τ.λ., but lends no support to the assumption of a Zeus Προμηθεύς.

i. 333. In the *Rigveda* 10. 89. 4 heaven and earth are compared with the wheels at the two ends of an axle (A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 9).

A bronze amulet of the Geometric Period (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 36 ff. pl. 13), said to have come from 'Pharsalus,' but more probably from Pherai (*Pelestino*), and now in my possession, shows a duck on a shaft which rises from the axle connecting two wheels (fig. 862: scale 1/2). Since the duck is pierced for suspension, it is perhaps to be regarded as perched on a celestial chariot.

i. 333 ff. the solar chariot. L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1927 iii. 162 ff. deals with the cult of the horse among the Greeks and discusses the solar chariot.

Anna Roes *Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin* Oxford 1933 p. 22 f. fig. 13 (after A. Minto *Marsiliiana d'Albenga* Firenze 1921 p. 291 fig. 30 pl. 52=F. von Duhn in Ebert *Reallex.* viii. 53 pl. 11, b) cites a horse with a four-spoked wheel apparently resting on its back—a motif impressed on a *bucchero*-jar from Marsiliana.

Cp. the combination of horse with wheel below it, which occurs frequently on Gaulish imitations of the gold coins issued by Philip of Macedon.

i. 334 fig. 165. With this *pointillé* design of horse+disk+bird-like man (?) cp. the *pointillé* design of horse+wheel+bird+man on the bronze double axe mentioned *infra* Addenda on ii. 635 ff.

i. 334 n. 2 the Trundholm chariot. See now J. Brøndsted 'Pferd und Sonnenscheibe auf dänischen jungbronzezeitlichen Rasiermessern' in *Acta Archaeologica* 1931 ii. 199 ff., J. Bing *Der Sonnenwagen von Trundholm* Leipzig 1934 pp. 1—46 with 47 figs. and 7 pls.

i. 336 n. o. See further W. Deonna 'À propos d'une pendeloque archaïque de Tégée' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 iv. 229—239 figs. 1—5.

i. 338 n. 1 Zeus conceived as driving a chariot. Mr C. T. Seltman notes II. 8. 41—50.

i. 339. Cp. R. U. Sayce 'A May Day Garland from St Neots' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1932 xxxii. 57 f. with pl. 1.

i. 341. D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 394 reports that at Tanis (Auaris) in 1934 P. Montet and P. Bucher unearthed a granite group of a falcon with a child Pharaoh crouched at its feet. The base was inscribed: 'The good god, son of the sun, beloved of Hurun of Ramses' (i.e. of Pi-Ramses, the Deltaic capital of Ramses II). It is argued that *Hurun* was the falcon-god of the Horites of Mt Seit, who had gained a place for himself in Egypt by the end of the eighteenth dynasty.

i. 345 the Leucadian 'leap.' See further S. Eitrem 'Der Leukas-Sprung und andere rituelle Sprünge' in *ΑΔΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ* 1923 vii. 127—136, E. Strong—N. Jolliffe in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliiv. 103—111 ('Apotheosis by Water'), K. Kerényi 'Der Sprung vom Leukasfelsen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiv. 61—72. *Supra* p. 136 n. 3.

i. 348 Zeus *Āmon*. O. Eissfeldt 'Zeus Ammon' in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 1936 xii. 407 f. ('Der Gott der Oase ist also—von einer vielleicht noch älteren heimischen Vorgeschichte abgesehen—von Haus aus der phönizische Baal Hammon, der erst sekundär, vom 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. ab, mit dem ägyptischen Amon verschmolzen worden ist').

i. 349 fig. 271. The Naples bust of Zeus *Āmon* is now well published by O. Waldhauer in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 51 ff. no. 37 pl. 20.

O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 337—341 with figs. 4—6 describes a seated cult-statue of Zeus *Āmon* found at *el Qes* near Behnessa (Oxyrhynchos). The statue, of which head and torso are extant (1.20 m high), was made in several pieces of marble and showed the god, in *chiton* and *himation*, enthroned with right arm raised and left lowered—Roman work much influenced by the type of Sarapis.

A terra-cotta antefix (6 inches high), formerly in the Blacas collection and now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 420 no. D 697), has the horns coloured red (my pl. lxxvi is from an unpublished photograph).

i. 350 f. Our earliest reference to the *Ammision* occurs in a fragment of Hes. γυναικῶν κατάλογος (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1915 xi. 44 ff. no. 1358 frag. 2 col. 1, H. G. Evelyn-White in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 60, *id.* in an Appendix to his Hesiod in the Loeb Classical Library p. 632 ff. frag. 40 A, 10 ff. [φῦλα τὸ ἀπέ]ιρεστον Μελανοχρόων Διβῶν τε][τὸς Ἐπάφῳ] τέκε Γαῖα πελῷη χρυσομάλψους τε][μαρτσόν]ας τε πανούραιοι Διός εἰδότας αλαγῇ][φευτας δ', δύφα θεοῖσιν οὐφε[μ]-έροις ἀταρ[θεσ]ιν | [διθύρωποι,] τὸν μὲν τε νόον [γλ]ωσσῆς καθ[θ]ερέν.

i. 352 n. o. A. H. Krapp 'The Karnia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 380—384 treats Karnos as a ram-shaped deity of the grape-vine akin to Dionysos.

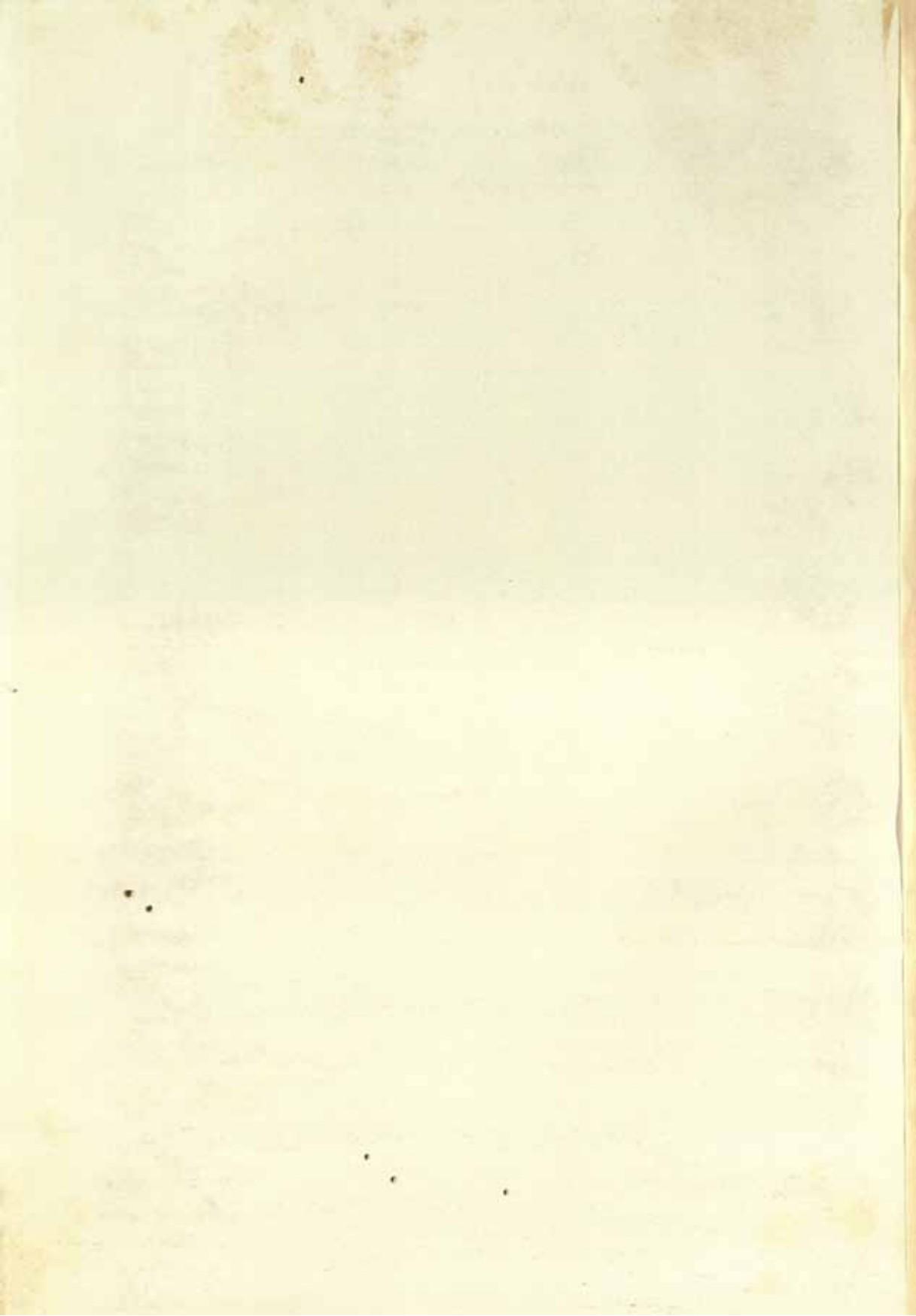
i. 352 Lysandros and *Āmon*. Cp. Iambl. *de myst.* 3. 3 p. 108, 13 ff. Parthey.

i. 353 Alexander the Great and Zeus *Āmon*. Recent discussions of this topic include E. Vassel 'Le bétier de Baal-Hammon' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 79—107, G. Radet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1925 pp. 201—208, D. Cohen 'De Alexandro Magno Ammonis oraculum consultante' in *Mnemone* 1926 liv. 83—86, V. Ehrenberg *Alexander in Ägypten* (Der Alte Orient Beiheft vii) Leipzig 1926 pp. 1—58, H. Berve *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* München 1926 i. 1—357, ii. 1—446 ('Kultus und Religion'), U. Wilcken 'Alexanders Zug in die Oase Siwa' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1928 pp. 576—603, H. Berve in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 370 ff.,



Antefixal ornament from Italy, now in the British Museum :  
Head of Zeus *Ammon*.

*See page 1076.*



G. Pasquali 'Alessandro all' oasi di Ammone e Callistene' in the *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 1939 lvii. 513—521, U. Wilcken 'Alexanders Zug zum Ammon. Ein Epilog' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1930 pp. 159—176, R. Vallois 'L'oracle libyen et Alexandre' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1931 xliv. 121—152, J. A. O. Larsen 'Alexander at the Oracle of Ammon' in *Class. Philol.* 1932 xxvii. 70—75, cp. *id. ib.* p. 274 f., G. Radet 'La consultation de l'oracle d'Ammon par Alexandre' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Mélanges Bidez) pp. 779—792 (summary by H. I. Bell) in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1935 iv. 110).

i. 355. G. Daressy 'Une nouvelle forme d'Amon' in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* Le Caire 1908 ix. 64—69, followed by Oria Bates *The Eastern Libyans* London 1914 pp. 189—195 (J. E. Harrison in *The Spectator* Feb. 27, 1915



Fig. 863.

p. 304), identifies the image of the Libyan god with an enthroned bundle representing a dead man in the sitting posture. They appeal to two bronze plaques from Memphis, three faience models from Karnak, and a relief of Roman date at Medinet Habu—of which evidence a different and, I think, less probable interpretation has been given by G. A. Wainwright (*supra* p. 882 n. 2).

For the sandstone *omphalos* from Napata see *supra* p. 882 n. 2 with fig. 719.

i. 360 n. 6. E. Bevan *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* London 1927 p. 10 explains the alleged guidance of the two snakes on rationalistic lines.

i. 361. On the identification of the Nile with Zeus see H. T. Dean in the *Cambridge University Reporter* Feb. 15, 1927 p. 758 (reading *Pind. Isthm.* 2. 42 Νεῖλον ῥότι αἴγαδι, cp. schol. vet. *ad loc.*) and in the *Class. Rev.* 1927 xli. 213 ('Thus the Alexandrians may have argued that the Nile is the same as Zeus, and that if Homer can say Διὸς αἴγαδι, Pindar can say Νεῖλον αἴγαδι'). *Supra* p. 348 f.

i. 362 f. P. Giles in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1916 p. 48 summarises A. Fick's identifications of the Mediterranean tribes invading Egypt. H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 275—283 devotes a section to them ('The Keftians and the Peoples of the Sea'). F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients* München 1926 pp. 28 f., 986 is more concise. L. B. Holland 'The Danaoi' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1928 xxxix. 59—92 includes a general survey of Aegean

pre-history. Further literature in A. Götz's *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* München 1933 pp. 186—188 ('Die ägäische Wanderung').

i. 365 f. the grove of *Ammon*. M. Schede in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1912 xxxvii. 212—215 fig. 10 publishes a votive relief of island marble (height 1.17m), found in 1910 at *Tigani* in Samos. This represents, in the style of s. i n.c. (?), a half-length herm of Zeus *Ammon* with a long sceptre in his raised right hand, a palm-tree at his left side, a shield (?) slung above his head, and an altar before him, on which stands a ram, presumably the gift of the woman suppliant. She holds a sprig of olive in her left hand and raises her right in prayer to the god. My fig. 863 is after A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 414 fig.

i. 369 K. A. Neugebauer in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 268 regards the Berlin bronze statuette of 'Poseidon from Dodona' (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 172 pl. 63, c) as probably a Zeus *Ndios* of late Hellenistic, eclectic, style.

i. 370 n. 4. The inscription may perhaps be read as ΛΙΒΙΑ for *Livia*, who by a play on Λιβύα is linked with *Ammon*.

i. 373 Apollon *Karnelos*. So F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Apollon Karneios auf kyrenäischen und anderen griechischen Münzen' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1917 xxi. 1—17 pl. 1, followed by Sir G. Macdonald in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1918—1919 p. 18 f. ('convincing').

i. 376. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 141 pl. 78 (=fig. 864) publishes a *phlyax*-vase at Bari, which shows a visit to the oracle of Zeus *Ammon*. On a wooden platform supported by Ionic pillars sits Zeus, a dismal white-haired figure, characterized as *Ammon* by his apel-like features and the palm-tree at his side. He grips his eagle by the throttle, and turns to face his visitor—an old man with pointed *ptlos* and knotted staff, who is mounting the steps to the platform. Meantime the traveller's servant, with a stick in one hand, a basket and a pail in the other, and a bundle on his back, looks longingly at the provender.

i. 379 n. 7. To the bibliography of Siwah add the well-illustrated monograph by C. D. Belgrave *Siwa: the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon* London 1923 pp. 1—310 and the remarks of S. Reichenbach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 334 f. on the Libyan rock-cut inscriptions and the Greek inscription found there by M. de Prorok.

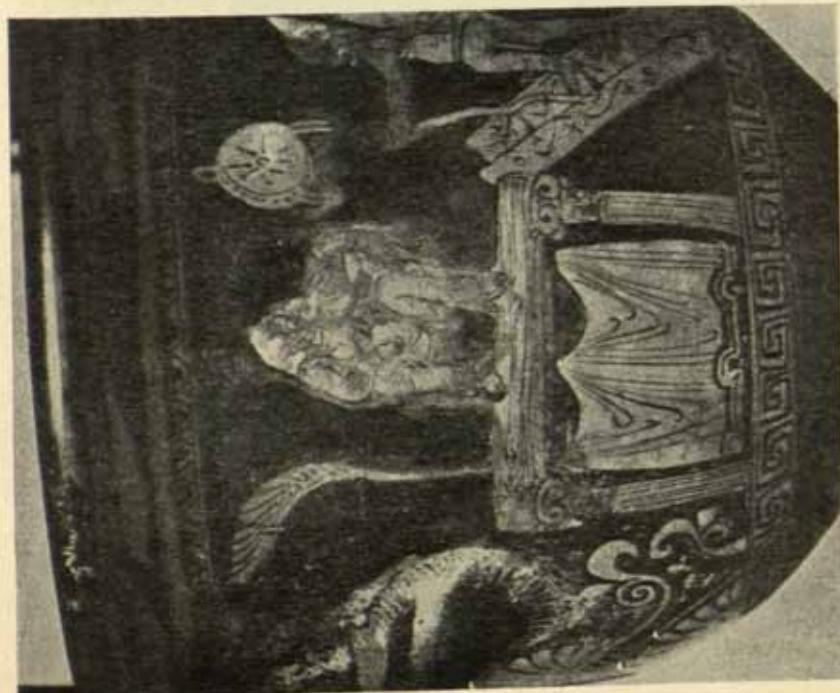
i. 390. E. D. J. Dutilh in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 437—440 describes a small bronze coin, found in the oasis, with *obv.* a ram walking to the right, *rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* an eagle on a thunderbolt to the left and a six-rayed star before it ('Nous concluons ainsi qu'il s'agit, probablement, d'une pièce frappée sous un des premiers Ptolémées à l'Oasis').

i. 395 *vervecus Iuppiter*. Cp. Dessau *Inscr. Lat.* id. no. 4477 (at *Asis ben Tellis* in Numidia) d. b. s. (*dis bonis sacrum?*) | C. Aponius | Secundus *sacerdos agnu domino*, *taura domino*, *ovicula Nutrici*, *berbece Iovi*, *ovicula Teluri*, *agnu Herculi*, *agnu Veneri*, *edu* | Mercurio, | verbe. *Testimonio* .... m.. lxx (date?) (*instrumenta ad sacrificandum*), no. 4477<sup>a</sup> (in the same place) d. b. s. | C. C. Primus, | *sac. Saturni*, *agnu tauro domino*, *ovicula Teluri*, *berbece Iovo*, *ovicula [Nutrici]*, *capone* | [H]erculli, *edu Merc[ur.]*, *aedus Veneri*, *ber[bec]e Testimonio* | (*duo animalia*) [*p[ro]lecora*] | ....

i. 395 n. 2. A. H. Krapp *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 45, accepting the etymology of *Indra* propounded by H. Güntert *Der arische Weltkönig und Héiland* Halle (Saale) 1923 p. 134, views the name as 'dérivé d'une forme \*indro, apparentée au slave *jedro*, "testicule," *tchekue jedro*, "moelle," au pluriel "testicules," et dont la base commune est \*sid=tumescere. Comparer aussi *oidēw* et le v. nor. *eista*, "testicule." Indra est donc l'homme fort, viril, comme en Scandinavie Thor, qui était souvent appelé *Thorrkari!*' The sequel in Krapp is also *ad rem*. But other derivations of *Indra* are noted by Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 332, and a timely warning is sounded by Schrader *Reallex.* ii. 247<sup>b</sup>.

i. 395 n. 3 *Iṣṭar*. Better *Iṣṭar*, as J. Keil 'Meter Hipta' showed in the *Wiener Eranos zur fünfzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Graz* 1909 Wien 1909 p. 102 f. (O. Kern on *Orph. frag.* 199).

i. 396 n. 1 on the snake as phallic. Cp. P. de Lancre *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais Anges et Demons* Paris 1612 p. 224 'Que le membre du Diable s'il estoit estendu est long eniron d'vene aulne, mais il le tient entortillé & sintieux en forme de serpent.' See further E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 149 ff. and M. Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent* London (1926) p. 126 ff. ('The Serpent as a Phallic Emblem').

Fig. 864.  
*b**a*

i. 401 n. 7. Cp. Prob. in Verg. *et al.* 1 prooem. (iii. 2. 329, 1 Hagen) *hircus Libyca* lingua *tityrus* appellatur.

i. 404 purple-fleeced sheep. A. D. Nock in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1925—1926 p. 16 n. 3 cites G. Rohde's remarks in F. Jacoby *Klassisch-Philologische Studien* Berlin 1925 v. 60 f.

i. 404 golden-fleeced sheep. E. L. Mijatovich *Serbian Fairy Tales* London 1917 pp. 141—149 ('The golden-haired Twins') tells how the Twins became successively two trees with golden leaves and golden blossoms, two boards of a bed made from these trees, two sparks from the fire that burnt the bed, 'two beautiful lambs with golden fleeces and golden horns,' two golden-haired boys. See also S. Thompson *Motif-index of Folk-literature (FF Communications No. 106)* Helsinki 1932 i. 296 B 105. 1 'Ram with golden fleece.'

i. 405 ff. the golden lamb of Atreus. C. A. J. Hoffmann 'Ueber den goldenen Widder des Atreus' in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1838 v. 1132—1137, O. Immisch 'Das goldne lamm des Atreus' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol. Suppl.* 1890 xvii. 202—208, A. H. Krapp 'Atreus' Lamm' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 182—184 (citing remarkable Iranian parallels for a great ram as 'ein Symbol der Königswürde, ein Regalium' [sic!] from the 'Geschichte des Artachšir i Pāpakān,' founder of the Sassanid dynasty (T. Nöldeke in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1879 iv. 44 f., also in Firdausi *Le Livre des Rois* trad. J. Mohl Paris 1877 v. 230 ff.)).

Ach. Tat. *isagog.* 20 in schol. Arat. ed. Maass p. 48, 14 f. 'Ατρεύς γάρ εὑρε τὸν πλανήτην τὸν ιαννίαν φορᾶς, ὅπερ καὶ ἡλιος ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν κυλιούετον καὶ φερομένου εἰς δυσμάς.

i. 406 the golden lamb identified with the sceptre. Cp. Sen. *Thyest.* 228 f. tergorē ex huius novi | aurata reges sceptra Tantalei gerunt.

i. 414 ff. the golden ram of Phrixos. G. Goerres *Studien zur griechischen Mythologie (Berliner Studien für classische Philologie und Archäologie* x. 2) Berlin 1889 i. 72—120 ('Zeus Laphystios und die Athamassie'), A. H. Krapp 'The Story of Phrixos and Modern Folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1923 xxxiv. 141—147, id. 'La légende d'Athamas et de Phrixos' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 381—389 (contends that the myth arises from the fusion of two elements—the ancient custom of sacrificing the king or the king's eldest son in time of famine, and a familiar type of *Märchen*. Krapp attempts to reconstitute the original form of the story), J. A. Scott 'The origin of the myth of the golden fleece' in *The Classical Journal* 1926—1927 xxii. 541.

i. 416 a sanctuary of Leukothea. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1910 pp. 378—382 no. 25 fig. 9 publishes a broken *stèle* of white marble, found at Larissa in Thessaly, which shows Danae daughter of Aphonetos on her knees before Leukothea. The goddess, seated on two blocks of stone, raises her left hand to adjust her *himation*. In the background is seen the doorway of her circular temple. The inscription, in lettering of the early third century B.C., runs: Αευκαθέα[ι] | Δαρδα | Ατθω[ε]ι[reia] (sc. οὐέταις or the like). See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 36—44 (a Minyan myth under Creto-Carian influence) and J. Wackernagel 'Λευκαθέα' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 44—46 (cj. λευκαθεύτων in Hes. u. Her. 146 οὐέτων...λευκαθεύτων, cp. λευκαθέα[reia] 'weiss glänzen').

i. 419 n. 5. But, according to O. Rossbach, the text of the cod. Vaticanus gives *in qua ovis in celum ascendit* (L. Deubner in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 51b). It is tempting to conjecture *in qua ovis in caelum ascendit*, 'wearing which the sheep (golden ram) went up to heaven.'

i. 420 n. o. R. Dussaud 'Une épreuve subie dans un chaudron' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lviii. 309, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 185.

P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xl. 228 cites R. Mouterde in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1931 pp. 141—147 an inscription from 'Ahirk in El Leja recording a thunderstorm and a death by lightning' Α(γ)αθῆ Τόχη. | δρε ν̄ κερα(ν)η | ο-βολία ἐγένετο κα[ι] (Δ)ιπ[ε]θεώθη (F. Cumont would read καταπεθεώθη) | Αῦσος Αι[ελάθου] Ετούς κρ.. (120 in the era of Bostra = 225/226 A.D.).

i. 422 human 'bears.' Cp. G. C. Moore Smith 'Straw-bear Tuesday' in *Folk-Lore* 1909 xx. 202 f. with two pls., V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' *ib.* 1930 xli. 266—279 with pls. 9 and 10, *ead.* *Pyrenean Festivals* London 1937 pp. 16—25, 62 f., 108—111, 144, 225 f., 236 with fig. opposite p. 18 ('The Bear Hunt in French Catalonia'), Will-Erich Peuckert in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 893—896 ('Der Bär als Vegetationsdämon').

i. 423 the 'fleece of Zeus.' W. Kroll in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii Beiheft p. 39 discusses the Scythian custom recorded by Loukian, *Taxar*, 48 [with which cp. Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 45. 630 a 22 f.]: 'So wird auch das Sitzen des Myster auf dem Fell zu erklären sein: er schliesst einen Bund mit dem Götter, indem er die Haut des diesem geweihten Tieres betrifft.' T. Zachariae 'Auf einem Fell niedersitzen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 635—638 adds Indian parallels.



Fig. 865.

i. 423 ff. figs. 305 and 306. H. Lewy in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 198 ff. deals with the Jewish rite of *Masorobapta*. A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas' *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv p. xi with fig. 173 dates the Lambert *hydria* c. 470 B.C., notes that it is now in the Czartoryski collection at Goluchow near Posen, and interprets the central figure as 'der nackte bekränzte Bräutigam, neben ihm Schwamm und Waschbecken.' But W. Kroll in *Glotta* 1936 xxv. 154 observes that the vase is better figured by K. Bulas in the *Corp. vas. ant.* Pologne, Gołuchów p. 23 f. pl. 32, 3 a, 3 b, and that the queer object under the man's left foot is in reality non-existent! As Bulas remarks: 'La prétendue peau de mouton sous le genou droit de Thésée n'est que son pied gauche mal dessiné.'

i. 424. On the mouse in religion and folklore see J. V. Grohmann *Apollo Smintheus und die Bedeutung der Mäuse in der Mythologie der Indogermanen* Prag 1862 pp. 1—87.

W. R. Dawson in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1924 x. 83—86 (the mouse as folk-medicine), *ib.* 'The mouse in fable and folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1925 xxxvi. 227—248, J. U. Powell 'Rodent-Gods in Ancient and Modern Times' *ib.* 1929 xl. 173—179, J. U. Powell and A. R. Wright *ib.* 1929 xl. 392 f., H. Myrlund in the *Symbolae Osloenses* 1919 viii. 96 f. (*sorci* 'mouse'), Riegler 'Maus' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1934 vi. 31—60, Ohrt 'Mäusesegen' *ib.* pp. 60—61.

i. 429 n. 4. A marble purse-bearing Hermes found in a Delian shop has his phallus tipped with a ram's head (M. Bulard *La Religion Domestique dans la Colonie Italienne de Délos* Paris 1916 p. 261, cp. *ib.* p. 483).

i. 431 Mnevis. H. Bonnet in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1924 ii—iv p. ii with fig. 48 illustrates a *stèle* of New Kingdom date at Copenhagen (Valdemar Schmidt *Choix de monuments égyptiens* pl. 16) showing the worship of Mnevis, who appears a bull-headed man with solar disk and plumes.

i. 432 Apis with tokens of sun and moon. Late Egyptian terracottas represent Apis as a bovine bust with a solar disk and *uræus* set between his horns and a lunar crescent slung round his neck. So e.g. on a specimen in the Whitway Collection now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge (fig. 868).

i. 436 f. Bouchis. After a series of newspaper notices (e.g. in *The Daily Telegraph* for Dec. 11, 1928, *ib.* Jan. 3, 1929, *ib.* Jan. 4, 1929 (six figs.), *ib.* Feb. 27, 1929 (six figs.), *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 12, 1931) and at least one official report (R. Mond and W. B. Emery 'A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Armant' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1929 xvi. 3—12 with figs. 1—9 and pls. 1—20) a full account of the excavations at Hermontthis (*Armant*) has been put together by Sir R. Mond, O. H. Myers, and H. W. Fairman *The Buceum* (Forty-first Memoir of The Egypt Exploration Society) London 1934 i. The History and Archaeology of the Site (pp. 1—203), ii. The Inscriptions (pp. 1—92), iii. The Plates (pls. 1—173)—a work reviewed by G. Brunton in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 250 f. and by A. H. M. Jones in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1936 xxvi. 117. See also W. W. Tarn 'The Buceum Stelae: a Note' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1936 xxvi. 187—189.

i. 436 n. 4. In Alkaios *frag.* 35. 3 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 158. 3 Edmonds, 91. 3 Diehl *ap.* Athen. 430 B—C οὐ Βάκχι and in Alkaios *frag.* 46 B. 10 Diehl *ap.* *pas.* *Oxyrh.* 1234 *frag.* 3 καὶ τεδὰ Βάκχιδος the ancients took Βάκχι to be an Aeolic form of Βάκχος (*et. mag.* p. 216, 47 ff. = Herodian. περὶ παθῶν *frag.* 553 (ii. 351, 9 ff. Lentz) Βάκχος δρόμα Αἰολίκων. παρὰ τὸ Βάκχος Βάκχη καὶ Βάκχης ὁ θεός τετταὶ καὶ οἰκος Οἰκος καὶ τραχύ τοῦ ἀ εἰς ὃ ὡς βάσος βίβος), cp. H. L. Ahrens *De Graecis lingue dialectis* Gottingae 1839 i. 78, R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1882 i. 58 (sceptical).

i. 437 ff. Recent literature on Io includes J. C. Hoppin 'Argos, Io, and the Prometheus of Aeschylus' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1901 xii. 335—345 with pl. (*supra* p. 633 f. n. o), G. Mellén *De Ius fabula capita selecta* Upsalitiae 1901 pp. 1 ff., R. Engelmann 'Die Iosage' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 37—58 pl. 2 (*supra* p. 634 n. 1), L. Deubner 'Zur Iosage' in *Philologus* 1905 lxiv. 481—492 with pl., F. Jacoby 'ΙΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΕΕΣΣΑ' in *Hermes* 1922 lvii. 366—374, J. Vürtheim *Aischylor Schutzflehende* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 49—53 ('Io').

C. Sourdié 'Une théorie récente sur la formation du mythe d'Epaphos' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1912 pp. 267—276, J. Vürtheim *op. cit.* pp. 30—41 ('Epaphos').

i. 438 Bakchis in Asia Minor. A. Götz in the *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* München 1933 iii. 1. 195 notes the existence of a Lydian deity Bakī (W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vi. 2. 40 ff. no. 22 (pl. 9), 9 [=J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 117 no. 22, 9] κατεκ bakiilla, 'priest of Bakis' (?), on a marble *stèle* of 1. iv B.C. found in 1911 near the temple of Artemis at Sardeis), whom the Lydians themselves identified with Dionysos (see the bilingual inscription given by W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vi. 2. 38 no. 20 (pl. 8) [=J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 116 no. 20] νανναλικαβιλις αρτιμιλ | Νάννα Διονυσιάλεως 'Αρτιμιλ on a marble statue-base found in 1913 near the temple of Artemis at Sardeis and referred to the second half of 1. iv B.C.). Cp. also *Sardis* vi. 2. 39 no. 21 (pl. 9) an Ionic column from the same site inscribed [?m]a[n]e[?] bakivatis man[elis] r[α. q. ?] = J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 116 no. 21.

i. 441 ff. priests and priestesses with animal names. O. Gruppe in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1918 xli. 298 thinks that Peleades (women dressed as doves) and Hyades (women dressed as sows) were 'alte Bezeichnungen für Zeus' Ammen.' Their καραστρωματα came later. W. M. Ramsay 'Pisidian Wolf-priests, Phrygian Goat-priests, and the Old-Ionian Tribes' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 197—202 would interpret the Pisidian name *Gagdabos Edagdabos* with the help of Hesych. δάος...καὶ ὄντο Φρυγῶν λύκος as 'Wolf-wolf the chief Wolf' implying 'an order of priests called Wolves,' the Phrygian

Attabokos with the help of ἀττῆγός (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> no. 589, 50 f., Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1625, 37 f.), *attagus* (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5, 6), and Hippoanax *frag.* 2 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 46 Knox ap. Tzetz. in *Lyk. Al.* 425 and 741 καίνης (W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 362 ff.), Hesych. καίνης ιερέων Καβειρών δὲ κόπταις as 'goat-priests,' and the Old-Ionian Διγκορέis as priests wearing Athena's *aigis*. B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 155 ff. no. 1802 (a glossary of late second or early third century) *frag.* 3 col. ii, 29 ff. [μέ]λοσαι : Ιαὶ τῆς Δημητρίου ιερεῖαι. η αὐτή Ἀπολλωνία? ἐν τῷ αἴτιον διόγειρος σαράντα πέντε καὶ δέκατον τρισσάρισμα τοῦ Περσεφόνητος, αἱ μὲν παραγενέσθαι εἰς Πάρον καὶ ζευστεῖον παρὰ | τῷ βασιλεῖ Μελάσιον χαροσαθεῖ ταῖς τοῦτοις θυγατράσισι οὐδαίς εὖκοτα τὸν τῆς Φερεφόνητος λαόν, καὶ πρώταις αὐτῶν ἀδεδούσαι | τὰ περι αὐτήν πάθη τε καὶ μαστίγια· διεῖν καὶ μελάσιον ἔκποτε | κληθῆναι τὰς θευμοφοραζόντας (εἰληθέντας) γυναῖκας." P. Clement 'New evidence for the origin of the Iphigenia legend' in *L'Antiquité Classique* 1934 iii. 393—409 cites two Thessalian dedications to Artemis by devotees called νέβροι (*Inscr. Gr.* sept. iii. 2 no. 1123 Δωρίς Μελάσιον Ἀρτέμιδος Παγασίτοις νέβροι[α...]), where F. Hiller von Gaertringen notes: 'An νέβροις[α] ut ἀρκτεύσαται, i.e. postquam deae νέβροις [sic] nomine inservivit?' and N. I. Giannopoulos in the *Arch.* Ep. 1931 p. 178 f. no. 18 fig. 1 the white marble cap-stone of a statue-base from Larisa inscribed Αρτέμιδος Θεοσία Ιππόλοχος ιππόλοχος νέβροι | Εδβατείας Αλεξιππείας νέβροινα[α] | λότρα. Clement interprets Θεοσία as 'goddess of fertility' (θεο· θεο· θεο· [*supra* i. 681 n. 4]), derives νέβροι from νέβροι as a parallel of νέβροι, and claims that the legend of Iphigenia's sacrifice arose from the ritual of the νέβροι in the cult of Artemis at Aulis—a most attractive hypothesis. F. R. Walton in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1935 xvi. 167—189, discussing the *Ichneutae* of Sophokles, contends that the chorus of Satyrs were conceived as a pack of hunting dogs, cp. Poll. 5. 10 ιχνευτῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ κώνιον and *Corp. Inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1651 an inscription from the Asklepieion in the Peiraeus which ordains 3 ff. Μαλεάτην πότανα τρία· 'Απόλλωνι πότανα τρία· Ερυζη πότανα τρία· Ιασοῖ πότανα τρία· Αἰκεσοῖ πότανα τρία· Ηπαρκείαι πότανα τρία· | Κούνιον πότανα τρία· Κυνηγέταις πότανα τρία'. But it is far from certain that the Κύνεις and Κυνηγέταις of this inscription were human beings. G. Kaibel in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1901 p. 506 points out that in Plat. *Phaon* frag. 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 674 ff. Meineke) ap. Athen. 441 E—442 A Orthanes, Konisalos, Lordon, Kybdasos, Keles are grouped with Κύνιοι τε καὶ Κυνηγέταις and infers that the latter, like the former, were Phoenician deities. L. Ziehen in *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 70 ff. no. 18 after further examination concludes: 'Itaque inferos daemonas Κύνα et Κυνηγέταις dici persuasum habeo' etc. C. M. Bowra *Greek Lyric Poetry* Oxford 1936 p. 43 ff. holds that Alkmēn's famous *parthenion* was sung at a joint festival of Dionysos and Helenē. 'The Δευτεῖοι, led by their two leaders or πάλοι, sing the song in competition with the Πλειάδες before the presentation of some gift to the appropriate gods and a race at the dawn' (*ib.* p. 54). F. Heichelheim in Panly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 906—910 has compiled the latest and most serviceable list of these usages. But it would be possible, and profitable, to go yet further in the same direction. Many examples of mythical metamorphosis might be explained along these lines. To give but one instance—the Κορωνίδης of the Boeotian tale told by Ant. Lib. 25 (*Ιστοριὲ Νίκανδρος ἐπεριουμένων* 5 καὶ Κορυνά γηπολεῖς) and retold with variations by Ov. met. 13. 685 ff.

i. 447 ff. Kleobis and Biton. See also S. Eitrem 'Kleobis und Biton' in the *Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger* 1905 No. 1 pp. 1—14 (criticised by L. Deubner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Nov. 4, 1905 pp. 1402—1405), L. Weber 'Tellos, Kleobis und Biton' in *Philologus* 1926 lxxii. 154—166.

i. 448 Zeus at Nemea. On the American excavations of 1924—1927 see C. W. Blegen 'The American excavations at Nemea, season of 1924' in *Art and Archaeology* 1925 xix. 175—184, *ib.* 1927 xxiii. 189, *id.* 'Excavations at Nemea 1926' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 421—440 figs. 1—14 (of which fig. 3 = my fig. 867), cp. M. Clemmensen 'Le temple de Zeus à Némée' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 1—12 figs. 1—9 and pls. 1—2 (= my fig. 866) plan and 3—4 details of order, R. Vallois 'Remarques sur le temple de Némée' *ib.* pp. 13—20 figs. 10—14, Ernst Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2318—2322. The scanty remains of an archaic temple on the same site include blocks of πόροι, some with U-shaped lifting-holes, recut for use in the later building and a fragmentary antefix of terra cotta adorned with a polychrome palmette. A deposit of votive offerings found under the plaster of the later *tēmenos* yielded proto-Corinthian and Corinthian sherds, terracottas, and small bronzes. The new temple, built c. 330 B.C., was a Doric peripteral structure with 6 × 12 columns, 2 columns in the *pronaos*, but no *opisthodomos*. Inside were two rows of 6 Corinthian columns. At the western end of the *naiskos* 2 other columns marked off an *adyton*, which took the form of a sunken but unroofed

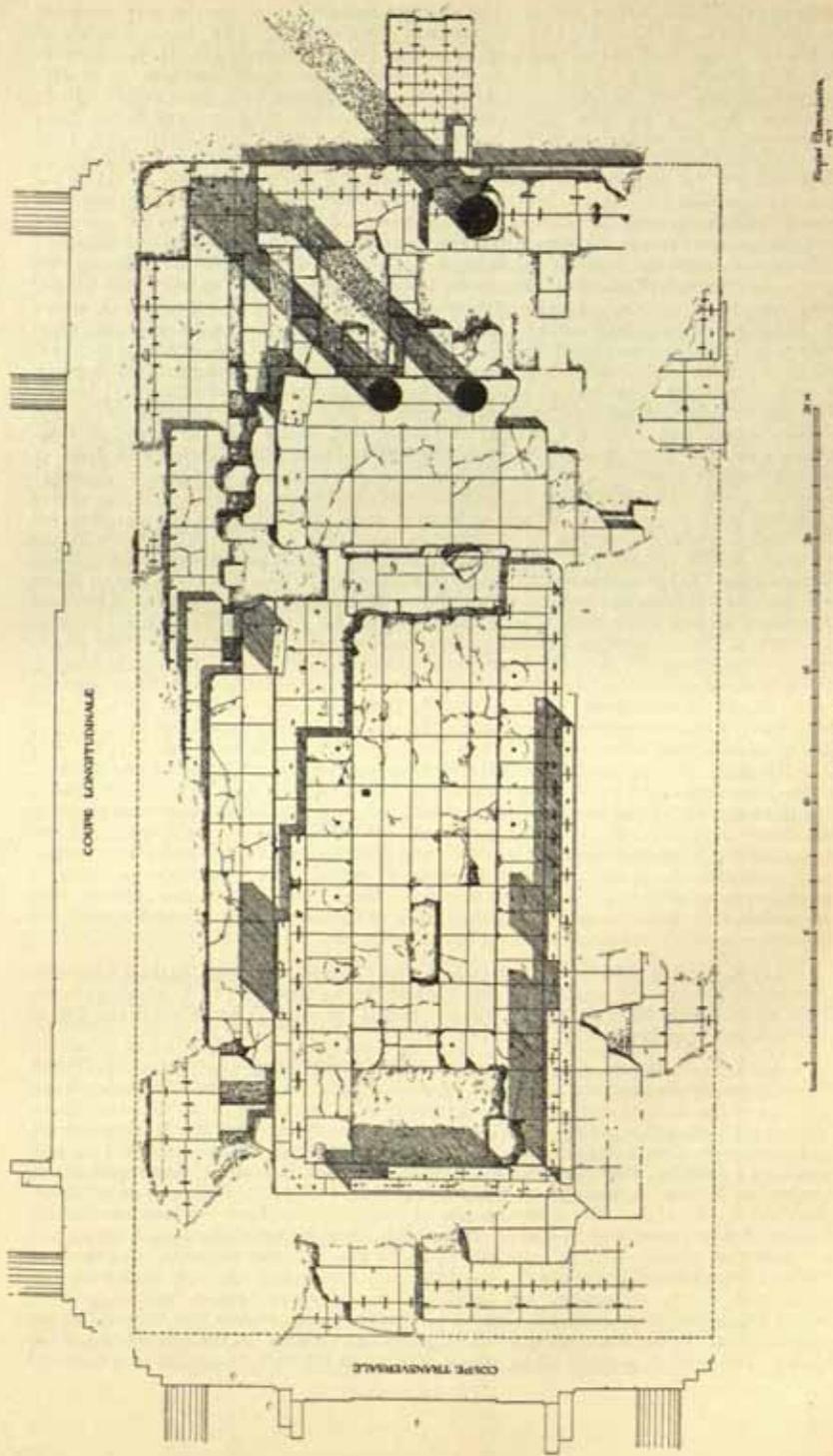


Fig. 866.

crypt with a flooring of white stucco (possibly of Roman date) laid some 1'98<sup>m</sup> below the level of the *nais* and reached by a roughish flight of five steps (fig. 867); but the precise purpose of this semi-subterranean *sanctum* is unknown. The temple had a marble *rima* carved in relief with *dianthos*-work and lion-heads. Three of its lanky Doric columns are still standing. And parallel to the temple-façade are the foundations of a great sacrificial altar, prolonged at some period towards the north so that it now measures 40'58<sup>m</sup> long by 2'42<sup>m</sup> wide.

One or two individual finds deserve mention. A *pōros* base embedded in a wall at the west end of the Gymnasium was inscribed with a *boustrophedon* dedication in lettering of 1. vi B.C.: 'Απόρις με διδύθεες Δι Θρονοι φέρακτι πακράτιον τισθή τεράξις | ἐν Νείας Φειδόνος Σθίος τῷ Κλεοφατο | (C. W. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 432 f. fig. 10, W. Peek in the *Αρχ.-Εφ.* 1931 p. 103 f. no. 1). The inscription, which appears to be our oldest example of an agonistic epigram, was conceived as an elegiac couplet ekeed out by an iambic pentapody. H. N. Couch 'An Inscribed Votive Bronze Bull' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 44—47 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a solid-cast



Fig. 867.

bull (0'083<sup>m</sup> in length, 0'070<sup>m</sup> in height) found in 1927 near the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea and now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology and Art at the University of Illinois. The bull bears on its left side the *pointillé* inscription **ΑΛΕΑΤΙΣ | ΑΝΕΟΕΚΕ**. On artistic and epigraphical grounds it is assigned to the first half of the fourth century B.C.

i. 450 n. 1 'Other Authors.' See *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18 *lemma*.

i. 453 Io *Kallithyessa*. F. Jacoby 'ΙΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ' in *Hermes* 1922 lvii. 366—374 supports the main contention of A. Frickenhaus in *Tiryns* i. 19 ff. that there was an ancient cult of Hera at Tiryns (*supra* i. 454 n. o) against the criticisms of C. Robert in *Hermes* 1920 iv. 373 ff., but argues that the Tirynthian Io *Kallithyessa* (a Hesiodic, not Callimachean, tag) was split by Hellanikos 'ἱέρεας τῆς Ἡπας αἱ Ἀργεῖς into two Argive figures—Kallithyia the first priestess and Io (ep. *Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 455 Jacoby).

i. 453 n. 8. On the pillar of Hera *Argela* see now P. Kastrites 'Ἡπας Ἀργείας ξύλος' in the *Αρχ.-Εφ.* 1920 pp. 53—56 with figs. 1—3.

i. 456 Epimenides and the Nemean lion. G. W. Dyson in the *Class. Quart.* 1929 xxiii. 195 thinks that Epimenides perhaps claimed to be a reincarnation of the soul of the Nemean lion.

i. 457 Hera *Argela* and the Moon. A late Graeco-Roman relief in reddish marble (height 2 ft 1½ ins), found at Argos and now in London, shows a facing bust of Selene in an arched niche bearing the signs of the zodiac. The goddess has a horned moon on her head and seven stars grouped round her. Below has been added the 'Gnostic'

inscription Ιανα· φραινφρι· καταθρα· λυκοσυντα· δωδεκακιστη· Σαβασθ· αβωθερας (Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpt. iii. 231 f. no. 2162 fig. 26 = my fig. 868, Reinach Rep. Reliefs ii. 489, 1).

i. 461 n. 1 Zeus Panóptes. Anonym. *enarrat. brev. chronogr.* (dated c. 750 A.D. by K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*<sup>2</sup> München 1897 p. 424) 48 (in *Scriptores originum Constantino-politanarum* i. 53 Preger) *à propos* of Julian and the bronze group at Kaisareia Paneas (*supra* p. 971 n. 1) says: *καὶ τὸ φοῖον δὲ κατέκαιστε, καὶ Διὸς εἴδωλον καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀπατεύεσσι καὶ ἔστων· ἐν οἷς καὶ νῦν οἰκεῖον τοις ἐπέγραψε τάδε· “Θεῶν Διού Παντεπότητος· Ιουλιανὸς Πανεῖδος εἰς δῶρον ἤγει.”*

i. 464 Theos Tauros. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 I. 393 f. nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 (my fig. 321 is his no. 11 or 12) and *ib.* p. 393 n. 4 is able to cite four fresh examples of the inscription Θεοῦ | Ταύρου, making a total of six, all found at Thespiai. A gold coin of the city Pushkalavati, with rev. Indian bull inscribed TAYPOC above and Uṣabhe below (E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 557, 587 pl. 6, 10) represents Nandi the bull of Civa (*supra* i. 637, ii. 791 n. 2). Mosch. 2. 135 πῦ με φέρεις, θεοταύρε (*v.l.* ὁ ταύρε); uses the compound of Zeus.



Fig. 868.

i. 469 n. 7. A. Fick 'Asklepios und die heilschlange' in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1900 xxvi. 313 ff. c. μῆλος <χαλκή> διώκων, 'playing at blindman's buff.'

Fig. 325 is better published and discussed by Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 22, 16, ii. 108. Cp. J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 50 no. 23. See also Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 59 f. no. 43, 2 pl. 58 'Polyeidos, Glaucus et Minos' with n. 5.

i. 472 ff. The Labyrinth continues to provoke discussion—witness the following monographs: R. de Launay 'Les fallacieux détours du Labyrinthe' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1915 ii. 114—125, 348—363, *ib.* 1916 i. 295—300, 387—398, ii. 119—128, 295—300, 413—421 (takes as his starting-point the Round Building of Early Helladic date (third millennium B.C.), some 28<sup>m</sup> in diameter, at Tiryns (K. Müller in *Tiryns* iii. 80 ff. pls. 5, 29, 30), which appears to have been the earliest palace (Müller *loc. cit.* p. 87, G. Karo in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1455)). E. Hommel 'Zur Geschichte des Labyrinth' in the *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* 1919 xxii. 63—68 (holds that the maze-form in Crete and on Babylonian tablets represents the internal organs of man's body. On which showing the Labyrinth is 'a microcosm of the earth and a macrocosm of the human anatomy' (W. F. J. Knight in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvi. 105)). H. Diels 'Das Labyrinth' in the *Festgabe A. v. Harnack* Tübingen 1921 pp. 61—72. W. H. Matthews *Mazes and Labyrinths* London 1922 pp. 1—254 (well illustrated). A. Piganiol *Recherches sur les jeux romains* Strasbourg 1923 p. 103 (le *ludus Troiae*). Humborg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 312—321, G. Karo *ib.* 321—323, H. Kees *ib.* 323—326. R. Winter 'Das Labyrinth in Tanz und Spiel' in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft*

und Jugendbildung 1929 v. 707—720 figs. 1—6 ('Es ist hier versucht worden, Verbindungslien zwischen dem Süden und dem Norden Europas im Altertum nachzuweisen'). W. F. J. Knight 'Vergil and the Maze' in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xlivi. 212 f., *id.* 'Maze Symbolism and the Trojan Game' in *Antiquity* 1932 vi. 445—458, *id.* 'Myth and Legend at Troy' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvi. 98—121. R. Eilmann *Labyrinthos* Athen 1931 pp. 1—106 with figs. 1—25 (p. 12 criticises my contention (*supra* i. 476 f.) that the Cnossian coin-types originated in a *swastika*). C. N. Deedes *The Labyrinth* ed. by S. H. Hooke London 1935 pp. 1—42 (thinks that in Egypt the Labyrinth originated in the baffling defences of the royal tomb or, later, of the royal palace). J. Layard 'Maze-Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula' [an island of the New Hebrides] in *Folk-Lore* 1936 xlvi. 123—170 (the Labyrinth provides a clue to the journey of the soul after death), *id. ib.* p. 170 'the horned dancers of Abbots Bromley are thus seen to be not far removed from the bull-headed Minotaur,' *id. ib.* 1937 xlviii. 115—182 'Labyrinth Ritual in South India: Threshold and Tattoo Designs.'

i. 481 the Labyrinth at Taormina. By a curious coincidence a square mosaic representing the Labyrinth, with battlements all round, angle-towers, and a gateway, has actually come to light at Taormina (P. Orsi in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 p. 340 ff. figs. 26—29).

i. 481 the Labyrinth-dance at Delos. The Delian dance had ropes (*peus*) to guide the dancers (I. R. Arnold in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 455 [F. Dürbach *Inscriptions de Délos* Paris 1926 ii. 77 ff. no. 316, 75 ff.]).

i. 482 n. 1 the altar of horns at Delos. See further É. Cahen 'L'autel de cornes et l'hymne à Délos de Callimaque' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1923 xxxvi. 14—25 ('il est peut-être difficile de voir dans le *Kératón* l'autel principal du culte apollinien à Délos. Ce sera plutôt, à côté du *þauos* centre de la liturgie officielle, comme un autel très antique, où s'attachaient les souvenirs les plus vénérables de la religion délienne, avec les rites primitifs de la *þáparos*, de la *þiauaoritýewis*, d'autres encore' [Kallim. h. *Del.* 300—324, Hesych. s.v. Δηλιακὸς βωβός]). R. Vallois 'Topographie délienne. I. L'Artémision, le Monument des Hyperboréennes, l'Olivier sacré et le Kératón' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 411—445.

The archaic temple of Dreros, built for Apollon *Delphnios* (*supra* i. 729 n. 2) early in 2. viii b.c., was perhaps half a century later furnished with an altar of unusual form. A hollow structure of vertical slabs set against the back wall was covered by a wooden (?) lid with a circular hole in it (0·15" across), which itself was closed by a carefully rounded potsherd. On this box-altar stood three statuettes of hammered bronze (one male, two smaller female) together with two small iron knives: within it were numerous horns (mostly left horns) of young goats—clearly a *keratén* comparable with that of Delos (*supra* i. 482) (S. Marinatos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1936 ix. 224 f., 241—244 figs. 17, 18, pls. 26, 27, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1936 li Arch. pp. 215—222 and 227 with figs. 1—4).

i. 483 *swastika* and maeander. A. S. Georgiades in the *'Apx. Ep.* 1914 p. 195 pl. 5 figs. 1, 2, *ib.* 1915 p. 94 fig. 1 publishes a fine *swastika*-pattern, which he calls the 'Εργατικὸς μαλαθός', from the monastery of S. George at Eretria.

i. 485 Theseus and the Minotaur as central panel of the Labyrinth. C. Bursian *Aventicum Helvetiorum* Fünftes Heft Zürich 1870 (= *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* xvi. Abth. 1. Heft 5) p. 58 pl. 29 publishes a handsome mosaic, found in 1830 at Cormerod in the canton of Freiburg and now in the Freiburg Museum: the design shows a Labyrinth with towers at the angles and Theseus with the Minotaur in the centre.

i. 490 ff. the Minotaur. Materials bearing on this vexed problem may be here assembled. Sir J. Marshall *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* Part I, 1913—14 Calcutta 1915 p. 25 f. pl. 23 fig. c publishes an enamelled terra-cotta relief, found by M. Duroiselle in the ruins of the Shwegugyi pagoda in Burma (c. v A.D.), showing among the subjects that relate to Buddha's fight with Mara two bull-headed beings with human bodies and limbs, nude except for a loin-cloth. The type is suggestive of the Greek Minotaur.

F. Quilling *Minotauros. Der Veredarienstein im Saalburgmuseum* Leipzig 1919 pp. 1—40 (severely criticised by E. Anthes in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* April 3, 1920 pp. 322—326).

Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter to me dated Dec. 14, 1926, maintains that there is no convincing representation of the Minotaur in 'Minoan' or Mycenaean art, and that the seal-impression always cited as such would never have been so understood had not the wish been father to the thought. He holds that the mixed creatures of human + animal type, which occur first in the 'Late Minoan' age, are due to the impact of

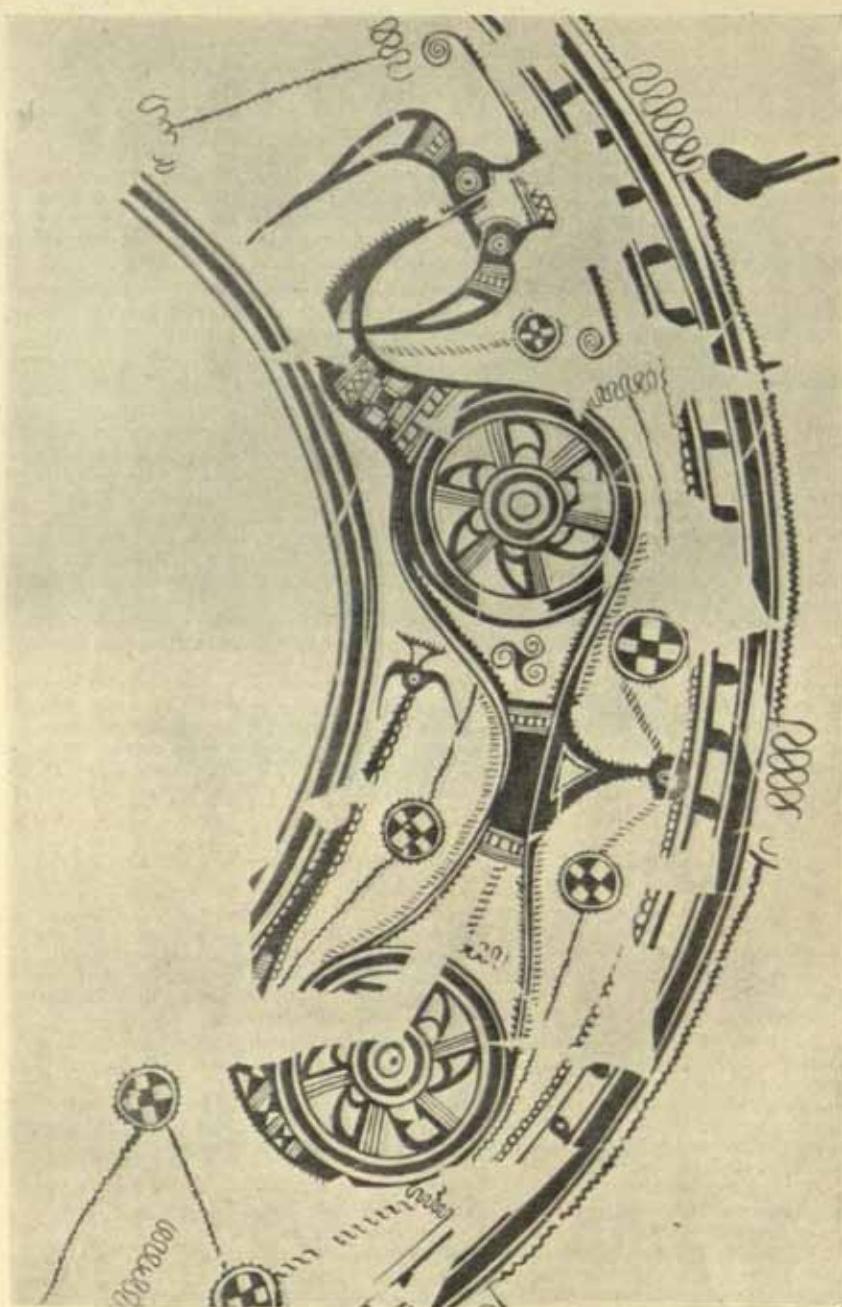


Fig. 869.



Fig. 870.



Fig. 871.

Caucasian immigration and a change in the ruling race. Such *Mischwesen* had long been known to the peoples of the eastern Pontos and may well have been introduced as a novel motif into 'Minoan' art by the victors. Semper surmises that the Minotaur was first discovered by the Hellenes, probably to represent some traditional 'Minoan' word, whose true sound and sense remain obscure. He notes that the legend of the Minotaur is known from Greek sources only and involves an element of sex (*ιερὸς γάμος*), which points to the presence of a non-'Minoan' factor in the population of Crete. This factor he regards as 'urägäischen' and believes to have been racially connected with Asia Minor, whereas the genuine founders of the 'Minoan' civilisation were a Mediterranean folk racially akin to the Libyans.

Eva Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 270 f. comments on a bronze Etruscan mirror (F. Borie 'La mort du Minotaure' in the *École française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 1898 xviii. 51—63 pl. 1—2), which shows not only Minos, Athena, Ariadne, and Herakles (*mine, menrva, ariadna, hercule*), but also the bull-headed Minotaur (*bevrumines*). P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1931 xix. 216 had pointed out that this Etruscan compound was the equivalent of [Ta]jpos *Minatos* on a 'Chalcidian' *hydria* from Caere (*Cervetri*) [Louvre F 18, best published by A. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 13 no. 12, 175 fig. 3 pl. 26].

A. Schulten *Numantia* München 1931 ii. 213 notes the prevalence of the bull-cult throughout Iberia. *Id. ib. ii. 262 f. pls. 24 and 25* (=my fig. 869) gives the black painted decoration of a red pottery *dolium*, which in a highly stylized geometric manner (A. del Castillo in Ebert *Reallex.* ix. 138) renders a couple of bulls. *Id. ib. ii. 257 pl. 16* (=my figs. 870 and 871) shows the designs on a polychrome jug, which represents two male dancers wearing bulls' horns on their arms and bulls' hoofs (?) on their feet. The dance may be that mentioned by Strab. 164 as celebrated by night *ἀρωρόπος ταῦλις θρησκεία*. In any case the previous existence of such a bull-cult in Spain explains in part the age-long popularity of the Spanish bull-fights. See further V. Alford *Pyrenean Festivals* London 1937 p. 193 f. on the Basque *Toro de Fuego* or 'Fire Bull' ('probably...a form of bull devotion, separate from, though existing side by side, with the *corrida* or bullfight').

T. L. Shear in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 540 fig. 1 (J. Charbonneau in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1933 xliv. 83 fig. 2) publishes a gold ring from a Mycenaean tomb found near the 'Theseion' at Athens: 'The scene represented on the ring is of unusual interest. On the right a man is striding to the right. He has the head of an animal with long ears or short horns. In one hand he carries a branch or spear, and with the other holds the end of a double cord, which is attached to the waist of the foremost of two women behind him. The women have veiled heads, high ruffs around their necks, and pleated skirts. On the extreme left is a sacred pillar, and a small object resembling a bird or butterfly appears in the background above the figures. A group consisting of bull-headed man who is leading two captive women recalls the legend of the Minotaur and the Athenian maidens. The new discovery in Athens may illustrate an early version of the later familiar myth.' But Shear's interpretation of the scene is far from certain.

E. Sjögqvist in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 344—347 fig. 11 gives the upper part of a terra-cotta statuette from *Aija Irini* in Kypros, which portrays a priest wearing a bull's mask drawn over his head. Sjögqvist cites analogous figures and concludes: 'Es scheint daher, als ob die Tiermaskenverkleidung eine rituelle Tracht wäre, besonders mit zeremoniellen Prozessionen und Tänzen verknüpft. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass die mit Sicherheit bestimmmbaren Priestermasken Stierköpfe sind. Die Reminiszenzen in Aija Irini von einem ursprünglichen Stiergott sind sicher noch lebendig gewesen, und der Stier war sein heiliges Tier und sein Symbol, auf gleiche Art, wie es mit Hadad in Syrien und seinem Gegenstück in Anatolien der Fall war. Indem der Priester sein Bild anlegte, ging er eine greifbare Vereinigung mit der Gottheit ein, auf gleiche Art wie Demeters Priester in Pheneos bei gewissen Kultakten die Maske der Göttin anlegte [*supra* ii. 1136 n. 4]. Der Brauch hat bereits während der Bronzezeit eine grosse Verbreitung auf Cypern und innerhalb des syro-hettitischen Kulturgebietes gehabt und scheint sporadisch auch in dem minoisch-mykenischen Kreise spürbar zu sein.'

With this conclusion I have long been in substantial agreement (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120—132 ('The Cult of the Bull')). It would, I conceive, be true to say that all round the shores of the Mediterranean in early times the thunder-god was envisaged as a bellowing bull, whose human representative, the king or priest, identified himself with the deity by donning a bull-mask or, at least by wearing bull-horns. Even Zedekiah the son of Chenaah, when he claimed to speak in the name of the Lord, 'made him horns of iron' (1 Kings 22. 11).

i. 497 ff. 'Minoan' Bull-fights. Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxv. 90 f. fig. 96 illustrates a couple of *rhyta* from 'Early Minoan' ossuaries in the Messara, Crete, showing bulls with acrobatic performers ('the earliest record of these sports'). W. Crooke 'Bull-

baiting, Bull-racing, Bull-fights' in *Folk-Lore* 1917 xxviii. 141—163 discusses the subject with many parallels from India, Nigeria, etc. Ella Bourne 'Ancient Bull-fights' in *Art and Archaeology* 1917 v. 142—153 cites *inter alia* fig. 9 a marble relief from Smyrna, now at Oxford, inscribed ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΡΙΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ φ Β (R. Chandler *Marmora Oxoniensis Oxonii* 1763 ii. 105 no. 58 pl. 8, Reinach *Klop. Reliefs* ii. 526 no. 1. Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 257 f. fig. 9, *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3212) and a similar marble relief from Sardis inscribed [ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΡΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΝΗΓΙΩΝ?] ΗΜΕΡΑΣ Γ (H. C. Butler in *Sardis* i. 1. 95 fig. 96, W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson *ib.* vii. 1. 88 f. no. 82 fig. 69), with which cp. a relief found west of the theatre at Ephesus (R. Heberley in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii Beiblatt p. 46 fig. 12) and an inscription from the Ephesian stage Μ[η]ρόφελος Μηρόφελον τῷ εἰδίοις [καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτῷ τοῖς Ταιρεαστάς τοῖς Κρεοτέιος (*id. in Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1912 ii. 182 no. 75). Sir A. J. Evans 'On a Minoan Bronze Group of a Galloping Bull and Acrobatic Figure from Crete' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 247—259 figs. 1—12. *Id. The Palace of Minos* London 1936 Index p. 21 r.v. 'Bull-sports.' Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 24—27 (concluding with some friendly criticism of my own views).

i. 500. On the horn-bearing woman of Laussel see now M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1925 p. 166 fig. 2, p. 167 fig. 1, p. 601 ff., R. de Saint-Périer *L'art préhistorique (Époque paléolithique)* Paris 1932 p. 29 pl. 8, 4.

i. 500. On the significance of the drinking-horn see H. Thiersch 'Kretische Hornbecher' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 78—85 figs. 30—45 (p. 83 f. 'Die Vorstellung, dass das Trinken aus solchem Horne überirdische Kräfte verleihe, ist ja nur die weitere Konsequenz des ganz allgemein verbreiteten Gedankens, dass die Kraft des Tieres auch noch in dem von ihm abgetrennten Horne weiterlebe, dass dieses darum auch zur Abwehr allerlei dämonischer Angriffe in hohem Masse geeignet sei').

i. 503 f. bull-carrying. Cp. L. Ziehen in *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 49 ff. no. 12, 30 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i. no. 84, 30 ff. (an Athenian decree of 421/0 B.C.) τὸν δὲ βοῦν ἐχεῖν αὐτοῖς σ]] φύγοντας πρὸ τῆς βουάρος ἡράτο[η] δὲ ἀποτραπεῖ τὸν βοῦν ἐφέβων οἷον | κιεροποιοὺς καυρόσθον διακοποίς ἔχεις Αθεναῖος and *Corp. Inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 467, 10 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii.—iii. 1 no. 1028, 10 f. = Michel Recueil d'*Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 10 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. Inscr. Gr.* 2 no. 717, 10 f. (an Athenian decree of 100/99 B.C.) ἥρατο δὲ καὶ τοῖς μιστηρίοις τοῦ βοῦν | ἐλεύθεροι τὴν θυσίαν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐβουλέυσαν ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ιεροῦ with the notes of Ziehen and Dittenberger *ad locc.* See also E. Maass *r.v. βούραται* in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 222 f., L. Ziehen 'Zum Opferritus' in *Hermes* 1931 lxvi. 227—234, and F. Cumont in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1937 xxvii. 67 n. 20.

R. C. Bosanquet drew my attention (7 June 1915) to Hesych. Γάρδαρος· ὁ ταυρόκρατης, παρ' Ἰεδοῖς. The reference is apparently to the Graeco-Buddhist art of ancient Gandhara in north-western India.

i. 506 ff. Ritual Horns. In addition to the important articles of I. Scheftelowitz 'Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 451—487 (*ib.* p. 473 f. 'Hörner am Altar als Symbol der Heiligkeit') and J. A. MacCulloch 'Horns' in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 791<sup>b</sup>—796<sup>b</sup> (p. 794<sup>b</sup> 'conventional representations of an earlier βουκόδρων') consult W. Gaerte 'Die Bedeutung der kretisch-minoischen Horns of Consecration' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 72—98 (starting from P. E. Newberry's Egyptian hieroglyph of a desert mountain (*supra* ii. 555 n. o, *ep.* 545 n. o)), Gaerte p. 82 takes the Cretan horns to be 'die Kultsymbole der in Kreta zu jener Zeit verehrten grossen Erdgötter, einer der kleinasiatischen *Magna Mater* und der griechischen Rhea verwandten Gestalt') and H. Sjövall 'Zur Bedeutung der altkretischen Horns of Consecration' *ib.* 1925 xxxii. 185—192 pls. 1 and 2 (Sjövall connects the Cretan horns with the 'Mondbilder' of north-European art (*supra* i. 507), which he regards as andirois). See also G. Karo in Ebert *Reallex.* v. 392 ('eine reine Schmuckform'), A. E. Napp *Bukranion und Guirlande. Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der hellenistischen und römischen Dekorationskunst* Wertheim a. M. 1933 pp. 1—49, W. Deonna 'Mobilier délien ii ΒΟΜΟΙ ΚΕΡΑΟΤΧΟΙ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 pp. 381—447 figs. 1—53.

i. 514 bees from bulls. A. E. Shipley 'The "Bugonia" myth' in the *Journal of Philology* 1915 xxxiv. 97—105 endorses the view of C. R. Osten Sacken *On the Oxen-born bees of the Ancients* Heidelberg 1894 pp. 1—80 that the honey-bee (*apis mellifica*) was confused with the drone-fly (*cristalis tenax*), which superficially resembles the honey-bee and is often found in a stray carcass or in rotting vegetation.

i. 518 ff. the altar as object of cult. See further E. Maass 'Βομος und Verwandtes'

in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 227 n. 4, and cp. the mediaeval use of *Deus 'pro ipso altari ubi Dominicum Corpus asservatur'* (Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. ii. 829 s.v. 'DEVS'*).

R. Kittel in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* 1925 xlii. 123—153 deals at large with the transformation of sacred places or objects into deities (*Qadesh* 'sanctuary,' *Ashera* 'sacred post,' *Hammān* 'pillar')—summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 487.

i. 521 ff. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crete. S. Eitrem 'Zur Apotheose iv. Die heilige Ehe' in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1932 xi. 11—21 deals with 'Die Theogamie des Herrscherkultus,' points out that Caligula as ὁ νέος Ήλιος (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 798, 3 Kyzikos) married the Moon (Suet. *Calig.* 22, Dion Cass. 59. 27), and does not scoff the hypothesis of 'eine althellenische Theogamie, zwischen Sonne und Mond vollzogen' (p. 18 n. 1).

i. 522 f. the wooden cow. Suet. *Ner.* 12 inter pyrricharum argumenta taurus Pasiphaam ligneo iuvenca simulacrum abditum init, ut multi spectantium crediderunt.

Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>: Taboo p. 113 (Hindus born again by being enclosed in the golden image of a cow and dragged through the usual channel or, failing that, through an image of the sacred *Yoni*).

Lady Sterry, wife of Sir Wasey Sterry, kindly sent me the following note (Aug. 21, 1931): 'According to the Christians of the Lebanon, the Druses have a sacred calf used in their worship. The calf is said to be made of wood hollowed out inside, and at one of their feasts cakes and sweetmeats are passed through the calf, which are considered blessed and are distributed to their friends, not necessarily only to Druses. The calf is said to be kept in their place of worship, which is open only to the initiated, and women are not allowed to be initiated.'

i. 525 the cult of *Heliotis*. C. W. Vollgraff in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1919 xlvi. 162 no. 7 publishes a squared block of limestone, found at Argos, which is inscribed in lettering of 1. v B.C. ὅπερ : ἡλίοτο, that is ὥπερ Ἑλλώτιος, and infers that the Cretan goddess Ἑλλώτη must have had a shrine Ἑλλώτιος near the road to Mantinea.

A. Lesky 'Hellos—Hellotis' in the *Wiener Studien* 1926/27 xli. 152—173, *ib.* 1928 xlii. 48—67 and 107—129 would recognise a λέπος γάμος between the earth-goddess Europa, who in Crete was originally named Hellotis, and the sky-god Zeus, who in pre-Greek times had the form of a bull. Lesky finds traces of the same beliefs at Dodona in the Heliots and their eponym Hellos (cp. Hellas, Hellenes, etc.), also at Corinth and Marathon in Athena *Heliotis*, and less certainly in Helle of the Hellespont.

i. 530 n. 2. O. Könnecke in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1914 Ixix. 547—551 discusses the golden basket of Europe (Mosch. 2. 37 ff.) viewing it as Moschos' attempt to outshine the wooden bowl of Thyrsis (Theokr. 1. 27 ff.).

i. 531 n. 3. On the name Εύρωπη see also W. Aly in *Glotta* 1913 v. 63—74, who connects it with εὐρός, εὐρώεις, εὐρώθη, εὐρώθη (e.g. Eur. *I. T.* 616, Opp. *de pisc.* 3. 20) in the sense of 'dark' (Hesych. s.v. εὐρώστα, εὐρώθη, Soud. s.v. εὐρώθη, schol. *Od.* 23. 322, schol. Soph. *AI.* 1190), and concludes: 'so stammt der Name, wie seine Bildung zeigt, aus jener Schicht, die zutage tritt, wenn wir Thessalien mit Arkadien vergleichen, ein Resultat, das für die Einordnung der Göttin zeitlich und räumlich bedeutsam sein dürfte. Neben Europa in Böotien und Europe in Sekyon finden wir nun erstere auch in Kreta und zwar genau in dem Teil der Insel, wo in Gortyn neben peloponnesischem Einfluss auch unmittelbar thessalischer bereits anderweitig nachgewiesen ist.'

i. 534 n. 2. A. von Sallet 'Die Umschrift der Europa auf Silbermünzen von Gortyna' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1879 vi. 263 ff. (Mt. Tityron), J. N. Svoronos 'The inscription Τίαροι on coins of Gortyna' in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1887 vii. 126 ff. (an ethnic = Γορτύνιοι, cp. Καρπευνίδες (*supra* i. 471) and Κορέττιοι (Hesych. Κορέττιοι = Γορτύνιοι)), A. Skias 'Τίαροι, Κρητική πόλις' in the *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1891 p. 191 f. (citing schol. Theokr. 3. 2 (*supra* i. 534 n. 2)).

i. 536 fig. 407. With the type of Epiktesis in the relief from Loukou cp. that of Salus on a *sesterius* struck by Commodus in 184 A.D. (H. Mattingly—E. A. Sydenham *The Roman Imperial Coinage* London 1930 iii. 416 no. 439 pl. 16, 328: Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 713, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 300 fig. 3).

i. 542 n. 5. See now Babylon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 921 ff. no. 1478 pl. 246, 22 London and no. 1479 pl. 246, 23. The reverse of the latter is inscribed ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙ[ON]. Babylon comments: 'La belle tête de Zeus Κρηταγενής...est inspirée de celle du Zeus Olympie sur les statères d'Elis....'

i. 549 ff. Ba'albek and its cults. The official record of the German excavations has now been published in three stately volumes—T. Wiegand *Baalbek. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1878 bis 1905*. Vol. i by B. Schulz and H. Winnefeld with the assistance of O. Puchstein, D. Krencker, H. Kohl, G. Schumacher. Berlin—Leipzig 1921. Vol. ii by D. Krencker, T. von Lüpke, and H. Winnefeld with the assistance of O. Puchstein, B. Schulz, Berlin—Leipzig 1923. Vol. iii by H. Kohl, D. Krencker, O. Reuther, F. Sarre, and M. Sobernheim. Berlin—Leipzig 1925.

See also Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 396 f., F. Cumont 'Le Jupiter héliopolitain et les divinités des planètes' in *Syria* 1921 ii. 40—46, *id.* 'À quels dieux étaient consacrés les temples de Baalbek?' *ib.* 1925 vi. 202, H. Thiersch 'Zu den Tempeln und zur Basilika von Baalbek' in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1925 p. 1 ff. (assigns the smaller temple to the Syrian *Magna Mater*), U. Wilcken 'Zu den



Fig. 872.



Fig. 873.

"Syrischen Göttern" in the *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann zum 60. Geburtstag 7. November 1926* Tübingen 1927 pp. 1—19, H. Seyrig in *Litteris* 1928 pp. 165—179 (assigns the smaller temple to Hermes assimilated to the Semitic Gennaios), *id.* 'La Triade Héliopolitaine et les Temples de Baalbek' in *Syria* 1929 x. 314—356 with pls. 82—86 (p. 346 n. 6 denies the solarity of Jupiter *Heliopolitanus*), D. Krencker in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xliv Arch. Anz. pp. 169—181 figs. 1—7 (discusses the successive phases in the construction of the temple of Zeus), and cp. M. Rostovtzeff 'Hadad and Atargatis at Palmyra' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 58—63 with pl. 9, 1—10 (clay tesserae etc.).

1. 551 n. 2. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 4 no. 36803.

i. 567 ff. Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* and the Bull. R. Dussaud 'Heliopolitanus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 50—57. Mendel *Cat. Sculps. Constantinople* iii. 31 ff. no. 829 fig. (= my fig. 872) publishes a small altar (height 0·65<sup>m</sup>), of local limestone, from *Nika* a village of Lebanon at the foot of *Djebel Sannin*, which shows the god holding whip and corn-ears, with a *polar* on his head, a necklace with central medallion on his chest, and stiff drapery with six four-leaved rosettes arranged in panels. He stands on a pedestal, the front of which has a goddess in a niche. And he is flanked by two bulls. Mendel *ib.* iii. 613 ff. no. 1404 fig. (= my fig. 873) adds a statuette (height 0·76<sup>m</sup>), of local limestone, from *Soukhni* to the north-east of Palmyra, which shows a similar type with even richer decoration. On the breast is engraved the god himself, flanked by Helios and Men: on the abdomen, Hera or Demeter, flanked by Athena and Hermes(?). On the base is inscribed in lettering of s. ii—iii A.D. *I(ovi) • O(ptimo) • M(aximo) • H(eliopolitanu)s | Sex(tus) • Rasius • Proculus • prae(fectus) • coh(ortis) • II • Thrac(um) • v(otum) p(ossuit)*. But



Fig. 874.



Fig. 875.

the most important monument of the cult yet found is the idol of gilded bronze (height 0'384<sup>m</sup>) from Ba'albek itself, slashed and broken by some fanatic but skilfully repaired by M. André for the Charles Surock collection and admirably published by R. Dussaud in *Syria* 1930 i. 3—15 pls. 1—4 (of which 1 and 2 = my figs. 874 and 875), S. N. Deane in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxv. 94 fig. 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* v. 10 no. 5, *The Illustrated London News* for May 2, 1931 p. 743. The bronze, which may be dated c. 150 A.D., represents the god as he stood with his usual attributes, wearing a *kélatbos* (of interlaced reeds?) decked with four corn-ears and a disk between globules perhaps meant for schematized *uræi*, a long *chiton* with short sleeves, and a cuirass-like sheath with numerous reliefs (on the chest, a winged disk; below, seven busts—Helios and Selene, Athena and Hermes, Zeus and Hera, Kronos; and above the feet a lion-head for Gennaios (*supra* p. 888): behind, another winged disk, an eagle, two rams'-heads to suggest Zeus Ammon, six four-leaved rosettes or stars of diminishing size: at the sides, two elongated thunderbolts). The whole figure is erect on a cubical plinth adorned with a relief of Tyche (turreted crown, rudder, *cornu copiae*). And the plinth, flanked by a pair of young bulls, rests on a larger base, which is pierced with a circular opening (c. 0'073<sup>m</sup> across)—possibly a letter-box for the *codicilli* of persons consulting the god (Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 23. 14 ff. (*supra* i. 552 f.)). See further R. Cagnat in *Syria* 1924 v. 108 ff. and S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 15, 141 n. 4, 187, 218—222 pl. 39, 1.

The biggest harvest of fresh facts bearing on the Ba'albek cults is, however, that garnered in the posthumous work of Sébastien Ronzevalle *Jupiter Héliopolitain, Nova et Vetera (Notes et Études d'Archéologie Orientale. Troisième Série, ii)* in the *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* xxi, i Beyrouth 1937 pp. 1—181 with 17 figs. and 51 pls. (reviewed by F. R. Walton in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1938 xlii. 435 f.). This monograph publishes a mass of new or little known material, including altars, *stèles*, engraved gems, lead seals, bronze rings, etc. In particular it furnishes a full account of the rock-cut relief in the quarry at Ferzol (pp. 29—71) and of the carved octagonal altar at Fiki or Fâkyé on the west slope of Antilibanos (pp. 87—129). Incidentally it discusses many, if not most, of the associated deities of Koile Syria. And it ends (p. 138 f.) by laying stress on the symbolic corn-ears of Ba'albek (*supra* i. 558, 569, 572, iii. 1093): 'C'est dans cet épisode que se concentre finalement toute l'essence de la religion héliopolitaine sous l'empire romain. Issue de la triade familiale [*supra* i. 553 f. Hadad, Atargatis, Seimios] groupée autour du grand dieu syrien du tonnerre et de la pluie, Hadad, cette religion devint progressivement celle du *dieu du Ciel*, B'el-Samîn, embrassant dans ses flancs les traits qui, dès l'époque hellénistique, méritèrent à Ba'albek la dénomination d'Héliopolis, et firent d'elle avec le temps le centre coûteux de tous les cultes solaires de l'époque romaine. Tout se résolvait pratiquement dans l'adoration de l'astre brillant du jour, dans ses fonctions de dispensateur de vie et de prospérité agraire, telles qu'elles nous sont résumées dans l'image récemment découverte à Doura du B'el-Samîn—Zeûr ûbîr, image par laquelle je mets fin à toute cette étude (pl. XLII)' [M. Rostovtzeff *Dura-Europos and its Art* Oxford 1938 p. 63 f. pl. 11, 1 'Bas-relief of Zeus Kyrios,' p. 68 ff. pl. 13 'Painted decoration of the *cella* of the temple of Zeus Theos. (Restoration by F. Brown); 'The Excavations at Dura-Europos Prelim. Report vii—viii. Yale Univ. Press 1939, pp. 180 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Theos), 284 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Kyrios)].

i. 571 n. 2 leonine gods. At Bir-Derbal near Ghardimaou in Tunisia a Punico-Roman sanctuary containing a dedicatory inscription to Saturn was found; also other rustic sanctuaries of 1. ii A.D., which could boast life-size statues of terracotta and many statuettes. One life-size head had the face of a lioness wearing fillets and is thought to have represented the *Genius Terræ Africæ* (L. Carton 'Note sur des édifices renfermant des statues en terre cuite, découverts dans la région de Ghardimaou (Tunisie)' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1918 pp. 338—347, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1919 xxiii. 320), because a *denarius* issued by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio in 47—46 B.C. shows Sekhet with leonine head, disk, and ankh accompanied by the legend Γ·Τ·Α (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 280 no. 51 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep.* ii. 572 no. 8 pl. 121, 4 and no. 9 (*Genius Tutelaris Africæ* or *Genius Totius Africæ*)).

i. 581 the golden thunderbolt of Adad. Cp. Liv. 22. 1 (when prodigies occurred in 217 B.C.) decemvirorum monitu decretum est, Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, etc. Aristoph. *av.* 1750 (*supra* p. 59).

A magnificent relief in basalt from Arslan-Tash, dating from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (746—727 B.C.), shows Adad, with a double three-pronged thunderbolt in either hand, standing on the back and head of a bull as he advances rapidly from left to right (*L'art de la Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre* Paris 1936 v. 300 fig. A).

i. 586 Atargatis with her lions. R. Dussaud 'Patère de bronze de Tafas' in *Syria* 1924 v. 212—213 with pl. 54, 1 and 2 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 342) describes a bronze *patera* of Roman date, found at *Tafas* in the *Hauran* but later stolen from the Mohammedan Museum at Damaskos. The central relief shows a



Fig. 876.

lion standing in front of a column on which is an image of Priapos. The lion rests his forepaw on a *scabellum* (?). At the left is a musician playing the double flutes; at the right, a woman with a timbrel, towards whom the lion turns his head. Dussaud thinks that the lion of Atargatis prefers the native timbrel to the foreign flutes!

i. 586 figs. 448 and 449. See further A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 204—211 fig. 40.

i. 590 fig. 450. See now *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Arabia etc.* pp. xxxii, 28 pl. 4, 15 and 16.

N. Glueck in *The Illustrated London News* for Aug. 21, 1937 p. 298 ff. publishes finds from a Nabataean temple known as *Khirbet et-Tannur* and situated on a hill in southern Transjordania, directly south of the *Wadi el-Hesi* (the 'brook Zered' of Deut. 2, 13, cp. Num. 21, 12). Excavations in March 1937 yielded bearded heads probably representing Zeus (Adad) (p. 298 fig. 3, p. 299 fig. 11); a relief of Zeus (Adad) enthroned between two young bulls, his neck encircled by a lion-headed torque, his right hand raised perhaps to hold a double axe, his left hand grasping the bull's ear and partly concealed by a conspicuous thunderbolt (p. 299 fig. 15—my fig. 876 from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr Glueck); an incense-altar with reliefs of Zeus (Adad) and Tyche (p. 298 figs. 7—9); the bust of Atargatis in relief with leaf-like decoration (fish-scales? A. B. C.) on forehead, cheeks, and chest (p. 299 fig. 6); the bust of Atargatis in relief with head-dress formed of two fishes (p. 299 fig. 5); a snake-entwined eagle standing on a wreath with a plaster basin below (p. 300 fig. 18); etc. For a fuller account of these important finds see N. Glueck 'The Nabataean Temple of Khirbet et-Tannur' in the *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* for October 1937 No. 67 pp. 6—16 figs. 2—8, id. 'A newly discovered Nabataean temple of Atargatis and Hadad at Khirbet et-Tannur, Transjordania' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli, 361—376 figs. 1—15; C. Picard 'Les sculptures nabatéennes de Khirbet-et-Tannour et l'Hadad de Pouzoles' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii, 244—249 figs. 1—4.

i. 592 n. o the sacred 'cock.' H. Gressmann 'Der heilige Hahn zu Hieropolis in Syrien' in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* Giessen 1925 Beiheft xli, 88—95 (cp. *Corp. Inscri. Gr.* iii no. 4000, 5 (Ikonion) as read by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii, 157 φαύλευκος ἀλέγησα), and modern Palestinian customs (J. A. Jaussen 'Le coq et la pluie dans la tradition palestinienne' in the *Revue bibliographie internationale* 1924 xxxiv, 574—582)).

i. 598 n. 1 Zeus at the Italian Lokroi. S. Mirone 'Copies de statues sur les monnaies de la Grande Grèce' in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1926 xxix, 134—138 deals with Zeus Ελεύθερος at Tarentum, Metapontum, and Lokroi Epizephyrioi.

i. 601 eagle on pyramidal structures at Tarsos and Seleukeia Pieria. F. Cumont 'L'aigle funéraire des Syriens et l'apotheose des empereurs' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1910 lxii, 119—164 with figs. 1—22 and pl. 1, id. (citing A. H. Gardiner) 'A propos de l'aigle funéraire des Syriens' ib. 1911 lxiii, 208—214, S. Ronzevalle 'L'aigle funéraire en Syrie' in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale: Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth* 1912 v. 2, 1\*—62\* with 9 figs., 105\*—115\* with 4 figs., L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Röm. Mitt.* 1912 xxvii, 1—20 figs. 1—4; F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 35—118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hierapolis et l'apotheose des empereurs') with figs. 9—43.

i. 602. For Η as the womb of a mother-goddess see the evidence collected by F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 21 f., M. Mayer 'Delta praehistoricum' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 19, 1929 pp. 91—94, E. Wüst in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1932 lviii, 1, 142.

i. 603 n. 5 Di-Sandas. R. Rochette in the *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres)* Paris 1848 xvii, 161 insists 'qu'il faut certainement lire de cette manière: Δι-Σανδάν.'

604 the rock-carvings near Boghaz-keui. These are now well published by K. Bittel *Die Felsbilder von Karliköy* Bamberg 1934 with bibliography, map, plan, 28 photographic pls., and panoramic drawing, id. *Die Ruinen von Boghazköy* Berlin—Leipzig 1937 pp. 1—107 with 63 figs., chronological table, and 3 plans. It appears that the great procession of Iasili Kaya may be dated between 1350 and 1330 B.C. (C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii, 256).

i. 604 ff. Zeus Dolichalos and Jupiter Dolichenus. To the bibliography given on p. 604 n. 8 should be added F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 173—201 ('Doliché et le Zeus Dolichénos') with figs. 55—70, id. 'Groupe de marbre du Zeus Dolichénos' in *Syria* 1910 i. 183—189 pl. 17 (found 'entre Marash et Bireddik': Zeus stands on bull supported by altar with base inscribed Κόλωνος καὶ Σιλβανός), K. A. Neugebauer *Antike Bronzestatuetten* Berlin 1921 p. 118 f. fig. 65 (Genius of Jupiter Dolichenus from Marash, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), p. 120 fig. 63 (Jupiter Dolichenus from Berlin—Lichtenberg, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), id. in *Gnomon* 1930 vi, 269, J. Leipoldt in H. Haas *Bilderalbum zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—

xi. 15 f. figs. 116—122, W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 227 f., S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 292 [temple at the western corner of the Aventine, shrine on the Esquiline, shrine in Reg. xiv], *The Illustrated London News* for Aug. 17, 1935 p. 290 (recent finds on the Aventine, including a photograph of the sanctuary, a marble statue of the god holding a double axe in his right hand and a thunderbolt in his left, an inscription mentioning Commodus, etc.), G. I. Kazarow 'Denkmäler des Dolichenus-Kultes' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1931 xxvii. 168—173 figs. 105—108 (finds made in 1930 at Jassen near Widin (Bononia) in Bulgaria, including a triangular bronze plate with well-preserved reliefs of the god on his bull and his partner on her hind, a bronze tablet inscribed *I. O. M. Dol. | Aur. Bas[sus] sac. | servus eius*, and the left half of another bronze tablet with the *pointillé* inscription *I. O. [M. Dol.] | Fl. Sabin[us...]* | *Valeria V[...]* | *Tin-sadno... | suo ex iusto [dei]*].

i. 611 f. eagle between horns of bull and on short column beneath bull. Perhaps cp. the terra-cotta group published in pl. Ixxvii, a and b.

i. 619 n. 4. A rosette on the forehead of a bull is a commonplace in ancient art: see J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 480, 1914 ii. 3. 1310. A couple of examples will suffice. A gold earring of Greek work (r. iv—iii B.C.), found in Palestine and now in my possession, shows a bull's head with a spiral rosette on the forehead. A gold strap-buckle of the La Tène period, found in the tomb of Chilperich i at Tournai in 1653 and stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles in 1831, had also a spiral rosette on the forehead (F. Dahn *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker* Berlin 1883 iii. 480 fig. 18 f., J. Déchelette op. cit. ii. 3. 1308 fig. 570, 2). Both are possibly symbolic.

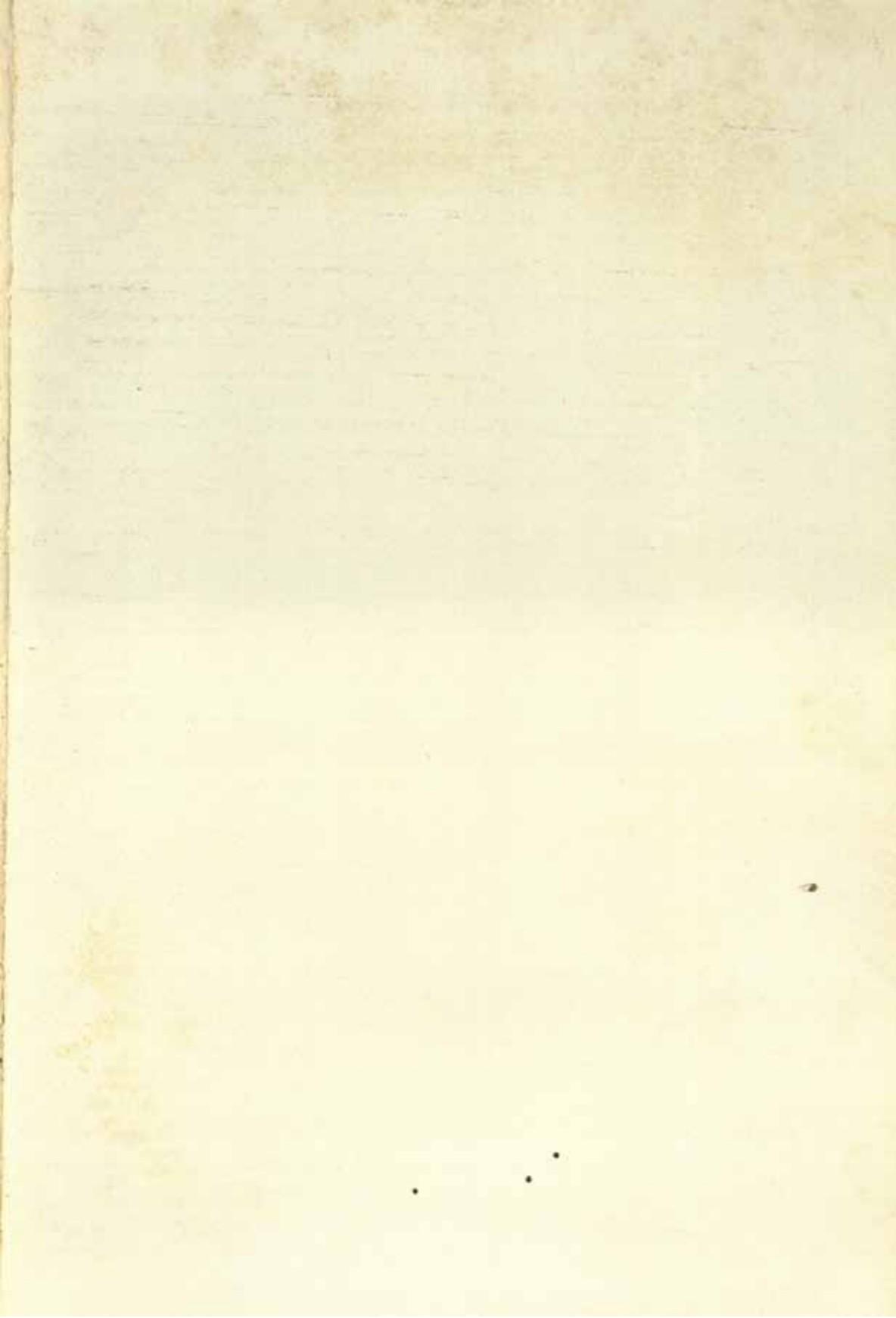
S. Ronzevalle *Jupiter Heliopolitan* Beyrouth 1937 p. 51 ff. publishes a pair of monuments from the Hauran. A basalt stèle (0'875" high) from Tell Al'ari near Tafas, now in the Museum at Damaskos, shows a bull-headed god *en face*. His horns make a large crescent enclosing a rosette. Under his left arm is a smaller rosette. And across his body is a sword (pl. 14 bis, 51 and 52). An almost exact replica of this relief (0'80" high) is to be seen in a niche at 'Awas south of Salhad (fig. 12). Ronzevalle cp. a square altar of basalt (0'88" high) from Salhad, on which a bull's head appears in relief between the two parts of a Greek dedication to *Zeūs μεγάς ὁ κέρως* (M. Dunand *Le Musée de Soueida: Inscriptions et monuments figurés* Paris 1934 p. 99 no. 200 Διός μεγάλῳ τῷ κύπρῳ | ἵτεροι αυτοὶ πλαστοὶ Μούριον Βασιλίσκον Κ[έρ]πον || Αὔτοις οὐκοδόμοις εἰσέβων ἐπόησε).

i. 624 the Milky Way and Hera. So in Siberian mythology a Burian tale explains the Milky Way as the overflow from the breasts of the Heaven-goddess Manzan Görmö (U. Holmberg *Finn-Ugric, Siberian Mythology* Boston 1927 pp. 414, 434).

i. 625 n. 1 the stars as flowers. Cp. Basil. *hom. in hexaem.* 6. 1 (xxix. 117 C Migne) *τις ὁ ροής ἀρσεῖς τοῦτον διατίθειται τὸν οἴπαρον* and the remarks of A. von Humboldt *Cosmos* trans. E. C. Otté London 1849 ii. 395.

i. 626 the Byzantine list of planets, metals, plants, and animals. S. Langdon in the *Museum Journal: University of Pennsylvania* 1918 ix. 151—156 with fig. describes a Babylonian tablet of c. 1600 B.C. dealing with symbolism in the Cassite period. W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1919 xxiii. 179 summarises: 'The text explains the divine powers which are controlled or symbolized by various substances and utensils employed in the rituals. Thus the jar of holy water signifies Ninhabursildu, queen of incantations; the tamerisk signifies the god of the heavens; the head of the date palm, Tammuz; the cypress, the aid of Adad; the censer invokes the god of the spring sun, Urasha, etc. It also gives the only information yet recovered about the mystic meanings of metals. Silver is the god of the heavens, gold the earth god, copper the god of the sea, lead the great mother goddess.' Prof. Langdon adds in a letter of Oct. 31, 1919: 'the sky god is symbolized by silver...because for astronomical reasons the Moon (or the silver god) was identified with the sky god at the summer solstice.' See further C. O. Zuretti *Alchemistica signa (Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs viii)* Bruxelles 1932 p. 1 ff.

i. 626 ff. Akin to the silvered or gilded plates of Jupiter *Dolichenus* is one of repoussé bronze, found by E. Cunningham in 1881 at the Romano-Celtic temple in Maiden Castle and now in the Museum at Dorchester (fig. 877, a front, b back, from the official photographs). It represents Minerva standing *en face* with helmet, spear, Gorgon's head, and shield, the whole on a raised oblong surrounded by the usual spear-head and lily-work (R. E. M. Wheeler in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1935 xv. 272). At the bottom edge are the remains of one or two letters, part of a lost inscription (Lt.-Col. C. D. Drew in a communication dated March 20, 1938). Minerva is known elsewhere on the plates of *Dolichenus* (*supra* i. 616 fig. 487, 619 with fig. 490), and it is conceivable that the cult of this maiden goddess, domiciled in the fourth-century temple (for which see R. E. M.



*a*

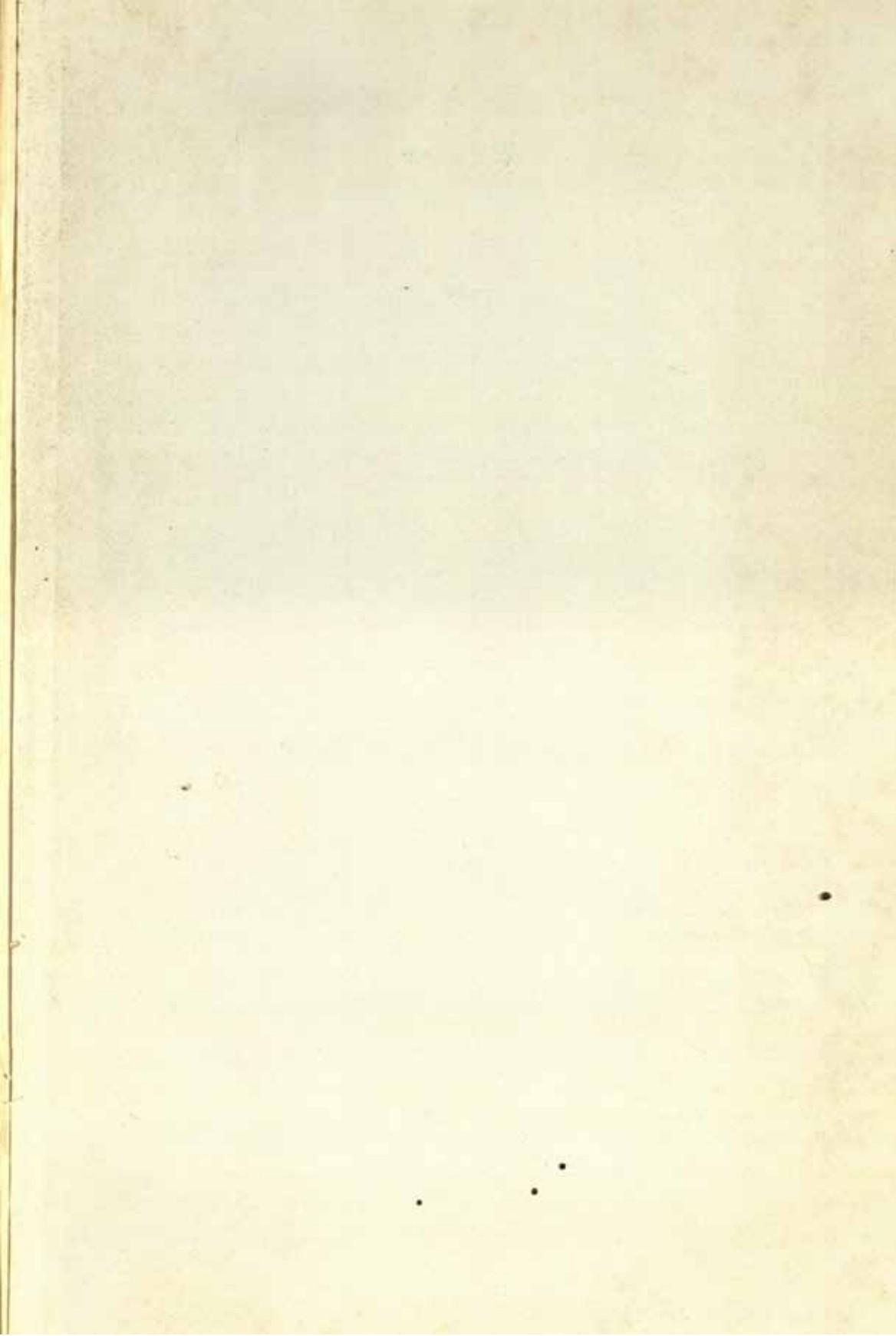
Terra-cotta group in the British Museum, possibly connected with the cult of Jupiter *Dolichenus* (?).

*See page 1098.*

*b*

I am indebted to Mr C. M. Robertson for the following official description: '1907, 5—20. 69 Terracotta eagle with wreath in beak standing on bull's head, all on a flat square base. This now stands on a terracotta column, but it is not certain that they originally belonged together, though both are no doubt antique. They were acquired among a large collection formed at Odessa from excavations of tombs at Olbia.'







A bronze mace from Willingham Fen,  
now in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Cambridge.

*See page 1099 f.*

Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 270 ff. pls. 33, 34, 2, 37, 38, 2, Miss M. V. Taylor in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1935 xxv. 220 f. pls. 40 and 41, 1, *ead. ib.* 1937 xxvii. 242 f.), contributed something to the popular etymology of *Maiden* (properly *Mai-Dun*) Castle. The temple itself may have been that of *Dolichenus*, a Celtic form of whom is suggested by a votive offering found in 1934 just outside the south-east corner of the building, *wiz.* a three-horned bull (*supra* i. 639) made of tinned bronze and bearing a triad of busts, one *minus* its head (R. E. M. Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 272 pl. 39 (=my fig. 878), Miss M. V. Taylor *loc. cit.* p. 220 pl. 41, 2).

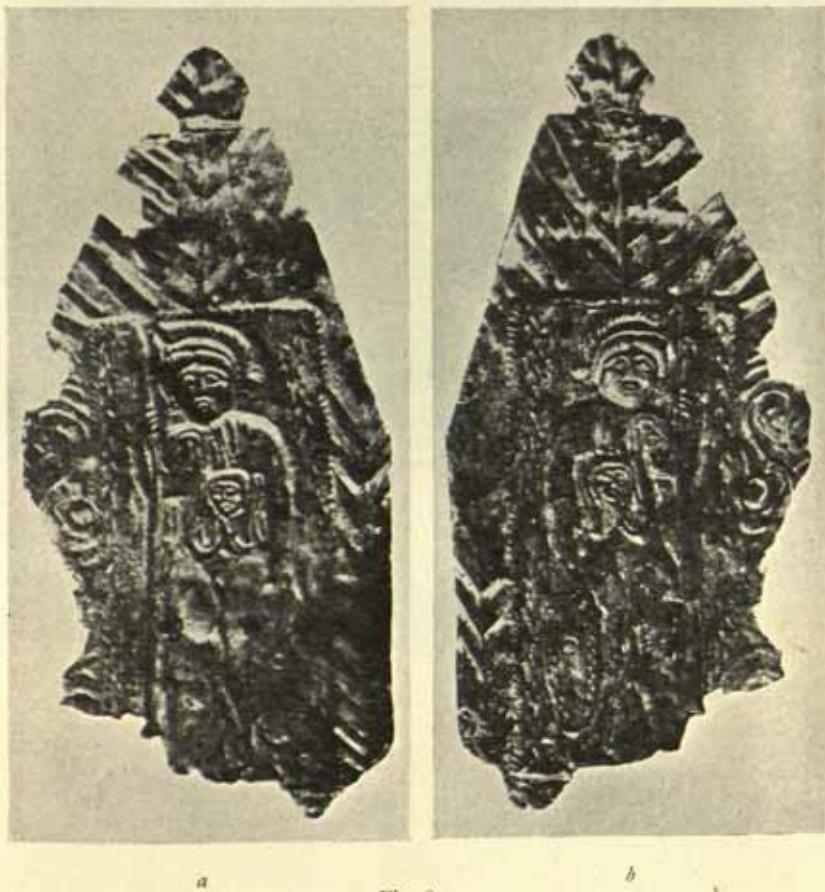


Fig. 877.

Another power associated with *Dolichenus* in the Celtic area as a pendant to Minerva with her spear was Hercules with his club (*supra* i. 616 fig. 487). And here we must take into account the interesting bronze mace found in 1857 by a ploughman on Willingham Fen, ten miles north-west of Cambridge (M. Rostovtseff—M. V. Taylor 'Commodus-Hercules in Britain' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1923 xiii. 91 ff. pl. 3 (inadequate), L. C. G. Clarke in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1926 vi. 178 f. pl. 31, F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 925 f., *id. in Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1935—1936 xxxvii. 56 ff. pl. 4, 5). The mace had been deliberately broken, perhaps by way of *damnatio memoriae* after Commodus' assassination in 192 A.D., and enclosed in a wooden chest along with a number of votive bronzes—soldiers on horseback, a bull's head, an eagle, an owl, etc. The three fragments of the mace, which together measure c. 0'345<sup>m</sup> in height and had once a

wooden core, are decorated as follows (pl. lxxviii): (1) A bust of Commodus, wearing the *paludamentum*, forms the handle. (2) On the shaft is a nude beardless god with right hand uplifted (as if to brandish a bolt) and left hand raised (as if to hold a sceptre or spear). He sets his left foot on the bearded (?) head of a giant emerging from the ground. To the left an eagle, now headless, is perched on a globe, which rests on a six-spoked wheel marked with rays. To the right projects the head of a bull with three horns, one of which is now broken off. At the back plunges a dolphin. (3) The mace terminates as a knotted club. It is clear that the artist was primarily concerned to identify Commodus with Hercules (*supra* ii. 255 n. 0, 903 n. 2). But, since Commodus also posed as a youthful Iupiter holding thunderbolt and sceptre (*supra* i. 276 n. 5



Fig. 878.

fig. 202, ii. 1185 figs. 987, 988), a corresponding figure appears on the shaft. Further syncretism equates this Iupiter with the Germanic Ziu, the victorious rider of the Iupiter-columns, who tramples his giant under foot (*supra* ii. 74 ff.). It equips him also with the eagle-on-globe and the radiate wheel as a sky-god, with the three-horned bull perhaps as an earth-god (? *Dis pater*). But F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2281 f., 2453 ff. stresses 'Beziehungen zur Wassertiefe' and suspects connexion with Tarvos *Trigaranus* (*supra* i. 482 n. 0)), and even with the dolphin as a sea-god—thereby completing his claim to universal dominion.

i. 630 ff. 'where iron is born.' M. P. Charlesworth in a note to me (Oct. 29, 1934) cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 118 *Iuba minium nasci et in Carmania tradit, Timagenes et in Aethiopia, etc.* But a closer parallel is furnished by the *Kalevala* runo 9. 25 ff. Kirby, where Väinämöinen says 'Well I know the birth of Iron, | And how steel was first created.' He goes on to tell how—

Ukko, God of realms supernal,  
 40 Rubbed his mighty hands together.  
 Both his hands he rubbed together,  
 On his left knee then he pressed them,  
 And three maidens were created,  
 Three fair Daughters of Creation,  
 Mothers of the rust of Iron,  
 And of blue-mouthed steel the fosterers.  
 Strolled the maids with faltering footsteps  
 On the borders of the cloudlets,  
 And their full breasts were o'erflowing,  
 50 And their nipples pained them sorely.  
 Down on earth their milk ran over,  
 From their breasts' o'erflowing fulness,  
 Milk on land, and milk on marshes,  
 Milk upon the peaceful waters.  
 Black milk from the first was flowing,  
 From the eldest of the maidens,  
 White milk issued from another,  
 From the second of the maidens,  
 Red milk by the third was yielded,  
 60 By the youngest of the maidens.  
 Where the black milk had been dropping,  
 There was found the softest Iron,  
 Where the white milk had been flowing,  
 There the hardest steel was fashioned,  
 Where the red milk had been trickling,  
 There was undeveloped Iron.

i. 631 n. 8. A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 315 notes: 'Αλισθη or rather Αλιθη, corresponds with a Hittite Khaly-wa, "the land of the Halys," just as Αρτζη corresponds with Arzawa. The Halizonians are the Khalitu of a (cuneiform) inscription of the proto-Armenian king Rusas II (B.C. 680),... who says that he had made a campaign against "the Moschians, the Hittites, and the Khalitu." The silver-mines of the Taurus, which were worked by the Hittites, were the chief source of the silver supplied to the early oriental world: hence the metal was a special favourite with the Hittites, from whom the rest of the world obtained it.' Cp. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1. 169 n. 2. More hazardous conjectures in J. Karst *Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeervölker* Heidelberg 1931 pp. 71 ff., 254, 348.

i. 632 n. 5. Add Iul. Obs. 39 (Lycosthenes) mures in aede Iovis aurum roserunt.

i. 633 ff. The monograph of L. Malten 'Der Stier in Kult und mythischem Bild' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 90—139 has a useful collection of evidence from Egypt (pp. 92—98 figs. 1—11), Mesopotamia (pp. 98—107 figs. 12—27), Asia Minor (pp. 107—114 figs. 28—41), Syria (pp. 114—117 figs. 42—51), Palestine (pp. 117—119 figs. 52—54), Phoenicia (p. 120 fig. 55), Crete (pp. 121—137 figs. 56—89), a brief notice of survivals in classical cults and myths (p. 137 f.), and some consideration of the Bull's significance from first to last (p. 138 f.).

i. 636 bull with body-marks. The best example is one from Ur published by C. L. Woolley in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1923 iii. 331 pl. 34 fig. 1, a: 'U 239 is a part of a shallow bowl of steatite originally surrounded by four bulls, of which one is preserved intact. The carving is remarkably good; the ground is inlaid in ivory with designs of sun, moon and stars; on the bull's body are trefoil marks resembling those on the Hathor cows of Egypt, on its shoulder and leg round spots arranged in the order of the stars of the Great Wain; it is the "great Bull of Heaven." A fragmentary inscription assigns it to the Third Dynasty.' Mr Sidney Smith kindly informs me (March 24, 1938) that the original is in the Baghdad Museum and should be dated c. 2300 B.C. or a little earlier: he adds that there is a poor cast of it in the British Museum. P. S. Bartoli *Museum Odescalchum Romæ* 1752 ii. 99 ff. pl. 42 shows a marble base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a crescent moon ☽, and above him the inscription BVE API. Id. ib. ii. 122 pl. 53 shows a similar (?) other surface of same base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a six-rayed star.

i. 638 bull in bowl surrounded by millet. Cp. perhaps the seated goddesses (of fertility?) and other discoid figures in clay found along with grains of barley, beans, and peas in urns of the Bronze Age at Tarxien, Malta (Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta*

Oxford 1930 p. 48 ff. pls. 15, 1, 16 and figs. 3—10, G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 366).

i. 638 f. H. Frankfort in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 14, 1935 p. 430 fig. 6 publishes the ornament from a Sumerian harp of c. 3000 B.C., which was found at Khafaje, Iraq. It is a bull's head in copper with inlaid eyes and forehead. The white of the eyes is shell, the iris lapis lazuli, and the triangle on the forehead mother-of-pearl.

i. 639 n. 2 the Celtic cult of bulls. See now an important paper by A. D. Lacaille 'The Bull in Scottish Folklore, Place-names, and Archaeology' in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 221—248 pls. 3—8, F. M. Heichelheim s.v. 'Tarvos Trigaranus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2453—2457, Wirth s.v. 'Stier' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1936 viii. 482—486.

i. 639 n. 4. Cp. A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1911 xliv. 4.

i. 642 n. 4. On Zeus as 'tyrant' in Aisch. *P. v.* see G. Thomson 'Zeus Téparos' in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 3—5.

i. 643 Mount Tábor. See further J. Boehmer 'Der Name Tabor' in the *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 1929 vii. 161—169, O. Eissfeldt in the *Archiv für Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 25 n. 3.

i. 643. Soph. *frag.* 348 Dindorf (assigned to the Λημνία), 708 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 776 Jebb ap. schol. vet. Theokr. 7. 76/77 d. and ap. et. mag. p. 26, 16 ff. 'Ἄθως σκιάζει ρώτα Λημνίας βόρα (so, without Sophokles' name, Cramer *aneed. Paris.* iv. 96, 17 ff., Zonar. *lex. s.v.* 'Ἄθως, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 980, 45f. Schol. B. L. V. II. 14. 229 ρώτα for ρώτα!) already implies the proverb which later writers commonly quote as 'Ἄθως καλύπτει τέλευτα Λημνίας βόρα' (Greg. *Kypt.* i. 73, *alii*. A Latin form of it perhaps in *Vart. de ling. Lat.* 7. 25 'cornu <t> a taurum umbram iaci', which O. Ribbeck *Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 311 would restore as ' <Atós> in cornuātum taurum umbram iacit'). Paroemiographers etc. explain that the allusion is to the shadow of Mt Athos which touched a white marble cow on Lemnos (Makar. 1. 46, Apostol. 1. 57, Arsen. *viol.* p. 25 Walz, Soudi. s.v. 'Άθως). Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 22 and et. mag. p. 26, 17 f. state, with greater probability, that the cow was of bronze. Others add that the shadow at the solstice reached the market-place of Myrina (Ap. Rhod. 1. 601 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 73, Solin. 11. 33, cp. Stat. *Thib.* 5. 49 ff.). The fullest discussion of the facts is that of A. C. Pearson in his edition of *The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 iii. 26 f. It is tempting to conjecture that the bronze cow of Lemnos, thus associated with sun and shadow, was akin to the bronze cattle of Mt Atabyron. If so, it had a Hittite ancestry.

i. 643 the bull of Perillos. On the bull-headed furnace at Byzantium, known as ὁ Βοῦς and used for the burning of criminals, see E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1072. The principal text is Kodinos *de signis Constantiopolitani* 25 D—26 A (p. 46 Bekker)=Anonymos πάτηρ 2. 53 (p. 180, 8 ff. Preger) περὶ τῶν Βοῶν. εἰς δὲ τὸν καλλιεργεῖν Βοῦν κάμινος ἦν ἐκεῖσε παμιγέθη ἐπιστρέψη βοῦς ἔχουσα κεφαλήν· ἵνθι καὶ οἱ κακοδρόμοι ἐπισωρύντο· δόθεν καὶ ὁ Ἰουνιαῖος προφθασεῖ τῶν καταδίκων τολλοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ κατέκανεν Χριστιανούς. ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμινος βοῦς τύπος παμιγεθεστάτου θεάματος· οὐ κατὰ μῆματος καὶ ἐν τῷ Νεωρίῳ βοῦν ἀτενισθώτη. ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμινος ἡ τοῦ Φίλα (602—610 A.D.) ἔχωντος λόγων φόλλεων. This bronze Bull is said to have been brought from Pergamon, where it had been used for the martyrdom of Antipas (Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 8 (i. 566 Bekker) ὅτι ὁ χαλκοῦς βοῦς ἐκ Περγάμου ἦλθε, κάμινος δὲ ἦν ὁ τέφλεκτας ὁ βοῦς μάρτιος Ἀντίπατος, Zonar. 14. 14 (iii. 304, 11 ff. Dindorf) τὸ δὲ δόστρον σῶμα (sc. of Phokas) καυσθησας κατὰ τὸ Βοῦν, ἵνθι κάμινος ἦν, ὃς λέγεται, ἐκ χαλκοῦ κατεσκευασμένη, σχῆμα βοῦς ἔχουσα, ἥπερ τοῦ Περγάμου κεκόμιστο, ἐξ ἣν καὶ ὁ τόπος ὄνταστο. A. G. Sofiano *Pergame Moderne et Antique Athènes* 1930 p. 111 figures St Antipas being burnt in the copper bull, and ib. p. 112 observes: 'Ce bœuf avait été élevé par Attale I<sup>er</sup> en mémoire de sa victoire sur les Galates; plus tard, il fut transporté à Constantinople où on le fit servir à diverses exécutions: y furent brûlés, entre autres, Théodore et Stéphane, ministres de Justinien.' See further S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 iv. 136 S. Antipas (April 11), 304 S. George of Cappadocia (April 23), v. 66 S. Pelagia (May 4), x. 319 SS. Eustathius, Theopista, Agapitus, Theopistus (Sept. 20). The last-mentioned holocaust is figured in the *Ecclesiæ militantis triumphi* Paris s.a. pl. 9.

A final trace of the Hittite bull-cult, drawn from some classical source and modified by mediaeval imagination, may be detected in *Perceval le Gallois ou le conte du Graal* trans. S. Evans London 1903 p. 214 ff. Branch 18 Title 9 '...he came to the Castle of Copper. Within the castle were a number of folk that worshipped the bull of copper and believed not in any other God. The bull of copper was in the midst of the castle

upon four columns of copper, and bellowed so loud at all hours of the day that it was heard for a league round about, and there was an evil spirit within that gave answers...' with the sequel.

i. 645 n. 4 on the 'shields' of the Idaean Cave see also F. W. von Bissing in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix. 211 ff.

i. 648 Orphism in Crete. Cp. O. Kern 'Orphiker auf Kreta' in *Hermes* 1916 ii. 554—567 and the satisfactory handling of the whole matter by W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 pp. 108 ff., 146 f.

i. 650 n. 1 the *ρόμβος* or 'bull-roarer.' See further R. Battaglia 'Sopravvivenze del rombo nelle Province Venete' in the *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1925 i. 3. 190—217 with 7 figs., A. S. F. Gow 'ΙΥΓΞ, ΡΟΜΒΟΣ, RHOMBUS, TURBO' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 1—13 with figs. 1—11.

i. 651 n. 1 *Zagreus* as the god 'of Mt Zágora.' The same derivation is propounded independently by F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 721 n. 3.

i. 653 the Praesians sacrifice to a pig. Cp. Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 42 'Αστέριοι περιστερά (sc. θύοις).

i. 655 on the etymology of *Tídris*. A. Nehring 'Griechisch *tíraç*, *teríry* und ein vorgriechisches &-Suffix' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 153—197 discussing *inter alia* the word *Tídris*, *Tíry* (p. 167 ff.) postulates an original *Tíráç* as a 'Lallwort' meaning 'Vater' 'Väterchen,' cp. *tíraç*, *teríry* (Hesych. s.v. *tíraç* cited *supra* i. 655 n. 2) and relates the whole group to Etruscan and the languages of Asia Minor.

i. 657 n. 2 *Minoë ἀλόφων*. K. Marót 'Ατλας ἀλόφων' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 22, 1926 pp. 585—590 concludes 'dass sich das Epitheton des Atlas ἀλόφων nicht auf eine moralische Schuld, sondern bloss auf die Boshaftigkeit eines "Täters," d. h. auf ein mythisch-vorethisches "Verderbensinnen" beziehen kann.'

i. 662. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 109 would amend my rendering of Firm. Mat. 6. 4 and 5 *pro tumulo extruit templum* and *deus factus est qui habere non potuit sepulturam* by translating 'he built a temple in place of a tomb' and 'has made a god out of one who was not able to find burial.'

i. 664 n. 1 on Epimenides *περὶ Μίωνος καὶ Ράδαριδνος*. Further discussion by H. Gressmann in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 26, 1913 pp. 935—938, J. Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* 1915 pp. 29—35, T. Nicklin in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 33—37, Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 32—39.

i. 665 ff. on the origin of tragedy. My hypothesis is dismissed with little argument but much contumely by K. Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1952 f. Greater weight attaches to the courteous and clear-headed critique of A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 pp. 208—220—in a context neatly summarised by Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 229: 'Bei der Behandlung der Tragödie schätzt er (m. E. mit Recht) gegen v. Wilamowitz und Kranz das Zeugnis des Aristoteles sehr gering ein und verwirft die Hypothesen von der Entstehung der Tragödie, die Ridgeway (aus dem Heroenkult), Murray (aus δράματα zu Ehren des Dionysos) und Cook (aus dem kretischen Ritual der Dionysos-Zagreus) aufgestellt haben, und ist selbst der Ansicht, dass die Tragödie nicht aus dem Satyrspiel stammt, dass τραγῳδός "singer at the goat-sacrifice" oder "singer for the goat-prize" bedeutet. Bei Behandlung der Komödie wird der κώμος, aus dem sie entstand, ausführlich besprochen und Cornfords Hypothese (Entstehung aus einem Ritual, das dem Jahres-dämon galt) widerlegt.'

i. 671 pillar with Dionysiac mask or masks. See now W. Wrede 'Der Maskengott' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1928 liii. 66—95 with pls. 1—4, supplementary pls. 21—28, and figs. 1—4 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxii. 554 f.).

An oracle (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 243) ap. Clem. Al. *strom.* i. 24 p. 102, 11 f. Stählin has στῦλος Θεῖαισι Διώνυσος τολιγηθῆ, cp. Eur. *Antiope frag.* 203 Nauck<sup>+</sup> ap. Clem. Al. loc. cit. p. 102, 13 ff. Stählin ἐνδον δὲ θαλάμους βουκόλων | κομῶντα κισσῷ στῦλος Εἴδος θεοῦ.

i. 674. Apollodorus of Athens no doubt lived in 'The second century B.C.' and wrote his great work *περὶ θεῶν* in 24 books (R. Müntzel *De Apollodori περὶ θεῶν libris* Bonnae 1883 pp. 1—35, W. von Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1920 ii. 1. 395 f.). But the extant *βιβλιοθήκη*, long attributed to him, is now believed to be a work of Hadrianic date based on a handbook of mythology compiled between 100 and 55 n.c. (C. Robert *De Apollodori Bibliotheca* Berolini 1873 pp. 1—91, E. Schwartz in

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2875 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship* Cambridge 1906 i. 137, Sir J. G. Frazer *Apollodorus* New York i p. ix ff.).

i. 675 the caldron of divinisation in the cult of Leukothea. See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 36—44, especially p. 42 f.

i. 675 Dionysos done to death as a kid by worshippers who took the name of 'kids'? An interesting Scandinavian parallel is the *Bukkevise* described by B. S. Phillpotts *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* Cambridge 1920 p. 125 f.: 'The performers are three boys, two of whom personate "father and son," while the third is dressed up as a goat. The doggerel recited by the "father and son" is corrupt, but it recounts the slaughter of the goat and its resurrection, and this is accompanied by appropriate action on the part of the third performer. The Norwegian verses appear to retain a memory of the partition of the goat-skin: "how much wilt thou give for the goat its skin?—wool?" We have here another case of the actual performances of a slaying and resurrection, with the additional primitive feature of a beast-skin disguise shed by the victim and at one time apparently allotted to one of the persons present.' Cp. E. K. Chambers *The English Folk-play* Oxford 1933 p. 211: 'Perhaps, therefore, we may go a step further, and guess at the existence...of some original European *todus*, with just this Mock Death and Revival as its central point and with men dressed as animals for its performers.'

i. 677 n. o. K. Buresch *Aus Lydiens* Leipzig 1898 p. 160 found at *Kalek* near Temenothyrai 'ein marmornes, dem Zeus Palästrios geweihtes Altärchen' and inferred that the site bore the name Galaktion—an inference accepted by L. Burchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 514. See also J. Keil in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay* Manchester 1923 p. 260 no. 8, E. Fehrlie in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 615.

i. 677 n. 4 the Lupercalia. See further G. F. Unger 'Die Lupercalien' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1881 xxxvi. 50—86, W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 pp. 72—155 ('Die Lupercalien'), J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1398—1402 s.v. 'Lupercalia, Lupercal, Luperci,' E. Lefèbure 'Le bouc des Lupercales' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lxx. 73—81, W. F. Otto 'Die Luperci und die Feier der Lupercalien' in *Philologus* 1913 N.F. xxvi. 161—195, Alberta Mildred Franklin *The Lupercalia* New York: Columbus University 1921 pp. 1—106, A. Marbach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 1815 f. s.v. 'Lupercal,' 1816—1830 s.v. 'Lupercalia,' 1830—1834 s.v. 'Luperci,' 1834—1839 s.v. 'Lupercus,' F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 206—217.

No ancient representation of the Lupercalia is known. Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 77 no. 77 pl. 77 'Sacrifice des Lupercales,' a stone published at Paris in 1732 by Lévesque de Gravelle, is an obvious forgery.

i. 679. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 132 adds 'the Bassarids of Aeschylus which told of the dismemberment of Orpheus.'

A doublet of the myth of Pelias may perhaps be seen in that of Minos done to death in a hot bath at Kamikos by Kokalos or his daughters (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 360, Poland in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 1918 f.).

i. 681 n. 4 Διθύραμψος. The suffix is discussed by H. Petersson 'Die altindischen Wörter auf -amba' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1934 xxxiv. 232—249.

Zacher 'Die Ursprünge und der Name des Iambus' in the *Jahres-Bericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur* 1904 lxxxii Abteilung iv. 3 f. hit upon a derivation of Διθύραμψος near akin to mine: 'Endlich müsste διθύραμψος sein = ὁ διθύραψος, d. h. wohl den Διθύροπος besiegend. Διθύροπος könnte eine Nebenform von Διθύρωπος sein, und wie dieses bedeuten "Sohn des Zeus" (*θυρός* von *θύειν*? *θύρα* die Zeugungsgrube?).' This acute conjecture is too summarily dismissed by Boisacq *Dict. hym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 188.

W. M. Calder 'The Dithyramb—an Anatolian Dirge' in the *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 11—14, dissatisfied with all previous views, mine included, proposed to connect διθύραμψος with two Phrygian words or loan-words διθύρα and διθύρεψα. The first of these occurs in an inscription from Tyriaion (J. G. C. Anderson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 121 f. no. 67=J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 132 f. no. 31), the second in another from Ikonion (W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 188 ff. no. 49=J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 135 no. 49). It is claimed that διθύρα must be a noun, and διθύρεψα must be either a noun or an adjective...meaning "monument" or some sepulchral attribute or characteristic,' possibly the "double door" (δι + θύρα = διθύρα, θύρα, fore) of the Phrygian family-tomb 'symbolically leading in two directions—outwards to the world of life, inwards to the world of death.' On this showing διθύραμψος means "grave-song" or "dirge," and we must regard the θύρην ἔχαρχον τὸν διθύραμψον of II. 24. 721 as the counterpart of τῶν ἔχαρχον τὸν διθύραμψον in Aristot. *poet.* 4 1449 a 11.

Calder's explanation, though ingenious and attractive, is however—as he frankly admits—beset by difficulties and uncertainties. Moreover it seems hard to reconcile with the Platonic equation διθύραμψος = Διονύσου γένεσις (*supra* i. 682 n. 1). Are we to assume that the 'dirge' dealt with Dionysos' birth, and compare the funeral character of the Attic Γενέσια (P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1131, *id. Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*<sup>3</sup> München 1920 p. 227 f.)? Or to argue with J. A. K. Thomson (in a letter to Jane Harrison dated March 31, 1921) 'that the Dithyramb celebrated the γένεσις of Dionysos, his grave-ritual.... The Early Christians celebrated the γένεσις or γένεθλια, "birth-day," of a martyr on the day of his martyrdom, because he was then truly born—"born again"?'?

Calder returns to the charge in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 214 with a shrewd emendation of Glaukos Rhēg. frag. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 24 Müller) *apud* [Plout.] *de musica* 10 ἥρωκῶν γάρ ἵποθέσεων σπαρτυμάτα (for πράγματα codd.) ἔχοντῶν κ.τ.λ. 'For such was the theme of the dithyramb (διθύραμψον τίτα καὶ διαιτησμόν) according to Plutarch *de Ei apud Delphes* 380 A.'

W. Brandenstein in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1936 liv. 34—38 would interpret λαμπτ., θραύβος, διθύραμψος as 'Zweischritt, Dreischritt, Vierschritt.'

i. 682 n. 1. Of the three Pindaric dithyrambs published by B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1919 xiii. 27 ff. no. 1604 one (O. Schroeder *Supplementum Pindaricum* Berolini 1923 p. 5 f. frag. 70<sup>a</sup>) describes a festival of Dionysos held by the gods in heaven, another (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 7 frag. 70<sup>b</sup>) speaks of a Dionysiac banquet, and the third (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 7 f. frag. 70<sup>c</sup>) must also be concerned with the same deity since it mentions wreaths of ivy. See further J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 pp. 48—51.

Cp. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 524. 5 Διογενῆ, δίγονος, διθύραμψογενῆ, Διόνυσος, *ib.* 19 Σεμεληγένετρος, Σεμελῆ.

i. 684 n. 11. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1923 p. 65 f. pl. 3, 1 and 3, thinks that this vase represents the Haloia and cites modern usage in Herzegovina ('hier stellt man, wenn die Wintersaat aufgeht, auf dem Felde durch eine tiefe Furche den Umriß eines erigierten Phallos mit Hoden her. Diese Form des Fruchtbarkheitszaubers wurde früher auf dem Balkan allgemein angewandt' (\*Vgl. R. N. Salaman, *Man* 30, 1930, 48)).

i. 684 date of the ritual marriage unknown. L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1927 xiii. 177 ff. argues that the marriage of Dionysos and the *Basilissa* is both represented (figs. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 16) and parodied (fig. 6, cp. fig. 19) on the 'Choenkännchen' and must therefore have taken place 'am Choenstage' (Anthesterion 12). But the argument is insecure, for—as Deubner himself admits (*Attische Feste* p. 97)—'Nicht alle Bilder, mit denen die grossen oder kleinen Kannen der typischen Choenform geschmückt sind (es sind jetzt 300—400 bekannt), brauchen sich auf das Choenfest zu beziehen.' And it remains possible to urge that these little vases are simply children's toys, often decorated with Dionysiac scenes, but not necessarily illustrative of the *Chœs*.

i. 687 n. 3 trees planted on graves as a vehicle for the soul. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 790 n. 1 gives further references for this folk-belief. See also H. Marzell in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 955 'Der Baum, der aus der Erde hervorspriess, und besonders der aus den Gräbern Verstorbener hervor-wachsende Baum soll die Seele beherbergen.'

i. 689 n. 5 the Boeotian Xanthos or Xanthios slain by the Neleid Melanthos with the aid of Dionysos *Meldnaigis*. A doublet in Plout. *quaest. Gr.* 13 ἐδὲ τοῖτον μαρομαχῶντιν οἱ βασιλεῖται, καὶ τὸν τὸν Ἰαχίλιον Ττέροχον ὁ τὸν Αἰγαίων Φῆμοι δρῶν μετὰ κινδὺ αὐτῷ προσφέρειντον οὐκ ἐφῆ δίκαια ποιεῖ, δεύτερον ἐπάγοντα μαχόμενον ἀπελαύνοντος δὲ τοῦ Ττέροχον τὸν κόντα καὶ μεταστρέφομενον, λίθῳ βαλὼν ὁ Φῆμοι αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ, κτησάμενος δὲ τὴν χώραν, τὸν Ἰαχίλιον μετὰ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκβαλόντες, τὸν μὲν λίθον ἐκεῖνον ὡς τερψίν σφρονται καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ τερποῦ τῷ δημοῦ περικαλόπτονται. W. R. Halliday 'Xanthos—Melanthos and the Origin of Tragedy' in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 179—181 and in his note on Plout. *loc. cit.* thinks that both the Attic and the Boeotian tale were 'a purely secular traditional legend to which no esoteric meaning need be attached.'

i. 694. A. J. B. Wace 'More Mumming Plays' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1912—1913 xix. 248—265 figs. 1—6 concludes 'That the festival is really a winter festival and has in different places been transferred to a different season. Secondly, that it is by no means a typically Greek festival, for it occurs only in North Greece where there is much mixed blood, and is known to almost all the other South Balkan races.'

i. 695 Athenian substitute for dramatic omophagy. W. M. Lindsay in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 108 cites a newly discovered note of Fest. in Isid. *orig.* 8. 7. 6 Hos

Hyginus (*egenius cod.*) primum frusta[m] hircinae carnis praemium accepisse dicit et inde nomen traxisse, scilicet a *trago* quem Latini *hircum* vocant.

i. 697 n. 4. P. Kretschmer comments on Σιληρός again in *Glotta* 1915 vi. 308. But F. Solmsen 'Σιληρός Σάτυρος Τίτανος' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 1—47 connects the word with \*σιλός, *silus*, a by-form of σιλός, 'snub-nosed.'

i. 698 n. 1. No. (10) is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: see Miss M. H. Swindler in the *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1915 xix. 412 ff. figs. 8 and 9, L. D. Caskey *ib.* 1918 xxii. 110 f. fig. 3, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 130 f. fig. 81 (the 'Penthesilea Painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 339 no. 10, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rosigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 276 no. 52. Add no. (16) Red-figured *kylix* in the Museo Villa Giulia at Rome (E. Boehringer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. Arch. Anz. p. 166 with fig. 29)=nude human figure with goatish head, horns, and tail dancing before Persephone, whose head emerges from the ground.

In the fourth century these goatish dancers were assimilated to the south-Italian Pan, e.g. on an 'Apulian' vase published by T. Panofka *Musee Blacas* Paris 1829 pl. 23 (F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 3 fig. 2) or on an Italiote bell-krater at Lecce published by Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 106 pl. 80, 3 (F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 166 fig. 144, L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1044 fig. 6069). Yet A. Hartmann certainly goes too far when he says at the end of his article on 'Silenos und Satyros' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 53: 'So bleibt es dabei, dass die bockartige Bildung von Satyrn erst ein Erzeugnis der in der hellenistischen Zeit aufkommenden Einmischung des Pantypus in den Satyr- und Silentyrus ist.'

i. 700 n. 4. E. M. W. Tillyard has since discovered the faint inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ ΗΦΑΡΣΤΟΣ (*sic*), which makes it probable that the central figure is Hephaistos carrying his axe. If so, the scene shows Dionysos persuading Hephaistos to accompany him to Olympus—a scene perhaps drawn from Achaeans' satyr-play 'Ηφαιστος' (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 750 f. Nauck<sup>2</sup>) (E. M. W. Tillyard *The Hope Vases* Cambridge 1923 p. 79 ff. no. 136 pl. 23).

i. 704 early seal-stones portraying human goats etc. Any serious attempt to discuss these much-disputed figures must nowadays take into account analogous types found over a wide area of the ancient world. A sample or two will suffice to show the sort of data required. A whorl of green steatite from Hagios Onuphrios near Phaistos shows a horned figure with human legs (A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 118 fig. 52, a, *id. The Palace of Minos at Knossos* Oxford 1921 i. 69 fig. 38 a). A prism-seal in black steatite from Karnak shows a human figure with bovine head running (*id. Scripta Minoa* i. 123 fig. 58, c, *Palace of Minos* i. 69 fig. 38 b, c). Both these are assigned to the 'Early Minoan i' period (3400—2800 B.C.). Sir J. Marshall *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* London 1931 ii. 389 fig. 356 on pl. 111 notes two human figures (from seals no. 227 and no. 230) with the hoofs, horns, and tail of a bison. *Id. ib.* ii. 389 fig. 357 on pl. 111 gives a seal on which a similar figure is seen struggling with a fabulous horned tiger. Sir John compares the type with that of Enkidu the companion of Gilgamesh. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge on Oct. 31, 1928, quoted an 'ibex-headed man on a proto-Elamite tablet' and an 'animal-headed man on a seal from South Caucasus' as evidence of Mesopotamian priority to the fantastic sealings from Zakro (*supra* p. 845 n. 3). See also Addenda to i. 67 n. 3.

i. 705. R. C. Flickinger 'Tragedy and the Satyric Drama' in *Class. Philol.* 1913 viii. 261—283 (especially pp. 269—272) discusses the derivation of *τραγῳδία*, defending the goat-prize tradition and rejecting the goat-men conjectures. *Id. The Greek Theater and its Drama* Chicago 1918 pp. 13—15, *ib.* 1936 pp. 13—15, maintains the same standpoint. E. Rostrup *Attic Tragedy in the Light of Theatrical History* trans. I. Andersen Kjøbenhavn—Kristiania—London—Berlin 1923 p. 64 ff. denies the dancers 'costumed as he-goats' and holds, on anthropological grounds, that the *τράγοι* were young men who had undergone puberty-rites and were known by an animal name—the *χοροὶ τραγῶν*, *χοροὶ τραγῳδῶν*, and *χοροὶ ἀνδρῶν* representing successive age-groups. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 pp. 149—166, after a careful discussion of all the possibilities, reverts to the view that *τραγῳδός* may well mean 'singer at the goat-sacrifice' or 'singer for the goat-prize.' 'The two may even be reconciled, if the goat was first won and then sacrificed' (p. 165).

i. 706 Zeus *Aets.* W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 103 compares this appellative with an Old Phrygian text from Euyub in Kappadokia (J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 127 no. 15 a, 3 *τερκοτασιεκμօρ*), of which

he says: 'it can hardly be doubted that *terkos* is the "Hittite" *tarku* meaning "god" or a particular god, and it is very tempting to read the name of the god in the following letters. Whether we read *Asie kmor...* or *Asi ekmor...*, we appear to be dealing with the dative of the divine name *Asis*, which is attested elsewhere, and may be not unconnected with the name which the Greeks gave to the lands east of the Aegean.... Ramsay is probably right in taking **ΑΣΙΚΙ** [supra i. 706 fig. 521] as a non-Phrygian name; if our interpretation of the Euyuk inscription is correct, *Asis* is the name of a god who belonged to the religion which the Phrygians found in the country when they entered it, and who was worshipped at the old Hittite centre of Euyuk at the date to which this inscription belongs.... The name *Ασιοκάρη* expresses the proprietorship of the god *Asis* in a village on his estate, just as the village-name *Αρινχώας* in Phrygia indicates that the village belongs to Atys. In the Lydian genealogies *Asies* figures as the nephew or as the brother of Atys [E. Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1579 f., 2261]. The name *Atios* occurs on an Old-Phrygian inscription (if Phrygian it be) found by Garstang at Tyana [J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 127 no. 19 a, 3 ατονι, 5 ατον].... The name is written with the symbol +, which suggests that the names *Attis* and *Asis* were originally identical.' Not impossibly, then (cp. supra ii. 293), *Zeus ΑΣΙΚΙ* meant *ab origine* 'Father' Zeus, while *Aσια* was the 'Fatherland.'

i. 707 n. 2 with fig. 524. This red-figured *hydria* from Girgenti is attributed to 'the Syleus Painter' (c. 480 B.C.) and perhaps shows Zeus bringing the infant Dionysos to the Nymphs. To the bibliography add J. de Witte in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836—1837 i. 357—372 pl. 9, Reinach *Rept. Vases* i. 237, 1 and ii. 260, 1, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit (Winckelmannfest-Progr. Halle 1885)* p. 181 f., *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsc. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 47; J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 66 no. 1, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* iii. 438 no. 9, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des roßfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 162 no. 23.

i. 708 ff. E. Fiechter—R. Herbig *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen* Stuttgart 1932 ii (Die Skulpturen vom Bühnenhaus), 36 pls. 9—16 accept my interpretation of the reliefs from the stage of *Phaidros*, but regard my restorations as 'keineswegs immer glücklich.'

i. 709 n. 1 no distinctive art-type for *Hestia*. Yet see Porph. *ap.* Euseb. *præp. ev.* 3. 11. 7=Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 94 p. 139, 2 ff. Wünsch *kai τὸ μὲν ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς θεᾶς δύρδαιος Ἔστια κέληται, τῇ δυάλιᾳ παρθενικῷ ἐφ' ἔστιας ἰδύται;* καθ' δὲ γόνιος ἡ δύναμις, σπουδαιόντων αὐτῇ γίνακός εἶται προσδέστον.

i. 710 Aigeira. This town possessed a notable sanctuary of Zeus with a seated image of the god wrought in Pentelic marble by Eukleides of Athens (Paus. 7. 26. 4). Local coins issued by Septimius Severus and Plautilla show Zeus seated on a high-backed throne in the attitude of Zeus *Olympios* with Nike on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 17 no. 5 pl. 4, 10 Plautilla (my fig. 879 is from a cast), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 90 pl. S, 6 Plautilla, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 412). Portions of this cult-statue are still extant. O. Walter 'Ein Kolossalkopf des Zeus aus Aigeira' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1919 xix—xx. 1—14 figs. 1—9 pls. 1 (=my fig. 880) and 2 published the large head (height 0·87 m) which he had found on Aug. 31, 1916, inside the temple. The marble is hollowed at the back and, as the dowel-holes prove, was eked out before and behind with adjusted pieces. The eyes were inlaid. *Id.* 'Der Arm der Zeusstatue von Eukleides' *ib.* 1932 xxvii. 146—152 figs. 94—97 was able to add the left arm, found by the villagers of *Vlowoka* in 1920 close to the same building, and one finger of the right hand, found in 1925 inside it. The fragments (now in the National Museum at Athens, nos. 3377 and 3481) are all of Pentelic marble, imply a figure about thrice life-size, and suit the pose of the god as shown on the coins. See further D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 480. O. Walter 'Eine archäologische Voruntersuchung in Aigeira' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1919 xix—xx Beiblatt pp. 5—42 figs. 1—26 and 'Versuchsgabung in Aigeira' *ib.* 1932 xxvii Beiblatt pp. 223—234 figs. 109—115 gives a good account of the town and temple, from which it appears that a large *podium* at the west end of the *cella* bore a base designed for a much smaller statue. It seems likely that, at some date later than Pausanias' visit, the big Zeus was damaged and



Fig. 879.

replaced by a life-sized figure, perhaps that of a Roman emperor. Otherwise we should have to conclude that the temple to which the big Zeus belonged is still to seek. Eukleides, to judge from the style and technique of this statue, may be regarded as a contemporary of Damophon and dated c. 300 B.C. (A. Hekler 'Eukleides' *ib.* 1922 xxi—xxii. 120—122), though O. Walter and G. Lippold would place him in the middle of the fourth century B.C. or a little later (Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. v. 220).

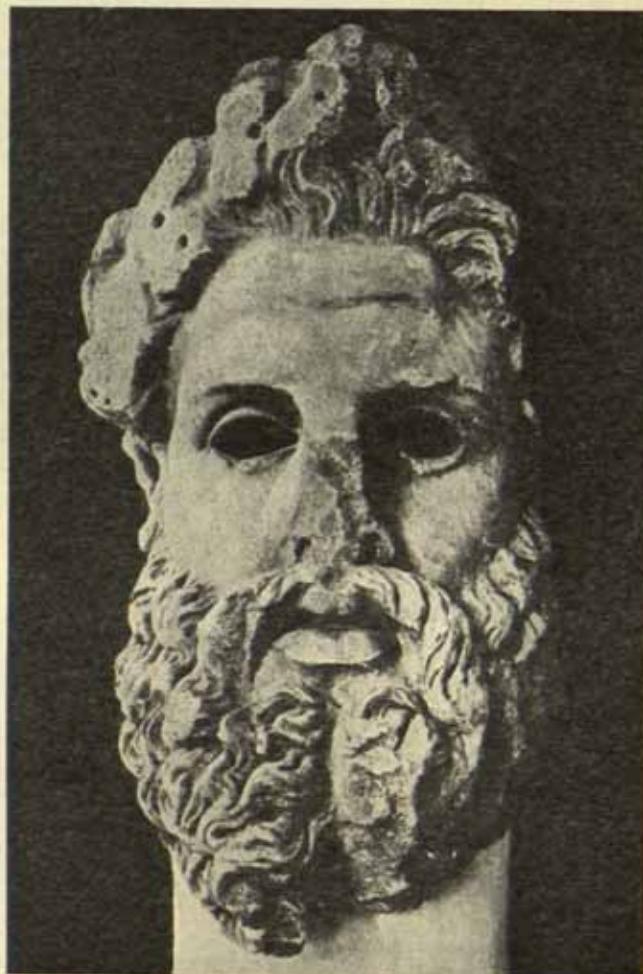


Fig. 880.

i. 710 Eros with crossed legs. On this attitude see W. Deonna 'Croiser les jambes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 344—352, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 502 f.

i. 710 Theseus. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 18 f. pl. 7, 2 takes this figure to be Nero (cp. E. Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 327 n. 2). In any case see Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 3078 pl. 200.

i. 711 Vediovis. See further L. Preller 'Studien zur römischen Mythologie. 2. Vejovis und Dijovis' in the *Ber. nächste Gesellsh. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1855 pp. 202—215, J. A. Hild in Daremburg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 669 f. s.v. 'Vejovis,' A. L. Frothingham 'Vediovis, the Volcanic God: a Reconstruction' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 370—391, G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 174—176 s.v. 'Vejovis,' F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 262 f., 352.



Fig. 881.

i. 713. A figure-oinochae (Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 408 f.) in my collection shows the infant Dionysos, with a kántharos in his right hand, mounted on a vigorous goat (fig. 881). The vase, which was polychrome, has traces of pink (flesh), red (cloak), yellow (hair, kántharos), and blue (wreath) on a white ground. Height, exclusive of the handle which is in part restored,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins.

i. 713 n. o. On the cult-statue of Apollon see a mutilated relief from the Amyklaion published by B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1904 xxix. 24—31 fig. 2, also E. R. Fiechter 'der Amyklische Thron, Bericht über die Untersuchungen im Amyklaion 1907' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. pp. 66—70, id. 'Amyklæ.

Der Thron des Apollon' *ib.* 1918 xxxiii. 107—245 figs. 1—90 pls. 4—20, P. Bersakes 'Ο θρόνος τοῦ Ἀμυκλαῖον Ἀπόλλωνος' in the *ApX.* *Ep.* 1912 pp. 183—192 figs. 1—26, W. Klein 'Zum Thron des Apollo von Amyklae' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxvii Arch. Anz. pp. 6—13, E. Buschor—W. von Massow 'Vom Amyklaion' in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1927 iii. 1—85 (especially p. 19) figs. 1—40 pls. 1—23 supplementary pls. 1—12.

i. 717 n. 2 bulls sacrificed to Zeus. Add Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 3. 11 πρῶτον μὲν ἥγοντο τῷ Δι ταῦρον πάγκαλον εἰς ἑτέρας καὶ οὐτὸν ἔλλος θέων οἱ μάγοι ἔχοντες. Also the Ταυροφόρα at Mylasa (*supra* ii. 582 n. 5, iii. 570). See, however, Serv. in *Verg. Aen.* 12. 120 sic in Thracia civitatem condens Aeneas, quam mox fuerat relictus, contra morem Iovi de tauro sacrificavit (*Aen.* 3. 20 f.), Isid. *orig.* 12. 1. 28 iuvencus dictus eo quod iuvare incipiat hominum usus in terra colenda (*supra* p. 591 n. 1), vel quia apud gentiles Iovi semper ubique iuvencus immolabatur et nunquam taurus. nam in victimis etiam actas considerabatur.

i. 717 n. 3 goats sacrificed to Zeus. W. M. Lindsay in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 109 cites Fest. in Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 84 Ioui Cretenses capram immolabant.

i. 720 the golden hound of Crete. An Attic black-figured *skýphos* found at Kameiros and now in the Louvre (A 478) (Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* i. 171, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre Paris* 1897 p. 20 pl. 17) is interpreted by L. D. Barnett in *Hermes* 1898 xxxiii. 638 ff. as illustrating the discovery by Iris and Hermes of the golden hound in the house of Pandareos—an interpretation now commonly accepted (H. N. Fowler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 304, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1502 n. \*\*, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 328).

i. 723 the *cire perdue* method of hollow-casting in bronze. Miss van der Kolk in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2084 is disposed to adopt my explanation of the Talos-myth ('eine ansprechende Vermutung'), but regards both myth and method as 'ziemlich jung.' S. Casson *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* Oxford 1933 is more precise: 'One thing is certain—that the Minoans had no knowledge at all of hollow casting by the *cire-perdue* process' (cp. L. R. Farnell *supra* ii. 644 n. 1). But is that so certain? K. Kluge, our greatest authority on Greek bronzes, in his *Die antiken Grossbronzen Berlin—Leipzig* 1927 i. 91—102 ('Der antike Wachserzguss') cites the pottery mould for an axe to be cast by the *cire perdue* process, which was found in the seventh stratum at Troy and is now in the Berlin Museum (W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion Athen* 1902 i. 405 fig. 404, 408 f. supplementary pl. 46, viii a, viii b). Again, Kluge 'Die Gestaltung des Erzes in der archaisch-griechischen Kunst' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1919 xliv. 1—30 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 456 f.) says (p. 6): 'Bereits in primitiven Kulturlagungen—es sei an die Güsse von Benin erinnert—wird diese Methode des Wachserzgusses beherrscht, und in der ägyptischen Kunst können wir den steilen Anstieg dieses Könnens verfolgen....' Indeed, Mr H. Frankfort in *The Illustrated London News* Oct. 8, 1932 p. 528 figs. 7—9 shows a statuette from Khafaje in Iraq representing a bearded priest cast in bronze by the *cire perdue* process c. 3000 B.C. Mr Sidney Smith (Jan. 1, 1926) refers me further to F. Thureau-Dangin in the *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 1924 xx. 26 n. 3 and 155, who cites A. Unghad in the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* Leipzig 1909 Heft viii. 51 no. 103 ('un qurqurru reçoit 2/3 de mine de cire pour la fabrication d'une clé en métal; c'est le procédé de la cire perdue'). For modern *cire perdue* casting see A. Toft *Modelling and Sculpture* London 1911 pp. 187—191.

i. 723 n. 3. For proof that the Sardinians of the Bronze Age worshipped a bull-god in their subterranean temples see R. Pettazzoni 'Le antichità protostarde di Santa Vittoria' in the *Bullettino di paleontologia italiana* 1910 xxxv. 159—177, A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Line.* 1915 xxiii. 313—436 (especially p. 352 ff.), T. Ashby in *The Times Literary Supplement* for Jan. 22, 1920 p. 50, H. Philipp in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2488, J. Whatmough *The Foundations of Roman Italy* London 1937 p. 373 ('Of especial interest are the temples discovered in recent years by Taramelli. These are circular in construction and were regularly built over a sacred spring or well. With them is associated the cult of the sacred pillar and also of a deity who took the form of a bull, as the large stone bulls' heads from the front of the temples show. It is difficult not to admit in these the evidence of oriental influence, as also in the indications of ordeal by water, and of "incubation" ...').

i. 735 Talos, nephew of Daedalus, and the saw. G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 189—194 figs. 1—5 pl. 25, A, publishes a magnificent gold bulla of Etruscan workmanship, found near Ferrara (?) and now in the Walters Art

Gallery, Baltimore. Two archaic winged figures in relief, with incised retrograde inscriptions, show Daidalos (**ΔΑΙΔΑΛΟΣ**) and Ikaros (**ΙΚΑΡΟΣ**), the former holding a saw in his left hand and an adze in his right, the latter a double axe and a square. E. Fiesel loc. cit. pp. 195—197 thinks that the inscription originated in Central Etruria, probably in the fifth century B.C. *Taitte* and *Vikare* are correct Etruscan forms of Δαιδαλος and Ικαρος, the one being Greek, the other—to judge from the suffix -ap—pre-Greek or Aegean. A cornelian scarab, from the Hamilton collection, now in London, again represents Daidalos, *Taitte?*, as a beardless winged figure, flying above waves, with an adze in his right hand, a saw in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 67 no. 329 pl. E, ib. 2 p. 82 no. 663 pl. 11). A second cornelian scarab, from the Blacas collection, also in London, has a somewhat similar, but uninscribed, Daidalos flying with saw in right hand and adze (?) in left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 68 no. 330 pl. E, ib. 2 p. 89 f. no. 727 pl. 12, cp. *Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 19, 28, ii. 93 ('Geflügelter Dämon'), Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 25, 7 p. 171 ('Eros')). Lastly, a stèle from Bologna, assigned to the date 390—360 B.C., includes among its reliefs the same beardless Daidalos flying through the air with square and double axe in his right hand and saw in his left (E. Brizio in the *Not. Scavi* 1890 pp. 139—142 pl. 1, 3).

The art-type of the winged male figure posting through the sky with a double axe may be traced back to a very early date (sub: 'Minoan?') in the Archipelago: see the Melian (?) gem *supra* ii. 544 fig. 419. From Melos to Ikaros (Ikaria) is a bare hundred miles. Talos, Daidalos, and Ikaros were perhaps all originally independent but analogous figures (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 250 n. 2; Heeg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 986, G. M. A. Hanfmann loc. cit. p. 194), various forms taken by the winged sun-god.

i. 726 ff. Talos, nephew of Daidalos, and the partridge. L. Mercklin *Die Talos-Sage und das sardische Lochen* in the *Mémoires présentés à l'Académie impériale des sciences de St. Pétersbourg par divers savants Saint-Pétersbourg 1854* vii. 110 (74) n. 203 cp. the romantic tale of Meles and Timagoras (Paus. 1. 30. 1) or Timagoras and Meletos (Soud. s.v. Μέλης τερ.), on which see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2626 and Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 491 f. But this has been adequately explained on other lines by C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1925 xxvi. 101—104.

J. D. Beazley 'Icarus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 222—233 illustrates *inter alia* (p. 231 fig. 6) a small red-figure *Ikythos* of c. 470 B.C., in New York, on which a winged youth sinking into the sea (?) has above his head a bird 'flying almost straight down.... The bird acts as the directional arrow in cartography.' H. J. Rose 'Ikaros and Perdix on a Fifth-century Vase?' *ib.* 1928 xlviii. 9 f. acutely conjectures that the painter 'had in his mind the mythical Perdix.'

On περδίκην see R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 1936 lvi. 8 (botanical identifications).

i. 732 Zeus paired with Selene. Cp. S. Eitrem 'Die heilige Ehe' in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1932 xi. 18 n. 1.

i. 733 n. 6. On Zeus Νόστος of Miletos see now gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 1053, who, after mentioning the late sixth-century offering Δι Νόστῳ (in inscription no. 31, 9 a sacrificial calendar on the wall of the old hall in the Delphinion), adds: 'Νόστος findet sich dann noch in einer Inschrift nr. 186, einer "Schreibübung eines Steinmetzen," aus der Zeit vor der Perserkatastrophe.... Auch v. Wilamowitz G G A 1914, 100 hält Δι Νόστῳ für gesichert, flügt aber mit Recht hinzu: "es kann wohl nur ein νόστος sein, so sehr es befremdet."'

i. 735 f. Zeus as a Satyr. Titian's 'Jupiter and Antiope' in the Louvre shows the lustful god, with the ears and legs of a goat, just twitching the last garment off a recumbent and sleeping Antiope (Sir J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *The Life and Times of Titian* London 1881 ii. 317 with pl., J. Addison *Classic Myths in Art* London 1904 p. 57 f. with pl.).

H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3309 takes Sil. It. 3. 103 ff. (lascivo genitus Satyro nymphaque Myrice | Milichus indigenis late regnarat in oris | cornigeram attollens genitoris imagine fronte) to mean that Meilichos the horned king of Spain was the son of the nymph Myrike by Zeus in the form of a Satyr.

Zeus Πειάδης is attested by Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 f. 'Επιθέτα Διός... 86 πειάδων, 266 'Επιθέτα Διός... 74 πειάδων. The epithet, a derivative of πειά (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 743 D—744 A), would suit a god of Satyr-like propensities, 'soll also wohl den Zeus als Gott der Fruchtbarkeit bezeichnen, wenn es nicht christlich-apologetischen Ursprungs ist' (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1752).

i. 735 n. 3 Lykourgos. Bronze coins of Alexandreia struck by Antoninus Pius represent Lykourgos with his double axe attacking Ambrosia, who according to Nonn. *Dion.*

i. 17 ff. was transformed by Gaia into a vine (K. D. Mylonas in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 233 ff. (wrongly numbered 153 ff.) and J. N. Svoronos *ib.* p. 466 ff.).

i. 737 Epopeus as an embodiment of Zeus. To the same effect A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 p. 106 n. 1.

i. 741 Aphrodite and her dove in Kypros. W. N. Bates 'Aphrodite's Doves at Paphos in 1932' in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1932 liii. 260 f. notes that the church of St George at New Paphos, built over a temple of Aphrodite (?), has in front of its iconostasis five white doves, which hold in their beaks cords supporting lamps. A larger church recently erected in the neighbourhood again has the same arrangement of five white doves holding lamp-cords. Finally the twelfth-century monastery of St Neophytus, some seven miles from Ktima, can boast the bones of the saint kept in a wooden box made by himself. 'Above them is a sort of canopy surmounted by two rude wooden doves gilded.' Bates rightly concludes that 'Aphrodite's doves still have a place in their ancient home.'

i. 741 n. 4 Zeus Μαζέως. Cp. F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1897 xxxiv. 49 n. 2: 'Auch in Μαζέως ὁ Ζεύς ωπά φρεγί Hes. wird wohl nur der pers. *Aura-mazdā* zu erkennen sein, wie schon de Lagarde annahm.'

i. 744 n. 3. On the inscription here cited see further A. Brinkmann in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1914 lxxix. 585 f., M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 269.

i. 750. For the star on the shoulder of a lion cp. a basalt relief from the level of Thutmosis III (B.C. 1501—1447 Breasted) at Beisan, which shows two scenes of a lion attacked by a Molossian mastiff (G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 1047 with fig. 727: 'Nous noterons sur ce bas-relief une particularité de facture: à l'épaule du lion, les poils forment une sorte de rosace en étoile à raies courbes; on la retrouvera plus tard sur un lion d'Arslan-Tash; à Zendjirli la plupart des lions portent au même endroit du corps deux traits croisés en X').

i. 751 Zeus conceived as dwelling in the starry sky. Cp. Soph. *Trach.* 1106 ὁ τοῦ κατ' αἰστρὰ Ζεὺς αὐδηθεὶς γένεται.

i. 753 Tios or Tion in Bithynia. L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1934 i. 93 f. figs. 1—5 gives an account of his visit to the place with views of its *akrópolis* etc.

i. 754 Zeus ringed with the zodiac. R. Wood *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor of the Desert* London (1753) p. 45 pl. 19, publishes the circular medallion of a ceiling, which shows Zeus surrounded by six deities and a zodiacal ring. The spandrels are occupied by four eagles. The whole decorates the soffit of the temple of Sol at its southern end—a temple restored by Aurelian (see his letter to Cerronius Bassus in Vopisc. *v. Aurelian.* 31. 7 ff.).

i. 754 traces of astrology in early Greece. See A. Engelbrecht 'Vermeintliche Spuren altgriechischer Astrologie' in the *Eranos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 pp. 125—130, who argues that there are 'von einer eigentlichen Astrologie mindestens bis zum vierten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert keine positiven, wohl aber negative Spuren in den Schriftwerken,' and W. Capelle 'Altste Spuren der Astrologie bei den Griechen' in *Hermes* 1925 ix. 373—395, who claims to find such traces in the Hippocratic *περὶ διάτης* 4. 89 Littré (iv. 426 ff. Jones) at the end of 1. v B.C. and probably also in Demokrit. *ap. Aet.* 2. 15. 3 (H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* Berlin 1912 ii. 32).

i. 754 ff. Zeus as lord of the constellations. G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 90 fig. 17 (= my fig. 882) reproduces the fine illustration of Arat. *phaen.* 1 given in cod. Bonon. 188 fol. 20<sup>r</sup>. An eagle with spread wings carries a thunderbolt in his claws and Zeus recumbent, with globe, sceptre, and rayed *nimbus*, on his back. Background blue, framework vermillion, eagle brownish yellow, flesh dark brown, *nimbus* and globe silver, diadem yellow, *himation* rose.

i. 756 n. 6 Zeus Βῆλος. J. Cantineau 'Textes palmyréniens provenant de la fouille du temple de Bêl' in *Syria* 1931 xii. 119 f. no. 3 publishes a bilingual inscription of the year 504=193 A.D., which (Greek 4 ff.) mentions an ἀρχιερέως σ[αι] | [σ]υμποσιάρχης λεπτω[ς] μεγάλου θεοῦ | Δαός Βῆλο[ν]. See further P. Roussel in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 227.

i. 766 the Dioskouroi on Etruscan mirrors. C. Brakman 'De Iuturna et Dioscuris' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1931 lix. 427—430, following up the trail blazed by F. Altheim *Griechische Götter im alten Rom* Giessen 1930 pp. 4—39 ('Iuturna und die Dioskuren') [cp. F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 243—245], claims that the Etruscans when in Asia had taken over from Greeks or pre-Greeks the cult of the Dioskouroi. These they would have called \**Diuturnae*, 'sons of Zeus,' cp. *Diuturna* [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3856] > *Iuturna*, 'daughter of Zeus,' hybrid formations. 'A stirpe \**Diu* (love) per suffixum patronymicum -*bur* vel -*tur* derivatum

est \**Diutur*, unde per Etruscum formans -na formatur *Diurna*.... \**Disutures* responderet igitur \**Tυδαροι*, quod per prae-Graecum suffixum -δαρ- eandem vim habens atque Etruscum -θur vel -tur derivatum est a *Tιν*, quod idem est in lingua Etrusca valens Διν. Itaque *Tυδαροι* vel amplior forma Laconica *Tυδαρδαι* synonymous est Dioscurorum.'

But, if Brakman is indebted to Altheim, Altheim in turn owes much to others. G. Maresch 'Der Name der Tyndariden' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 298 f. had already suggested that *Tυδαρίδαι* or *Tυδαρίδει* was simply the Etruscan name for Zeus—*tin*, *tins*, *tinia*—with an Asia-Minor patronymic suffix -δαρ- and a Greek patronymic suffix -δη ('so hätten wir denn das spätere Διόσκουρος für eine griechische Übersetzung des vorhellenischen Namens *Tυδαρίδαι* anzusehen'). And P. Kretschmer in an article of cardinal importance



Fig. 882.

had proposed *ib.* p. 303 ff. *Tυδαρίδαι* = Etruscan *Tin-* (Zeus) + Etruscan patronymic -θur or -tur (cp. *tinθur* as a personal name in a tomb-inscription at Naples). He supposes that the θ or t of the Etruscan suffix became δ under the influence of a personal name \**Tινδαροι* related to the place-name *Tινδη* as *Πινδαροι* to *Πινδοι* or *Mινδαροι* to *Mινδοι*. These northern names carry with them the northern suffix -ap- [cp. Addenda to i. 725]. Kretschmer concludes *ib.* p. 308: 'Die vorgriechische Bevölkerung, in der die unidg. Urbevölkerung und die protidg. Zuwanderer verschmolzen waren, nannte also die mit Zeus gepaarte Göttin einfach mit dem Appellativum für Frau. Der Gott hieß *Tin-*, wobei eben vermutlich unter dem Einfluss einer jüngeren Schicht \**Tινος*, \**Tεινος* trat; ihm stand eine Göttin als seine Frau, *Iada* [*supra* i. 763 n. 4], zur Seite. Ihre Zwillingssöhne hießen \**Tιντορ-* oder ähnl. Wenn wir zu dem Ergebnis kommen, dass diese Tyrrheno-Pelasger bereits den idg. Zeus-Kult nach Hellas gebracht hatten, so wird damit zugleich das Rätsel der berühmten Iliasstelle Π 233 gelöst: Ζεῦ δύνα Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ, ....'

i. 768 n. o. See now O. Huth 'Die Kultore der Indogermanen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1937 xxxiv. 371—377 (in continuation of *id.* 'Der Durchzug des Wilden Heeres' ib. 1935 xxxii. 193—210).

i. 776 *Zeus Ambris*. A. Aymard 'Le Zeus fédéral achaïen Hamarios—Homarios' in the *Mélanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre par ses élèves et ses amis Toulouse 1935* pp. 453—470 (defends the form 'Αμάριος, cp. the summary in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1936 xlix. 349). *Id.* 'Le rôle politique du sanctuaire fédéral achaïen' in the *Mélanges Franz Cumont (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves iv)* Bruxelles 1936 i. 1—26.

i. 781. A. D. Knox in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1915 xlv. 695 (Cambridge Philological Society, Feb. 25, 1915) suggested that in Phoinix of Kolophon *frag.* 2. 4 δε οὐκ τὸ δέρπην οὐδὲ Δίσαρ δέλφυτο the word 'Δίσαρ' or the like is Persian for heaven, taken with ων, 5, 6 from (*Ktesias*) *ap.* Strab. p. 733, following or correcting *Hdt.* i. 132. But the text as given in cod. A of Athen. 530 E δε οὐκ δέρπην οὐδὲ Δίσαρ δέλφυτο is very corrupt. Emendations are numerous (see the note of J. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina Oxonii* 1925 p. 232), Knox himself in the Loeb edition (London 1929) *frag.* 1. 4 now prints δε οὐκ τὸ δέρπην οὐδὲ Δίσαρ δέλφυτο, and E. Diehl *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca?* Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 108 *frag.* 3. 4 is still content with Naeke's δε οὐκ τὸ δέρπην οὐδὲ Δίσαρ δέλφυτο.

i. 782 on Saint George as dragon-slayer. Add S. A. Matson *St. George and the Dragon?* London 1893 pp. 1—222 (popular), M. Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent* London (1926) pp. 174 ff. ('St. Michael and the Dragon'), 177 ff. ('St. George and the Dragon').

i. 784 bull-carrying on a coin of Nysa. Brüder Egger *Auktions-Katalog xlvi Griechische Münzen* (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u. a.) Wien 1914 p. 70 no. 1511 pl. 24 ('Stier auf den Schultern von sechs nackten Epheben getragen, davor schreitender Flötenspieler') Maximus. See also K. Kourouniotis in the *'Αρχ. Δελτ.* 1921—1922 vii. 4 fig. 2 (enlarged).

i. 784 Syro-Hittite bulls enclosing human victims. We may perhaps compare the hollow bronze horse containing the body of a man, found by Gyges in Lydia (Plat. *rep.* 359 D, *Apostol.* 15. 85).

i. 785 statuette of gilded bronze from the Syrian sanctuary on the Janiculum. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 293 no. 2 'Atergatis?', H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 5, 10 'Atargatis.' But the statuette, which is now in the Museo delle Terme, has been cleaned and proves to be a male figure, possibly that of Adad (T. Ashby in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1914 p. 14) or Chronos (R. Paribeni *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano?* Roma 1922 p. 120 f. no. 188). J. Leipoldt in D. Hans Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1916 ix.—xi p. xiv f. fig. 109 is content to say 'Syrischer Gott vom Janiculus.'

ii. 3 n. o pot-Zeuses. Cp. Aristoph. *ran.* 22 Δίόνυσος, νιός Σταυρίου with schol. δέοντες νιός Διός, κ.τ.λ. H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1932 xxvi. 58 aptly explains Hesych. Εγχώ· ἡ Σεμέλη οὐτως ἐκάλετο as a comic formation from ἐγχών.

ii. 6 n. 3. So Plout. *v. C. Gracch.* 14 καὶ τότε μὲν δύσπρον γενομένον διελθόησαν· κ.τ.λ.

ii. 7 n. 1. See also O. Casel 'Vom heiligen Schweigen' in the *Benedictiner Monatschrift* 1921 p. 417 ff., and G. Mensching *Das heilige Schweigen* Giessen 1926 pp. 1—162 (reviewed by O. Casel in *Gnomon* 1928 iv. 142—149).

ii. 8 n. 7. G. H. Macurdy in the *Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 179 f. treats Εκτυρ as a short form of Εχέδαος (Attic Εχέλος).

ii. 9 apotheosis by lightning. See now H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1924 xviii. 15 f.

ii. 12 Keraunos. H. Güntert *Über Reimwortsbildung im arischen und altgriechischen* Heidelberg 1914 p. 215 f. regards the god Κεπαύρος as a rime-word to the Slavonic \*Peraunus.

R. Ganszyniec 'Zeus Keraunos' in *Eos* 1930/1931 xxxiii. 66 ep. 'Schiblé, der Gott des Donners, des Krieges und der Gerechtigkeit' worshipped by the Adighe or Circassians, who treat as sacrosanct any tree or man struck by lightning (F. Bodenstedt *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen* Frankfurt 1848 p. 201).

ii. 13 ff. Zeus Kataibates. See now H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 108—114 ('Zeus Kataibates'). A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Eph. 'Αρχ.* 1924 p. 146 f. no. 389 fig. 3 publishes a *stèle* of blackish marble found in the wall of the church of Hagia Kyriake at Selas near Pythion in Thessaly. The *stèle* has an *άστομα* with *akrotérion* above, below which is a smooth space originally occupied by a painting, and below that an inscription in letters of c. the beginning of 2. iii B.C. Διὶ Καταιβάτῃ· ἥρωι

**Ἐπίκρατεις.** This Epikrates was either a chthonian hero or, more probably, a man killed by lightning and worshipped as a hero. On the Thessalian festival Καταΐβεια see Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 246 f. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 71 n. 4 adds the base of a bronze statue found in Thasos, which bears a dedication of Roman date to Zeus Καταΐβεις (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvi. 537). And G. Daux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 i. 245 f. no. 25 records an inscription from Thasos (on a block of local marble, once a statue-base, to be dated c. the beginning of our era) Δός Καταΐβετοι.

ii. 19 n. o ἀλευρομάντεις, ἀλφιομάντεις, κριθομάντεις. See now Boehm 'Aleuromantie' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 258—260, 'Alphitomantie' ib. i. 310 f., 'Kriathomantie' ib. 1933 v. 594—596, and Eckstein 'Mehl' ib. 1934 vi. 89—110.

ii. 21 n. 5. G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 32 conjectures that this δάστοις of Zeus Καταΐβεις marks the spot on which Demetrios Poliorcetes [supra i. 58, cp. K. Scott 'The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1928 xlix. 217—239 summarised by P. Cloché in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1930 xlvi. 228] 'descended in a blaze of glory' from his chariot—a descent parodied by Plant. *Curre.* 413 ff. where Curculio announces himself as Summanus, the god who sends nocturnal lightnings, and explains that at night he sometimes 'descends in a shower' (*summano!*)!

ii. 23 n. 2 Numa's law about the man struck by lightning. E. Bickel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1931 lxxx. 279—298 ej. *hominem fulmine* (or *fulmini*) *Iovos occisit*, and examines in detail relevant religious and linguistic usage.

ii. 24 Orpheus slain by a thunderbolt. Paus. 9. 30. 5 εἰς δὲ οἱ φασὶ κεραυνωθέντι ὅποι τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτὴν 'Ορφεῖ' κεραυνωθέντι δὲ αὐτὸς τὰς λύγους ἔτεκα ἢν εἴδεσκεν ἐν τοῖς μαυτηροῖς οὐ πρότερος ἀποκοτάσθη ἀνθρώποις, Diog. Laert. *prosc.* 5 τὸ δὲ ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μαχεδονίας ἐπιγραμμα, κεραυνωθέντι αὐτῷ, λέγους οὕτως: 'Ορφίκα χρυσοδόρητη τῆς' Ορφέα Μούσαις θάψαν, | δε κάπειν ὑψηλῶς Ζεὺς φολέντι βέλει' = Anth. Pal. 7. 617. 1 f., cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 99. 1 f.

ii. 30 n. 3 etymology of *Brundisium*. P. Skok 'Brendisium und Verwandtes' in the *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* 1925/26 i. 81—90.

ii. 31 *τέρας*. See further P. Stein ΤΕΡΑΣ Marpurgi Cattorum 1909 pp. 1—66. He classifies the uses of the word and connects *Tēpesias* with it, but does not elucidate its etymology. Schrader *Reallex.* 2 ii. 143<sup>a</sup>, 481<sup>a</sup>—b and H. Lewy in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1930 lviii. 30 f. connect *τέρας*, *τείρεια*, *Tēpesias* and suppose that the word, which originally meant 'star,' was widened to include omens in general.

ii. 32 the *Tarentum* at Rome. P. Boyancé in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 1925 xlii. 135—146 discusses the site of the *ara Ditis* in *Tarento* and concludes that it was in low ground near the Tiber, probably in the *Ghetto* (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 221). But see the criticisms of S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 508 f.

ii. 33 ff. Zoroastres. A masterly exposition of Zoroaster's life, teaching, and works will be found in J. Bidez—F. Cumont *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Ostanis et Hystaspes d'après la tradition grecque* Paris 1938 i. 1—297 ('Introduction'), ii. 1—241 ('Les Textes').

ii. 36 ff. the Elysian Way. See now P. Capelle 'Elysium und Inseln der Seligen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 244—264, ib. 1928 xxvi. 17—40 (the etymology is dealt with on p. 31 f.), J. Charpentier 'Νυκτὸς διολύγω' in *Symbolae philologicae O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatae* Upsaliae 1932 p. 27 ff., Stegemann 'Milchstrasse' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1934 vi. 367—374.

ii. 44 the 'straight light like a pillar' (Plat. *rep.* 616 n) without a counterpart in astronomical fact or fancy. But what of the zodiacal light (J. F. Julius Schmidt *Das Zodiacallicht* Braunschweig 1856 pp. 1—110)? J. Helmbold *Der Atlasmythus und Verwandtes* Mülhausen i. E. 1906 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Mülhausen i. E.) p. 5 fig. shows the zodiacal light looking much like an obelisk with rounded top. He thinks that the pillars of Atlas (*Od.* 1. 52 ff.), the pillar of Prometheus, the Elysian Way, the tower of Kronos, etc. were all zodiacal myths. Prof. R. A. S. Macalister subsequently, but independently, hit upon the same explanation. In a letter to me, dated Jan. 19, 1929, he says: 'Apropos of the Sky-pillar... I have been wondering if you considered the possibility that it might have been suggested by the *Zodiacal Light*. This soft beam of light, which rises vertically from the evening horizon in Spring and the morning horizon in Summer, is not often to be seen in our latitudes: I have often looked for it, in vain. But I have seen it in Palestine, where it looked just like a faintly

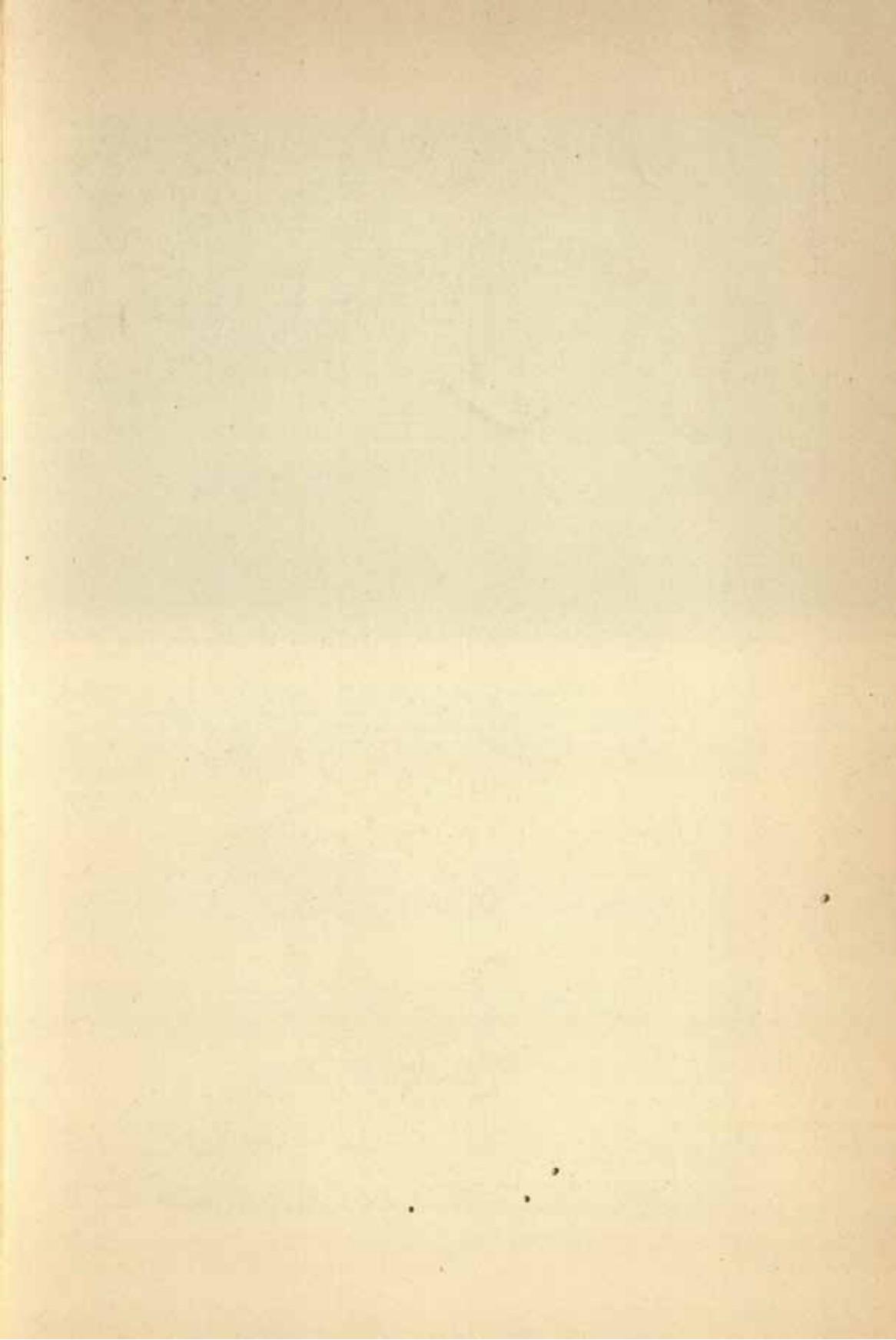
luminous pillar with tapering point.... I never saw it as a complete belt across the sky, as some have seen it in high tropic latitudes."

ii. 45 the 'spindle of Ananke.' P. M. Schuhl in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 ii. 58—64 pls. 6 and 7 and fig. 1 holds that the spindle of Ananke may be derived from the ancient oriental theme of a spindle-holding goddess, 'la Dame au fuseau' [for which see U. Holmberg 'Der Baum des Lebens' in the *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae* ser. B 1922—1923 xvi. 3. 106 ff.]

ii. 52 n. 2 *Iringes wec.* Add Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1934 vi. 373 n. 36.

ii. 52 ff. (cp. iii. 418 n. o) the *Irminsul* as a sky-prop. G. Dottin in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 138: 'This belief in the fall of the sky is seen frequently in the oaths of Irish epic poetry.' Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 148 notes that, according to the Upotos of the Upper Congo, 'The day will come when the sky will collapse and flatten us all out, blacks and whites alike' (a reference that I owe to my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris). H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 381 n. 1 cp. our own proverb 'If the sky should fall, we should all catch larks' [W. G. Smith *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* Oxford 1935 p. 210 f.], but refuses to believe that this ever expressed a real fear. Weiser-Aall in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1930 ii. 1527: 'Das Weltgebäude ist nach der Vorstellung vieler Völker wie das Wohnhaus aufgebaut. So muss der Himmel wie das Dach durch eine Säule bzw. durch den Weltbaum gestützt werden' etc. (Scandinavians, Lapps, Celts, Germans). A. H. Krappé *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 130f. defends my view against criticism and supplies a parallel from the *Veda* (H. Oldenberg *La religion du Véda* Paris 1903 p. 60 n. 2 "Pourquoi le ciel ne tombe-t-il pas sur la terre?—Parce qu'un grand bouc à une seule patte lui sert de pilier" [cp. A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 73 f.]). J. Erdödi in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1932 i. 214—219 discusses the Sanskrit *Skambha*, 'himmlerstützender Baum' (*Atharva-Veda* 10. 8. 2 'Vom Skambha wird der Himmel und die Erde | Ewig gehalten auseinander, | Auf Skambha (ruht) dies beseelte All, | Was atmet, was die Augen schliesst'), as source of the Finnish *Sampo*, which in the *Kalevala* denotes 'eine wunderbare Mühle, Glücksmühle', but is akin to the Wotyak *sammas*, 'Säule, Wetterhahn,' and Estonian *sammus*, 'Säule, Pfosten.'

Further evidence for the sky-prop in belief and practice is collected by U. Holmberg in the *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae* ser. B. 1922—1923 xvi. 3. 9—33 figs. 2—15 ('Die Weltähre'). *Id.* in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian), 221 f. says: 'the Samoyeds (Turhansk District) call the North Star the "nail of the sky," "round which the heavens revolve." The ancient Finns had also a corresponding but now forgotten term, as proved by the name of the North Star, borrowed by the Lapps from the Finns, Bohi-navile ("the nail of the north"); its counterpart among the Estonians being the Pöhjanael.... This nail is, at the same time, regarded as supporting the sky.... Missionaries relate that the Lapps sacrificed to their highest god Veralden rade ("Ruler of the world") so that "he should not let fall the sky," erecting at the altars a tree either split in two or forked naturally, or also, at times, a high pillar, called the "pillar of the world" (Veralden tshuold) for the god to "support the world with, and keep it in its present form and condition, that it might not grow old and fall from its former nature." The tree was besmeared with blood from the sacrifice. A "pillar of the world" of this description was seen by Leem in the vicinity of the Porsanger Fjord [*supra* ii. 423 n. 3 with fig. 329].... That these pillars of the Lapps had a heavenly counterpart is shown by the fact that, in some places, the name of the North Star is "pillar of the world" (Veralden tshuold). It is probable that the Lapps obtained both their ideas and their sacrificial customs from the Scandinavians...; the "nail" may be compared with the Scandinavian Veraldar magli, the "world-nail." *Id. ib.* p. 333 ff.: 'From this belief spring the curious names given by the Altaic stocks to the North Star. The Mongols, Buriats, Kalmucks, and the Altai Tatars and Uigurs call the star in question "The golden pillar"; the Kirghis, Bashkirs and certain other Siberian Tatar tribes call it "The iron pillar"; the Teleuts "The lone post," and the Tungus-Orotschons "The golden post." From the similarity of the names given it by these widely separated peoples we may conclude that the conception of a sky-supporting pillar reaches back among the Altaic race to a comparatively early period.... Although none of the available sources mention directly that the peoples of the Altaic race made images of this great world-pillar, we can still be reasonably certain that they did so from the fact that several of the more northern peoples have kept up this custom even to our days.... The Ostiaks call these wooden images of the pillar, "town-pillars" or "the strong pillars of the town's centre." Those more simple in construction are erected by being slightly sunk





*a*

Marble head of Juno *Lucina* (?), now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

*See page 1117.*

into the earth, and are hardly ever observed to be shaped at all in any way. The pillar of the village of Tsingala is about two fathoms in height, a squared, slender log, not very old.... This pillar of Tsingala, which the Ostiaks of that place regard as a deity, is called by them "The iron pillar man," a similar name being given to the post of another village of Irtysh, resembling greatly the afore-mentioned "Iron pillar" of the Tatars.... Some peoples in North-West Siberia, who have a similar custom, place on the world-pillar a wooden figure of a bird, which sometimes has two heads.... The pillars, on which these birds are placed and which have sometimes cross-pieces like branches, are, according to the Dolgans, a symbol of the "never falling props" before the dwelling of the Supreme God. "On the cross-pieces, so it is said, dwell the sons of God."

E. Jung 'Irmensul und Rolandsäule' in *Mannus* 1925 xvii. 1—34 figs. 1—14, taking a hint from J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 i. 119 and 394, claims that the *Rolandsäule* of Niedersachsen, Westfalen, Obersachsen, and Thüringen was a Christianised survival of the pre-Christian *Irmensul* (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xxx. 502). See further P. J. Hamilton-Grierson in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 420 ('Irmensäulen, Rolandsäulen, perrons, and many of the market-crosses of Scotland').

ii. 57 ff. Jupiter-COLUMNS. These are now published and illustrated in detail by Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* (Index in x. 253 'Chapiteau,' 266 'Restes de colonnes,' 275 f. 'Quatre divinités') and *Bas-reliefs de la Germanie Rom.* (Index p. 480 'Cavalier et anguipède,' 'Colonne votive,' p. 484 'Quatre divinités'). Add R. L[antier] in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 276—278 fig. 1 (group from Neschers).

ii. 61 n. o Iuno *Lucina*. In 1934 on the dispersal of the Harland-Peck collection I acquired a fine marble head (Sotheby's *Sale Catalogue* 1934 p. 11 no. 48: height 22 inches), which represents Iuno wearing a *strophane* adorned with nine crescents (pl. lxxix). I take her to be Iuno *Lucina* as goddess of childbirth—the Roman copy of a Greek type resembling Hera Ludovisi.

ii. 62 f. the Wild Hunt or Furious Host. See further F. Liebrecht *Der Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* Hannover 1856 pp. 173—211 ('La Mesnie furieuse, ou la Chasse sauvage'), K. Meisen *Die Sagen vom Wütenden Heer und Wilden Jäger* Münster 1935 pp. 1—144.

ii. 63 Wodan. Cp. G. Neckel 'Regnator omnium deus' [Tac. *Germ.* 39] in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendlbildung* 1926 ii. 139—150.

ii. 69 ff. the octagonal *Wochengötterstein*. F. Cumont in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 88 suggests that the influence of Syrian religious art may account for these eight-sided blocks, mounted on a square plinth and supporting a cylindrical column with its crowning group of cavalier and anguiped.

ii. 86 n. 3. L. Barbedette 'Le symbolisme des tombeaux gallo-romains' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 273—277 deals with Lussoius and Bricia, deities of the hot springs at Luxovium. Numerous local reliefs show persons holding a bottle or box in the left hand, a glass or cup in the right. Several such *cippi* bear the sepulchral dedication D·M.

ii. 88 the world-pillar in Rhenic Germany. Miss J. R. Bacon in 1929 kindly drew my attention to Skymn. Chi. per. 188 ff. τοῦτον δὲ (sc. τὸν Κελτῶν) κείται λεγούσην τὸν ἐρχόμενον | στήλην βόρεος θεοῦ δὲ ὑψηλὴ πάνω | εἰς κυματώδης πέλαγος διατείνουσα δίκαρα. | οὐδεὶς τοῦ στήλης δὲ τοὺς ἔγγει τόκους | Κελτῶν δοὺς λάγουσιν ὅπερες ἱσχατοι | Επερο τε καὶ τὸν ἔντολες τὸν Ἀδρίαν | Ιστριαν καθηκεστών. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς | τὸν "Ιστρον" ἀρχῆρον λαμβάνειν τοῦ βέβατος.

ii. 88 n. 3 Jack and the Beanstalk. On which see L. Mackensen 'Bohnenranke zum Himmel' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1933 i. 299—301.

ii. 97 n. o Nero as Zeus. A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 18 notes *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 75 no. 7 (Dioshieron) οὐν. ΣΕΥΣ | ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ heads of Zeus to left and Nero to right, face to face. Nock cites Calp. Sic. 4. 142 f. tu quoque mutata seu Iuppiter ipse figura, | Caesar, ades etc.

ii. 107 n. 4. For the spiral column see also the materials collected by M. Avi-Yonah in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1930 i. 303—309.

ii. 111 n. o Zeus *Tropaiophoros*. A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1926—1927 xxviii. 117 no. 1 publishes an inscription from Klazomenai [Διά τροπ]αοφόρον | [-----]τι ἀνέθηκεν | [ἐπιμεληθέντος Τιβερίου | [Κλαυδίου] Θεοδάρου.

ii. 111 n. 1 La Turbie. See now A. Blanchet *Forma orbis Romani: carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine* Fasc. 1 *Alpes-Maritimes* by P. Couissin sections 4—6 pls. 1—3 Paris 1931 (noticed by W. W. Hyde in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 520).

P. Casimir *Le trophée d'Auguste à la Turbie* Marseille 1932 pp. 1—168, S. F. Gimenez 'Ce que j'ai vu à la Turbie' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1933 pp. 165—168 (built round a pre-existing monument, perhaps several centuries older).

ii. 114 ff. the Pillar of Light. Callisthenes of Olynthos frag. 8 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 13 f. Müller)=frag. 20 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 646 f. Jacoby) ap. Sen. *nat. quae sit.* 6. 26. 4 (cp. ib. 7. 5. 3—5) inter multa... prodigia, quibus denuntiata est duarum urbium Helices et Buris eversio, fuere maxime notabilia columna ignis immensi et Delos agitata. But this fiery pillar was presumably a species of comet (O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 p. 656 n. 1). The Jewish tragedian Ezekiel (1. ii. R.C.: see A. Jacoby in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 278 n. 1) ap. Euseb. *præp. ev.* 9. 29. 16 locates Moses' rock at Elim and says τόθεν δὲ φέγγος ἐξελαύνει τινά κατ' εὐφρόνη σπεῖον ὃς στόλος πορός—apparently combining the 'pillar of fire' (Ex. 13. 21 f., alibi) with the 'rock in Horeb' (Ex. 17. 6, cp. Num. 20. 8), if not with the 'rock that followed them' (1 Cor. 10. 4).

R. Vallois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 iv. 327 f. regards the blaze in Krastonia as a ritual epiphany of Dionysos, citing Suet. *Aug.* 94 Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris Iaco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod infuso super altaria mero tantum flammae emicisset, ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur, unique omnino Magno Alexandro apud easdem aras sacrificanti simile provenisset ostentum. Vallois compares the Theban myth of Dionysos πυργετής [Eustath. in II. p. 346, 32] and the nativity of the Cretan Zeus (Ant. Lib. 19: *supra* ii. 928 n. o).

ii. 117 n. 7 Quint. Smyrn. 14. 223 ff. H. J. Rose in the *Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 380 remarks that Quint. Smyrn. is here imitating Ap. Rhod. 3. 160 f.

ii. 119 'star-flung Thunderbolt.' K. Kerényi 'Αστεροβλῆτα κεραύνος' in the *Egyptemes Philologici* Budapest 1927 ii. 81—87 = id. 'ΑΣΤΕΡΟΒΑΝΤΑ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΣ' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 322—330, cp. id. ib. 1933 xxx. 288 n. 1.

ii. 121 'I have fallen as a kid into milk.' C. W. Vollgraff ΕΡΙΦΟΣ ΕΣ ΓΑΛΑ ΕΙΓΕΤΟΝ (*Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde* Deel 57, Serie A, N°. 2) Amsterdam 1924 pp. 1—35 (in Dutch, with summary in French) holds that the formula means 'I, become a kid, flung myself upon the milk,' i.e. upon the breast of the deity. Cp. the Villa Item fresco, where a Satyrress suckles a kid [A. Maiuri *La Villa dei Misteri* Roma 1931 p. 140 ff. fig. 53 and col. pl. 5 f.]

ii. 121 n. 3 vases showing Thracian women tattooed. To the six examples listed add: (7) A *kotyle* from Caere, now at Schwerin, signed by the potter Pistoxenos (Hoppin Red-fig. *Vases* ii. 372 f. no. 3 fig. J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 259 no. 1) shows young Herakles followed by an old crone Geropso, who is tattooed in the Thracian manner with parallel strokes on neck, forearms, and feet (the best publication is that of J. Maybaum in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 24—37 fig. 1 pls. 5—8). (8) A fragmentary *bddyx-krater* from Tarentum, now at the Hague (C. Watzinger in *Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 355—361 pl. 178), represents the assailants of Orpheus with numerous tattoo-marks on arms, legs, and necks. 'Dieser Körperschmuck besteht nicht nur aus geometrischen Mustern, senkrechten und wagrechten Strichen, Zacken- und Mäanderbändern und pünktierten Sternen [on which solar symbol see *supra* i. 296 fig. 219. C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 55 ff., id. *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 51 pl. 4, 1, and S. Casson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 514 ff.], sondern an Armen und Beinen sehen wir auch sich emporringende Schlangen und hochbeinige Vierfüssler, Rehe und Hirsche und einmal am Arm wohl eher ein springendes Reh als einen Hasen' (p. 359).

ii. 123 n. o ritual tattooing. See further F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1930 ii. 100 ff. ('Die Gottesweihe durch Brandmarkung oder Tätowierung in ägyptischen Dionysoskult der Ptolemaierzeit'), 107 ff. ('Zur Frage der religiösen Tätowierung im thrakischen Dionysoskult...'), 297 ff. ('Religiöse Tätowierung im Atargatiskult von Hierapolis in Syrien'), 1932 iii. 257 ff. ('Der Sinn der sakralen Tätowierung und Brandmarkung in der antiken Kultur').

ii. 124 ladder as soul-path. Hence perhaps that favourite motif in Pompeian art—Eros on a ladder (e.g. Reinach *Rep. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 85, 3—5, p. 91, 4).

ii. 124 n. 2 pl. vi. J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 lxviii. 230 n. 29 justly objects that I have ignored the explanation of the scene offered by F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 96 fig. 56 ('Αδωνίσσους: the woman on the ladder personates Aphrodite').

ii. 128 Jacob's ladder. C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933

p. 988 (in Little Russia the staircase seen by Jacob is formed of seven heavens—blue, green, violet, yellow, white, pink, and fiery red).

ii. 128 n. 2. See now T. Domhart *Der babylonische Turm* Leipzig 1930 pp. 1–36 with 9 figs. in text and 4 pls.

ii. 129 n. 2. Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter dated Dec. 14, 1926, kindly points out to me that in Chwolsohn's translation from Makrisi 'Leiter' means, not 'ladder,' but 'leader' ('etwa die Bedeutung von "spiritus rector"').

ii. 130 votive ladders. W. Deonna 'Ex-voto déliens' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1932 Ivi. 410–420 ('L'échelle aux serpents') observes that, from the year 364 B.C. onwards, the official inventories of the Artemision at Delos mention a small ladder in gilded wood round which a couple of silver snakes were twined (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 461 ff. line 102 ff. = Michel Recueil d'*Inscr. gr.* no. 815, 102 ff. (364 B.C.) κλιμάκιον έβλαιον περικυρνωμένον δέσμοις ἀργυροῖς δεινώσιμοι | δεσματος, T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 389 ff. (B) 35 f. = Michel Recueil d'*Inscr. gr.* no. 833, 35 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Deli* II no. 161 B 35 f. (279 B.C.) κλιμάκιον έβλαιον περιχρυσον δέσμοις ἀργυροῖς θείοις] μενον, δεσματος, ib. II no. 162 B 28 f. (278 B.C.) κλιμάκιον έβλαιον περ[ι] [χρυσον δέσμοις ἀργυροῖς δεινώσιμοι, δεσματος], ib. II no. 203 B 86 (269 B.C.) κλιμάκιον [έβλαιον έπιχρυσον δέσμοις δύο ξυροῖς ἀργυροῖς, E. Schulhof in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 64 ff. no. 12, 23 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Deli* II no. 208, 23 f. κλιμάκιον [έβλαιον έπιχρυσον δέσμοις δύο ξυροῖς ἀργυροῖς]). For the snakes of the ladder Deonna cp. the vision of St Perpetua (*supra* ii. 133), a fresco of c. 300–350 A.D. from the crypt of St Marcus and St Marcellinus in the Cemetery of St Balbina (H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1910 ii. 149 f. with fig. 1229, cp. id. ib. 1921 iv. 1718 fig. 3900), and the twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum* by Herrade de Landsberg (*supra* ii. 130 n. 3). Does the same symbolism survive in the modern game of 'Snakes and Ladders'?

ii. 131 the terra-cotta disks from Tarentum. See now P. Wuilleumier 'Les disques de Tarente' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 26–64 with 4 pls. and 2 figs. K. Kerényi in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 271–307 with fig. on p. 270 adds an interesting example in the Museum at Brindisi ('Ανθεῖος-Darstellung...mit einem Zodiakus von 11 Zeichen').

ii. 131 f. with fig. 79 Baubo. This terra cotta is now in the Antiquarium at Berlin: a photograph of it is given by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1926 ii. 16, also by O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xliv Arch. Anz. p. 199 with fig. 2 ('Die Frau ist ganz nackt...und berührt mit der rechten Hand die Scham. In Ägypten kennen wir die Gestalt dieser Frau in derselben Haltung und mit derselben Geste in zahlreichen Wiederholungen, nur mit dem Unterschied, dass sie nicht auf dem Schwein sitzt. Es sind kleine Figürchen, die gewöhnlich unter dem Namen Baubo gehen, ohne dass sie irgendwelches Recht auf diesen Namen haben. Sie tragen meist reichen Schmuck an Armen und Beinen, Kränze auf dem Kopf, und als Attribut kommt neben Sistren und Flaschen einmal auch eine Leier vor, nie die Scala').

See further S. Reinach 'Un mime byzantin' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1919 xxxii. 433–442 (=id. 'Un mime byzantin ou Baubo à Byzance' in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1923 v. 103–113), C. Picard 'L'épisode de Baubo dans les mystères d'Éleusis' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1927 xv. 230–254, G. Pansa *Miti, leggende e superstizioni dell'Abruzzo Sulmona* 1927 ii. 91 ff. ('Il mito Eleusino (sic) di Baubo ed il simbolo talismanico della ranocchia') with 11 figs., S. Reinach 'Baubô japonaise' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 337, U. Pestalozza in the *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1931 vii. 64 ff. (Baubô etc.), P. Demargne 'Deux représentations de la déesse minoenne dans la nécropole de Mallia (Crète)' in the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* Paris 1932 i. 305–314 with pls. 1–3 and fig. 1 (a painted anthropomorphic rhyton of 'Early Minoan iii' date and an incised oinochoe of 'Middle Minoan i'—both showing a goddess comparable with Baubo), H. Vorwahl 'Ein apotropaischer Kriegsbrauch' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 395–397 ('so wird eindeutig, dass es sich hier um dynamistische Vorstellungen handelt, die Ausstrahlung von Kraft im apotropaischen Sinne'). An external corbel on the apse of the Norman church at Kilpeck, Monmouthshire, is sufficient proof that Baubo is with us yet.

ii. 142 n. 1. Cp. also A. Taramelli 'Chiaramonti.—Navicella votiva protosarda rinvenuta a Nuraghe Spiena' in the *Not. Scavi* 1915 pp. 322–327 fig. 1 (bronze boat with stag-head prow), F. Behn in Ebert *Reallex.* xi. 248 with pl. 64, a.

ii. 143 Sardus Pater. C. Albizzati 'Sardus Pater' in *Historia* 1927 i. 56–65 with 14 figs., L. B. Holland 'Mycenaean plumes' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 198.

ii. 146 Diana-Pillars. Cp. a fresco from Pompeii which shows Mercury facing Venus and, between them, a Diana-pillar with crown-shaped top, a pair of px-horns (?) attached

to the shaft, and a small ithyphallic ex-voto at the base—the whole erected on a rock (B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 32 with pp. 1—9, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 8 no. 20, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 97 no. 3).

ii. 150 n. 2. On the Jains see J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1926 xiii (Index), 288, also A. Guérinot *La religion Djaina* Paris 1926 pp. 1—350 with 25 pls. (pt 2, 11 ‘Cosmologie’, pt 3, 1 ‘Les sanctuaires et les temples’).

ii. 157 n. 9. E. Babalon *Guide illustré au Cabinet des Médailles* Paris 1900 p. 211 f. fig. 83 ‘Vase de Bérénice,’ H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* p. 11 no. K 76 pl. 5 (*Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου Φιλοπάτορος.....*), p. 12 no. K 77 pl. 5 (*ἀγαθῆς τύχης Αριστοῦ Φιλαδέλφου*).

ii. 160 ff. *Agyieis*-Pillars. With figs. 104—106 cp. a square bronze weight in the British Museum (1930. 4—17. 2) with an *Agyieis*-pillar in relief surrounded by the letters A M B P.

C. A. Rhomaios in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 211 ff. fig. 1 publishes as an ‘*Agyieis* d’Apollon’ a limestone pillar (1'44" high) of cylindrical shape and tapering towards the top, which was found in Korkyra and bears the inscription [.] ΡΕΩΣΠΥΞΑΙΩΣ, that is [δέ]ρος Πυθαῖος = τοῦ Πυθαῖος or τοῦ Πυθαῖος, cp. ib. fig. 6 a tapering limestone cylinder (0'90" high) hollowed at the upper end to serve as an altar, likewise found in Korkyra and inscribed ΟΡΕΩΣΗΑΡΟΣ |

ΤΑΣΑΚΡΙΑΣ, that is δρός λαρᾶς | τοῦ Ακρίας = of Hera Ακρία. Rhomaios is followed by C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 82 fig. 1. W. Dittenberger in *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 nos. 699 (misread) and 698 had included both pillars in his list of local boundary-stones. *Id. ib.* iii. 1 no. 704 accepted as ‘Apollinis Agyiei simulacrum’ the stone of Mys (supra ii. 161 n. 3). So does A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii/xiv p. iii fig. 11.

At Hephaistia in Lemnos the Italians have found a village of the Geometric Age with a sanctuary comprising three large chambers. That to the south has in the centre a small octagonal pointed column, and yielded sherds of Ionic and black-figured Attic wares together with a rich deposit of terra-cotta figurines and local pots (E. P. B[legen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 196 f., D. Levi in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 28, 1931 p. 328 with a view of the sanctuary).

C. Bonner has suggested to me in conversation (July 10, 1931) that even in Homer there may be traces of sacred stones comparable with the *Agyieis*. Thus in Il. 12. 445 ff. Hektor caught up λάαρ..., οὐ φα τυδων | ἐστήκει πρώτης, πρυμός παχός, αἰράπ θερέτερος ἀρέτης. Also in Od. 3. 406 ff. Nestor sat ἐπὶ ('at' rather than 'on') ἕστοροις λίθοισι, οἵ οἱ ἔσται προτάροισθε θυράντων ὑψηλῶν | λευκοῖς, πνωτιλβούσσες ἀλειφαρος (libations of fat, not polish): οἵτινες πρότεροι | Νηλεὺς ἵερεσσε, κ.τ.λ. Again, elders in the market-place sat ἐπὶ ἕστοροις λίθοις λερῷ ἐπὶ κύκλῳ (Il. 18. 304, cp. Od. 8. 6). I suggested to Bonner that perhaps to sit on the sacred stone was to be filled with the wisdom of the immanent deity. Hence the *Agyieis*-block might serve as a seat (cp. Priamos on his ΘΑΛΚΟΣ at the gate of Troy as shown on the François-vase (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12)), and the elders in council might actually sit on a sepulchral stone-circle to acquire the wisdom of the buried chieftain. Much relevant evidence will be found in a book of intense interest by A. H. Allcroft *The Circle and the Cross* London 1927 i. 80 ff. ('The Achean Moot' and successive chapters).

ii. 167 fig. 111. Cp. a copper drachm of Byzantium cited by F. Lenormant in Daremburg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1094 fig. 1355: obv. BYZ head of Apollon, laureate, to right; rev. ΔΡΑΧΜΑ pillar with finial, set on a broad base (?).

ii. 169 ff. The Delphic *omphalos*. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 839 ff. with fig. 555 publishes a plaster-fragment from Knossos, found near the ‘Cow-boy Fresco’ on the east slope of the palace, which shows a pale blue *omphalos* (?) with a deep red band twined about it in an irregular net-like fashion.

L. B. Holland ‘The Mantle Mechanism at Delphi’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxvii. 201—214 argues that the *omphalos* shown in my pl. ix, a—c with fig. 119 stood on a low square plinth beside a circular base supporting the tripod. *Omphalos* and plinth were alike pierced by a square hole. There was probably a tube of bronze in the hole. The knife was inserted to extract this metal lining, but got stuck in the hole. The nails were used in a vain attempt to pry it out. The purpose of the pipe was to convey the inspiring fumes from the crypt below to the feet of the Pythoness, who sat on the tripod. This ingenious view, though largely hypothetical, is deserving of careful consideration.

H. Lacoste in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii La Terasse du Temple 1 pl. 4 gives a

restored ground-plan of the fourth-century temple of Apollon, on which is marked the exact position of the side-chapel. *Id. ib.* 'Addenda et Corrigenda' p. (2) amends the facsimile of the inscription on the *omphalos* (my fig. 120) by prolonging the first stroke of the *alpha* so that it crosses the second. But there is no doubt that the letter intended was  $\Delta$ .

F. Chapouthier in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 336 draws attention to the curious resemblance of the inscription engraved on an *amphora* from Mykenai (A. J. Evans *Scripta Minae* Oxford 1909 i. 58 fig. 33).

P. de la Coste-Messelière—R. Flacelière 'Une statue de la Terre à Delphes' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1930 liv. 283—295 figs. 1, 2 and pl. 14 publish a limestone base inscribed retrograde  $\Lambda\Lambda = \Gamma\bar{\alpha}$  on its upper surface and  $\Gamma\bar{\alpha}$  in later lettering on its front. The base shows four holes for the two feet of a bronze statue. It was found near Kastalia just opposite the big plane-tree, which local tradition identifies with that of Agamemnon. With this base were found five other blocks which may have come from the same monument (?), one inscribed retrograde  $\gamma\bar{M}\bar{E}\bar{O} = \Theta\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{o}$  on its upper surface and  $\Theta\bar{E}\bar{M}\bar{I}\bar{E}$  in fourth-century letters on its front, another with nothing above but  $\kappa\bar{A}\bar{A}\bar{L}\bar{I}\bar{\Sigma}\bar{T}\bar{\Omega}$  in fourth-century style in front, a third with the artist's signature  $\backslash\bar{A}\bar{\Omega}\bar{\Upsilon}\bar{N}$  followed by  $\bar{E}\bar{P}\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\Omega}\bar{N}$  (F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii La Terrasse du Temple 2. 163—165). On the whole it seems clear that the bases of Ge and Themis must be connected and prove a joint cult at Kastalia. A deep cavity between the two statues was meant for a large bronze tree-trunk, perhaps a bay (cp. Paus. 10. 5. 9).

ii. 176 n. 2 the Delphic  $\mathbb{E}$ . This famous symbol continues to provoke lively discussion. H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1912 ii. 214 n. regards it as 'vermutlich eine  $\kappa\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{r}$ ', die zunächst als eine Erfindung geweiht, dann symbolisch gefasst und endlich als  $\mathbb{E}$  gedeutet wurde. Denn das Balanosschlüssel sieht einem archaischen  $\mathbb{E}$  sehr ähnlich.' F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ vii) Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 23 cites with approval Diels' explanation, but notes as an alternative possibility R. Eisler's suggestion that we have here to do with 'kleine Tempelmodellchen: im Sohar wird der Buchstabe  $\mathfrak{n}$  hejkāl = babyl.  $\mathbb{E}\text{-GAL}$  = ékallū Tempel genannt,' etc. W. H. Roscher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* 23, 1912 pp. 1209—1211 still insists that  $\mathbb{E}$  is  $\epsilon\bar{l}=\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{r}$  'komm, tritt ein!' (*id.* 'Neue Beiträge zur Deutung des delphischen  $\mathbb{E}$ ' in *Hermes* 1901 xxxvi. 470—489). W. N. Bates 'The  $\mathbb{E}$  of the Temple at Delphi' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 239—246 takes it to be a Cretan character, which on a gem in New York is associated with two bulls and two double axes and hence is probably to be read as a symbol of the Cretan Zeus or of the Cretan goddess, at Delphi called Gaia. Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta* Oxford 1930 p. 92 f. with pl. 23, 7 publishes an oval stone pebble, bored as a pendant and incised with  $\mathfrak{M}$ , from a neolithic site in Malta: significance unknown. C. Fries 'De  $\mathbb{E}$  Delphico' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 343 f. claims that the symbol derives from Sumer: 'Jeremias...interroganti mihi scribit,  $\mathbb{E}$  in Sumerorum lingua idem esse quod aedem vel cameram vel domum id quod sessenties in Sumerorum inscriptionibus inveniatur.' Finally, R. Demangel 'Triglyphes bas' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxi. 421—428 with 17 figs. (especially pp. 426—428 fig. 9 f.) reverts to my explanation, and extends it in some directions beyond my parview.

ii. 183 n. 3 Rhapsō. See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 281 (cp.  $\beta\bar{a}\bar{\psi}\bar{w}\bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{s}$ ).

ii. 187 the *omphalos* as a mound (?). S. H. Hooke in *Folk-Lore* 1936 xlvi. 24 f. derives the *omphalos* and its *agrenón* from 'early Sumerian seals of the "mountain" in which the dead god is imprisoned.'

ii. 187 n. 8 Zeus and Aigina. Zeus in pursuit of a young woman, a not infrequent scene on red-figured Attic vases, is often by a process of elimination labelled 'Zeus pursuing Aigina' (e.g. L. D. Caskey—J. D. Beazley *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* Oxford 1931 i. 13 ff. no. 17 pl. 6, 43 no. 48 pls. 22 and 26, 45 no. 50 pl. 23). That is very possibly right, but the interpretation is secure only when accompanied by names, or at least by one name—that of the heroine. Thus a *stamnos* from Vulci, now in the Vatican (H 504), attributed to the painter Hermonax (c. 470—455 B.C.), shows  $\mathbb{IEV}\bar{S}$  with sceptre held horizontally just overtaking  $\mathbb{AI}\bar{A}\bar{I}\bar{N}\bar{A}$ , whose sisters hasten to tell their father  $\mathbb{AS}\bar{O}\bar{P}\bar{O}\bar{S}$  (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 5 pl. 20, 1 and 1 a, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyst.* Zeus p. 400 f. no. 4; Atlas pl. 6, 1, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 65 f. pl. 6, 4, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 36 no. 37, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 300 no. 8), while a column-

*kratér* in New York, attributed to the 'Boreas Painter' (c. 460 B.C.), shows Zeus with uplifted bolt catching *AIAura*. She turns to touch his chin in supplication. Her sisters flee in alarm. The reverse perhaps depicts Asopos, at home, receiving the news from his other daughters (Hoppin *op. cit.* i. 81 no. 8 bis, Beazley *op. cit.* p. 305 no. 3 'Semele verfolgend' ()), G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 116 L no. 86 pls. 94 (= my fig. 883) and 170). On the ethnic implications of the myth see J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 59—63.

ii. 189 antithetic grouping. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge (Oct. 31, 1928) on recent finds at Ur, showed that 'the antithetic arrangement of animal figures' long before its appearance on Cretan seals etc. occurs in Mesopotamian art, and in Babylonia can be traced back to a period c. 3000 B.C. See further F. A. v. Scheltema, G. Roeder, and E. Unger 'Wappen (und Wappenstein)' in Ebert *Reallex.* xiv. 250—254, W. Deonna 'Animaux à deux corps et une tête' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 i. 47—73 figs. 6—12, A. Roes *Greek Geometric Art its Symbolism and its Origin* Haarlem—Oxford 1933 pp. 16 ff., 93 ff., 99 ff., 115 ff., J. Baltrušaitis *Art sumérien art roman* Paris 1934 pp. 17 ff., 31 ff., 56 ff., 64 ff., 83 ff.

ii. 189 n. o. Dr A. H. Lloyd pointed out to me (Dec. 24, 1926) that on certain tetradrachms of Gela (c. 466—415 B.C.) a flying eagle is attached by two reins to Nike's quadriga. He suggested that this implied Zeus in eagle form. But E. S. G. Robinson in *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 34, 986 says: 'The lines which run down on the obverse from eagle to chariot rail and goad and at first sight seem to be intended to connect the bird to the car appear to be in fact die-flaws.' It must, however, be admitted that on a duplicate given to me by Dr Lloyd the alleged 'die-flaws' are in exactly the same condition (cp. *supra* ii. 657 n. 3).

ii. 191 original character of the Delphic *omphalos*. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii, 85 n. 2 is more disposed to accept the view that the *omphalos* was the tomb of Dionysos as advocated by T. Homolle 'Ressemblance de l'*omphalos* delphique avec quelques représentations égyptiennes' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1919 xxxii. 338—358. Picard thinks the analogies with modern Greek custom 'fort superficielles.' K. Schwendemann 'Omphalos, Pythongrab und Drachenkampf' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1920—1921 xx. 481—484 rejects the '*τέμπεσ-*Theorie' and reverts to the older 'Erd-nabeltheorie.'

V. Nordström *Poseidon och hans σκύπαρις* Helsingfors 1931 pp. 1—40 and *Om Hermes χρωστόρατα* Helsingfors 1932 pp. 1—30 contends that Poseidon's staff (*II. 13. 59*), Poseidon's trident, and Hermes' rod were all modifications of the umbilical cord! H. J. Rose in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvi. 182 deals faithfully with such vagaries.

ii. 193 ff. the Delphic tripod. C. Clemen *Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1926 i. 247 fig. 100 (after Springer *Kunst des Altertums*<sup>10</sup> fig. 433) restores the Plataean tripod much as I do, but with legs contracted at the base.

K. Kluge in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlii. 23 ff. discusses the technique of the serpent-column (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 456 f.).

ii. 199 n. 2 with pl. xii the Chigi base. A marble replica of (a) and (c), dredged up in the harbour at the Peiraeus and referred to a date c. 100 B.C., is figured in *The Illustrated London News* for Jan. 31, 1931 p. 164 f. A full account of the find is given by E. P. B[legen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 91.

ii. 201 n. 1. J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me (March 2, 1927) that at Delphi the plane-tree of Agamemnon is still shown, below Kastalia, at the outlet of the gorge.

ii. 205 n. 1 dolphins. See Biedermann *Der Delphin in der dichtenden und bildenden Phantasie der Griechen und Römer* Halle a. S. 1881 pp. 1—26, E. B. Stebbins *The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome* Benasha, Wisconsin 1929 pp. 1—136 (reviewed by A. M. Duff in the *Class. Rev.* 1930 xlii. 185 f.).

ii. 206 n. 1 divining-glass. A. Delatte *La catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège xlvi) Liège 1932 pp. 1—221 pls. 1—12, T. Hopfner 'Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katoptro- und Onychomantien' in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 218—232.

ii. 209. On the *Pythia* as a case of artificial and voluntary possession see T. K. Oesterreich *Possession demoniacal and other among primitive races, in antiquity, the middle ages, and modern times* London 1930 pp. 311—331.

ii. 212 n. o the Pelaiades. Cp. also Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 103 f. nos. 553, 554.

ii. 212 n. 3. An almost exact replica of the black-figured *Idkythes* at Leyden is

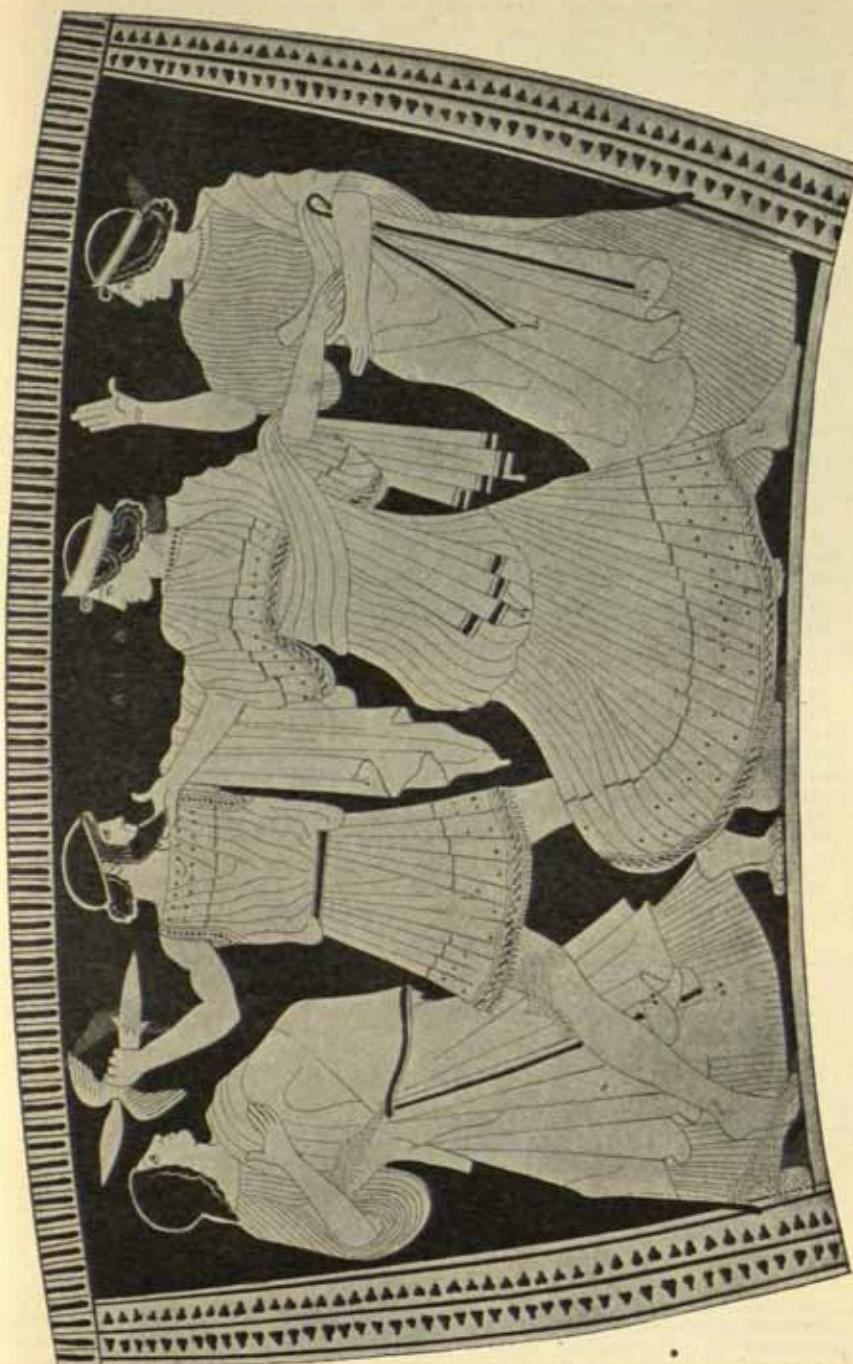


Fig. 88*j*.

published by R. B. Bandinelli in the *Mon. d. Lince.* 1925 xxx. 534 f. no. 201 fig. 5. Another black-figured *lkythos* of similar style and period, found at Gela, was discussed by P. Orsi *ib.* 1906 xvii. 120 ff. fig. 88. It shows the youthful figure emerging from the cauldron, which is surrounded by roaring flames and flanked by two scared women (Peliades?).

ii. 222 n. 4. Iamb. 2. *Pyth.* 4 ff. possibly 'geht...durch Apollonios auf Timaios zurück, vgl. G. Bertermann, De Iamblichis rit. Pyth. fontibus, Diss. Königsberg 1913, S. 37' (O. Weinreich in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1924/25 Abh. vii. 11 Nachtrag).

ii. 224 the ivory shoulder of Pelops. H. W. Parke 'The Bones of Pelops and the Siege of Troy' in *Hermathena* 1933 xxiii. 153—162 discussing Paus. 5. 13. 4 ff. holds that the shoulder-blade of Pelops there mentioned as brought from Pisa to Troy and later lost off Euboea in a storm, but recovered from the sea by the fisherman Damarmenos and at the bidding of the Delphic oracle restored by him to the Eleans, was identified in s. vi B.C. with Pelops' ivory shoulder—a highly primitive feature of sacrificial or cannibalistic origin, being in reality the *scapula* of some cetacean!

I suspect that Eur. *Baech.* 1300 (Agave asks of her son's scattered limbs) οὐτανές εἰς δρόμοις στυγεκλυμένος καλῶς; points to an original form of the myth in which Pentheus was recalled to life. This may have been detailed in the lacuna immediately following line 1300.

Cp. the shepherds' treatment of the boy killed by a bear in Apul. *met.* 7. 26 nec uspiam ruris aperitur ille sed plane corpus eius membratim laceratum multisque dispersum locis conspicitur...et cadaver quidem disiectis partibus <collectis> tandem totum reperitum aegreque concinnatum ibidem terrae dedere. Note also the queer story of Domitia Longina, who collected the flesh of her butchered husband Domitian, put the pieces accurately together, sewed up the whole body, and had a bronze statue of it made and set up at Rome (Prokop. *anecdota* 8. 15—21).

ii. 224 n. 1 the golden breast. J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 410<sup>1</sup>: 'The story of Caradoc, which forms part of the French Perceval cycle [ed. Potvin ii. 191 ff.], relates how a serpent fastened on his arm and sucked away his life. He was saved by a young maiden presenting her breast to the serpent, which took the nipple in its mouth. Cador then cut off its head, but with that also the nipple, which was magically replaced by one of gold. A close parallel exists in a Gaelic folk-tale [Sheen Billy' in Campbell i. xciv f.], and less close in a Scots ballad ['The Queen of Scotland' in Child no. 301], but it is probable that the source is Celtic, as the name of the wife of the Welsh Karadawe is Tegau Eurfron, Tegau "with the golden breast".' For a full discussion of the tale and its variants see C. A. Harper 'Carados and the Serpent' in *Modern Language Notes* 1898 xiii. 417—431, G. Paris 'Caradoc et le serpent' in *Romania* 1899 xxviii. 214—231.

ii. 228 n. 4. On the sanctuary of Artemis Kalliste see now A. Philadelpheus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 155—163 with pl. 8 and 4 figs., P. Roussel *ib.* 1927 li. 164—169 (summaries by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 360).

ii. 230 ability to stare at the sun. On this *Sonnenmotiv* see E. Norden *Die Geburt des Kindes* Leipzig—Berlin p. 160 n. 2.

ii. 231 n. 6. A convex sardonyx (owner unknown) shows the Delian Apollon, a nude standing figure with the three Charites on his outstretched right hand and a bow in his left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 40, 7, ii. 191, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 7, 8 (enlarged)). C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 573 fig. 199 illustrates a relief at Munich on which the upper part of the Delian Charites is shown—profile to left, full-face, profile to right—perhaps after the cult-statue.

ii. 243 n. 3. On the *paídn* of Philodamos see now W. Vollgraff 'Le péan delphique à Dionysos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlvi. 97—208, 1925 xlii. 104—142, 1926 i. 263—304, 1927 li. 423—468 (text reconstituted on p. 465 ff.).

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus Bouleús. O. Broneer in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 564 with fig. 8 publishes a white marble slab—part of a gaming board—found in the well of a shop at Corinth, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΟΣ and ΔΑΜ[---]Η(?)ΝΝ again associating Zeus Bouleús with Demeter.

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus Bouleús or Eubouleús grouped with Demeter and Kore. With this chthonian triad M. P. Nilsson in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1935 xxxii. 87 justly cp. the Damateres and Zeus Damotrios of two Rhodian dedications ((1) found by the Danish excavators on the *akrópolis* of Lindos [=Δριαδᾶς. Δαματέρων καὶ Διὸς Δαμαρίου. (2) found at Siana in Rhodes Ζωνθίου τετράδι Ισταμένου Δαματέρεων δύο κιεῖσται. Both

inscriptions are of late Hellenistic date). Nilsson comments: 'Die Bezeichnung der beiden Göttinnen als Δαμάτερ, die m. W. sonst nicht in Griechenland vorkommt und an das Lateinische Cereres [*Thes. Ling. Lat. Suppl. i. 341, 57 ff.*] erinnert, lässt sich nur durch ihre Wesensidentität erklären; sie sind sozusagen die ältere und die jüngere Auflage derselben Gottheit' [supra i. 396 f.].

ii. 259 n. o Zeus *Boulates*. His cult at Thasos (noted in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1914 p. 288, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvi. 537 n. 3) is attested by a couple of dedications (G. Daux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 iii. 57 f. no. 9 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the *pyramelon*, with oval sinking, inscribed c. 250 B.C. ἀπόλογοι Εστίην | Βουλαῖη καὶ Διὶ Βουλαῖων, no. 10 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the *thesorion*, with rectangular sinking, inscribed c. 250 B.C. ἀπόλογοι Εστίην Βουλαῖης [καὶ Διὶ Βουλαῖων] | Σεράτειν Νεαμάδ[δρον] | Πελότιμος Ορθομένοις] | Αριστεῖην Άλ[---]).

ii. 260 n. o On the identification of Augustus with Zeus *Patricius* as evidenced by Pergamene inscriptions see W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol. Troisième Série* 1935 ix. 177—188.

ii. 260 n. o Zeus in connexion with mills. W. Schultz *Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise* Leipzig 1912 ii. 109 with n. 2, Keyssner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 1044 f., gr. Kruse ib. xvi. 1073, E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 643.

ii. 264 Dionysos displaced by Apollon. C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 340 ff. pl. 174, 1 discusses the fragment of a *kalyx-krater* from Tarentum, now at the Hague, which shows a Doric temple (at Delphi?) containing a cult-statue of Apollon with bow and *phiale*. Before the temple are seated Apollon (lyre) and Artemis (spears), while beyond the tripod the reverse scene comprises Dionysos (ivy-wreath, *narthex*), a Maenad (timbrel), and a Silenos (*kintharos*).

ii. 268 n. o the earth-goddess riding on a bull. See W. Technau 'Die Göttin auf dem Stier' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 iii. 76—103 figs. 1—14 (especially p. 95 f.).

ii. 268 n. 4. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 91 n. 1 notes that C. W. Vollgraff *EPIΦΟΣ ΒΣ ΓΑΛ ΕΙΙΕΤΟΝ* [Supra Addenda to ii. 121] p. 19 ff. 'suggère un rapport entre Dionysos et le sumérien Domouzi, plus tard appelé Tamouz.'

ii. 270 n. 3. L. Weber in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 174 cites two reliefs published by G. I. Kazarow ('Zum Kultus des thrakischen Reiters in Bulgarien' in the *Jahrb. d. Deut. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 6 ff. fig. 3 and 'Ein neues Relief des dreiköpfigen Reiters' ib. 1929 xliv Arch. Anz. p. 232 ff. fig. 1) in which the rider-god is three-headed and followed by a male figure grasping his horse's tail. The first, from the district of Plovdiv, is inscribed *κερα θεών οὐλούστην Λογγίου, οὐλούστην Διονύσου* (O. Weinreich ib. 1927 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 20 n. 4). The second, from Komatevo a village near Philippopolis, is inscribed *[θεό]ο παρθόνοι[ω] | [Α]λεξανδρός οὐτέρ πάτρον | [καὶ] τῆς γίνεται εὐχαριστήραν* (Kazarow loc. cit. p. 234), or possibly *[θεό]ο παρθόνοι[ω]* (Weber loc. cit.), with Thracian θ for τ.

ii. 270 n. 5. G. Kazarow in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 490 records the proper name *Βαζόβαλος* (*Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Bordeaux* iv. 93).

ii. 278 n. 1 the Phrygian formula of execration. W. M. Calder 'Corpus inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum iii' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xvi. 22—28 adds fresh examples, and contends 'that they all belong to the latter half of the third century [A.D.], and represent an artificial revival of the epigraphical use of the Phrygian language by the Tekmoreian Association' [on which see now the useful article of W. Ruge 'Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 158—169, also Canon E. C. Hudson 'Pisidian Antioch and the Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in *Theology* 1938 xxxvi. 230—236]. A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xvi. 29 ff. appends a few notes. He objects to Calder's acceptance of Kretschmer's rendering *δευτ κε γεμελετ* 'heavenly and chthonian gods': 'This...does not take account of the very definite statement in Hesychius: *γεμελετ*·*βάρβαρος δύρδατος φόργες*. The Boghas Keui texts clear up the difficulty. The Phrygian phrase corresponds with the Hittite "the gods and the dead" (*akandus*). The dead were deified, and *γεμελετ* must have literally signified "ghost" or "devil" [Cp. "priest's devil" in English]. J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 pp. 128—140 has a handy collection of all the texts. On the Phrygian language in general and its grave-formula in particular see N. Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* x. 141—153.

ii. 281 Zeus *Dios* with grape-bunches and a plough. R. Vallois in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1929 xliii. 453 cites W. M. Calder *Monuments Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1928 i p. xiii for 'le Zeus aux épis et Diounsis (=Dionysos), gardien de la tombe.'

The reference is to Calder *op. cit.* i. 4 no. 5 an altar of bluish limestone at *Shahr Ören* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed *Μείπος Ναρά δέλτησσεν κατὰ || εἰδενίσιν τοῦ Διός*. On the shaft are three reliefs: (a) in front, a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and an ear of wheat; (b) to the left, two wheat-ears planted in round bowls (?); (c) to the right, a pedestal supporting a bust of Helios, radiate. *Ib.* i. 5 no. 7 an altar of bluish limestone at *Kadyu Khan* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed *Εὐ[.....] | οἰκονόμος Διὶ | Φερρίᾳ κατὰ | κέλευσσα*. On the shaft in relief is a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and corn-ears. W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 135 no. 2 restored *Εὐ[δαίμων?]* and added: 'Euf[daimon?] was the steward in charge of this department on the imperial estates at Zizyma....About this time another oikonomos, Ca[n]fidius?] the younger, made a dedication to Jove Dionysos' (The dedication is to **ΙΖΩ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ**... which halts between Jove and Jehovah...) at Zizyma.' Calder *op. cit.* i. 216 f. no. 413, 5 a sculptured stèle from *Baglija* in Eastern Phrygia, which names *Διώνεων* as guardian of the grave.

ii. 282 Zeus *Dionysos*. D. Detschew in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1934 xxix Beiblatt p. 165 f. fig. 60 (=my fig. 884) publishes a square altar of grey marble, still

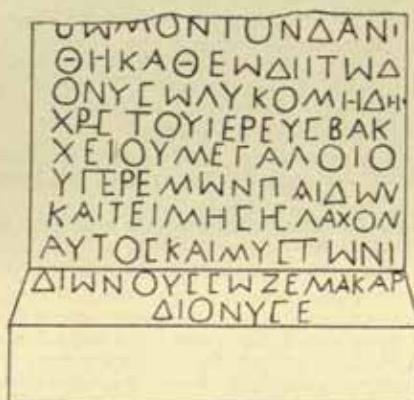


Fig. 884.



Fig. 885.

used to support the table-top in the church of the village *Sarmadžik* (Bezirk *Malko-Tirnowo*, Regierungskreis *Burgas*) in Bulgaria. On the altar is inscribed in would-be hexameters: *Βασιλεὺς τὸν δέλτηκα θεῷ Διὶ τῷ Διόβούσσω Λικουμόδῃ | Χρήστου λεπέταις | Βασιχεῖον μεγάλοιο | ὑπὲρ τοῦ παῖδος | καὶ τεμῆτην λέχον | αὐτός, καὶ μαστῶν ὕδωρ, οὗτος σφῆς μάκαρ | Διώνεων*. Detschew *ib.* p. 166 collects evidence for the identification of Zeus with Dionysos (for Orph. frag. 235 Abel, 236 Kern ἀγλατὸς Ζεὺς Διόνυσος κ.τ.λ. see *suffra* i. 187 n. 10). W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1939 vi. 123 no. 36a pl. 62 (=my fig. 885) publish an altar of bluish limestone from *Hacı Bei* in the Upper Tembris Valley (front relief, *krater* with ivy-sprays; back, snake biting grape-vine) inscribed [*ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ κύρου (?) Καὶ] σαρος ρείσηται διάσπορος Ταραγητών | νεαρία(ι) Διὶ Διώνεων διέστησαν*.

ii. 285 n. o (2). Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 p. 212 ff. fig. 4 gives a drawing (inexact) of this relief and its inscription made in 1884.

ii. 285 n. o (4). M. V. Taylor and R. G. Collingwood in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1929 xix. 199 pl. 9 publish a similar *plaque* of base silver, with figures of the three Mother Goddesses in *repoussé* work, found in London, and note other examples from Barkway in Hertfordshire. See also *suffra* p. 1100 fig. 878.

ii. 290 n. o the tombstone of Abirkios and Theuprepia. Sir W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* p. 240 ff. fig. 5.

ii. 290 n. o the head as the seat of the soul. See further G. A. Grierson 'The Headless Horseman' (an Indian ballad) in *Folk-Lore* 1914 xxv. 382, H. A. Rose

'Sacrifices of the Head to the Hindu Goddess' (Devi) *ib.* 1926 xxxvii. 90—92, Bargheer s.v. 'Kopf' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 203 ff. Cp. A. Delatte 'ΑΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1914 xxxviii. 189—249, *id.* in the *Mémoires Belges* 1922 xxvi. 255—259, K. Preisendanz *Akephalos der kopflose Gott* Leipzig 1926 pp. 1—80, Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 325 f.

ii. 291 n. 2 συκοφάντης. K. Latte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 1028—1031 demurs to my explanation ('wobei nicht zu sehen ist, wie aus der Abwehr drohenden Unheils der verleumderische Angriff geworden sein soll') and falls back on that of A. Boeckh *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1886 i. 56 ('σ. bezeichne jemand,

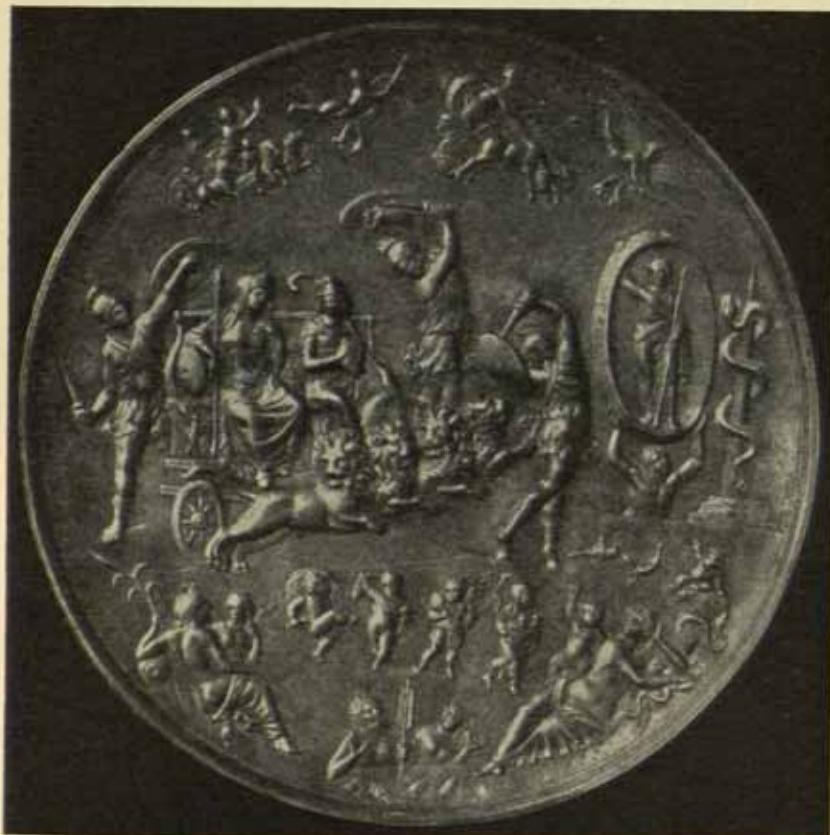


Fig. 886.

der um einer Sache von geringem Wert willen eine Anzeige<sup>2</sup> erstattet (vgl. etwa ital. ammazzar qualcuno per uno fico "jemand um nichts ermorden")... Andererseits ist die Beziehung auf die Phasis in dem zweiten Teil des Wortes offenkundig und gibt ihm erst seinen Inhalt, denn bei der Phasis erhielt der obsiegende Kläger die Hälfte der Strafsumme oder des eingezogenen Vermögens').

ii. 295 n. 2. A. Carnoy 'Les noms de Déméter et de Coré' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Mélanges Bidez) pp. 71—77 would connect Δημήτηρ with γῆ and derive Περσέφόνη from 'φερει-φόνη, 'qui apporte l'abondance.'

ii. 296 Attis and the Kouretes. O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 I Arch. Anz. pp. 521—524 fig. 1 (=my fig. 886) gives a preliminary publication of a

silver *patera* rescued from oblivion by Miss A. Levi and now in the Brera at Milan. When found at Parabiago in Lombardy it was serving as the lid of a grave-*amphora*. It shows in fine relief of c. 150—200 A.D. the triumph of Attis. He is seated with Kybele in a car drawn by four lions and accompanied by three dancing Kouretes. Above are the rising Sun and setting Moon with Morning and Evening Stars. Below, Okeanos and a Nereid, with fish showing their heads above water. On the left, two Fresh Water Nymphs with reeds. On the right, Earth with *cornu copiae*, various animals, and a pair of infants. Between, the four Seasons as children. Higher up, Atlas carrying Aion in a zodiacal ring, and an Obelisk twined about with a snake. This cosmic design on a concave circular field is a magnificent specimen of symbolic art, and is to be published with full commentary by Miss Levi in *Opere d' Arte del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte* (Roma).

ii. 297 fig. 189. See now J. Leopoldt 'Eine römische Attisfigur' in *Αγγελος* 1926 ii. 51 f. with a good photographic pl., and cp. Attis as a recumbent figure on coins of Kyzikos (C. Bosch in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 443 f. fig. 10).

ii. 298 fig. 190. F. J. Dölger IXΘΥC Münster in Westf. 1927 iv pl. 168 gives a photograph of this singular *modius*.

ii. 300. W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlii Arch. Anz. pp. 655—657 with figs. 10—14 publishes the sarcophagus of a priest of Kybele and Attis, found in a large *columbarium* at Porto. The lid shows the priest recumbent, his left hand with five thick rings supporting his head, his right with δέκαβος or 'arm-band' holding pine-sprig and rosary. The arm-band is decorated with reliefs of Kybele seated between two standing figures, Attis and Hermes. And at the priest's feet is the usual *kiste*. Two oblong reliefs from the same find-spot represent the same priest with his insignia offering fruit before a seated Kybele and holding torches before a standing Attis.

ii. 300 n. 3. Photographs in Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 254 ff. Scala v no. 2 pl. 100. F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1933 iv. 1 pl. 4 (Moscioni no. 20 947).

ii. 305 n. o the Gosforth Cross. See now R. Reitzenstein *Weltuntergangsvorstellungen* (Sonderabdruck aus *Kyrko-historisk Årskrift* 1924) Uppsala 1924 p. 41 ff. figs. 2—7, id. 'Die nordischen, persischen und christlichen Vorstellungen vom Weltuntergang' in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 1923—1924 Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 160 ff. pls. 2—4 figs. 3—10.

ii. 307 n. 1 the epitaph of Abercios. See further A. Abel 'Étude sur l'inscription d'Abercios' in *Byzantion* 1926 iii. 321—411.

ii. 312 n. 5 παρὰ δὲ Λιδοῖς ὁ Ζεῦς Ζεῦσις. A. Nehring in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 588 supports Ζεῦσις as a Lydianised form of Ζεὺς by quoting *ibidem* s-is and the like from Lydian inscriptions.

ii. 313 ff. the *Kabeiroi*. The fullest survey of the facts is that given by O. Kern 'Kabeiros...und Kabeiroi' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1399—1450, with supplementary notes by the same author 'Καβηραῖ' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 551—553 and 'Noch einmal Karkinos' *ib.* 1920—1921 xx. 236.

G. Pansa 'La leggenda di traslazione di S. Tommaso apostolo ad Ortona a mare e la tradizione del culto cabirico' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Ecole française de Rome) 1920 xxxviii. 29—62, carrying further the contention of J. Rendel Harris *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* London 1903 pp. 20—41 that S. Thomas as 'twin' brother of Jesus was essentially Dioscuric.

A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlvi. 163 would identify *Kabeiroi* with *Khabiriyas* the body-guard of the Hittite kings, and so derive them ultimately from the *Khabiri* or 'Comrades' of Babylonia. He notes an early deified Hittite king *Khasamilis* as = Καρυεῖδος.

ii. 314 f. Axiokersa, Axiokersos, Axieros. O. Montelius *La Grèce préclassique* Stockholm 1924 i. 121 with figs. 349 and 351 regarded as sacred axes the tapering stone heads (in two cases painted) stuck into terra-cotta bodies, which Wace found at Rakhamani in Thessaly [A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 41 with fig. 25, a, b, c].

E. Maass in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiii. 225 is content to explain 'Αξιόκερος and 'Αξιόκερπα as deities (Hades and Kore) 'who slay valuable beasts (ἀξά) with the sickle-knife' and 'Αξιέρος as the goddess (Demeter) 'who receives valuable victims.'

A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xlii. 162 connects 'Αξιόκερος, 'Αξιόκερπα with Hesych. κέρπα' ἀξίην and in the other Hesychian glosses (quoted *supra* ii. 315 n. 1) c. αμήσαι or αμήσαι for γαμήσαι col. and γάλλος for γάμος col.

G. Scure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 60 n. o discusses coins of Odessos with legend θεοῦ μεγάλου ΚΥΡΣΑ (*supra* ii. 1126 figs. 952, 953) and the possibility that Κύρσα = Κέρσα was the name of an indigenous deity akin to Αξοσέρσης (*sic*). *Id.* in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 249 is even more venturesome (*κύρσιος* Σά(πατης) or Σα(θδασιος)!). But A. Salač 'Le grand dieu d'Odessos-Varna et les mystères de Samothrace' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 iii. 395—398 had already argued that the Theos Megas at Odessos was \*Δαρβίλας or Δερβίλας, one form of the chief male divinity of the ancient Thracians.

For Ἀξι-ερός as the 'Axe-Eros' cp. Anakr. *frag.* 47 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 48 Edmonds, 45 Diehl *ap.* Hephaist. 12. 4 p. 39, 5 f. Consbruch μεγάλῳ δημότῃ μὲν Ἔρως ἐκούφεν ὥστε χαλκεύς | τελέκει with the comments of E. Schwyzer 'Axt und Hammer' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 314—318 (*τελέκει* = σφυροτέλεκτι, a smith's axe serving also as a hammer).



Fig. 887.



Fig. 888.

ii. 316 Zeus transformed into Eros. Such a concept provides a partial justification for the late syncretistic figures of Zeus *Pántheos* (L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 141 no. 176 cites a dedication from Carthage, now in the Louvre, Διὶ Ήλίῳ Μεγάλῳ Πανθέῳ Σαράπιδι = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no 12493) or Iupiter *Panthēus* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5423 (Nescunia Baeticae) Lovem Panthenus Aug. | cum aede et tetrastylo solo [p]ubl. | etc.). A bronze from the Greau collection, obtained from Greece in 1885 and now in Paris (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 17 no. 4 'Zeus panthée?'. De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* i. 71 no. 482 pl. 36 (=my fig. 887): height 0'192"), shows a nude Zeus with the wings of Eros, the greaves of Ares, and a *stephane* surmounted by three 'fleurons.' Another, from Cahon (Somme), now at Abbeville (C. Louandre in the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes des Départements Cinquième Série* 1873 v. 322—327, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 8 no. 2 'Zeus Panthée') shows a nude Iupiter holding thunderbolt and eagle, with the wings

of Victory, the rayed crown of Apollo (Sun), the disk and horns of Isis (Moon), the cock of Mercury, the fawn-skin of Bacchus, the *cornu copiae* of Ceres or Fortuna or Abundantia, and a Gaulish *armilla* on his right arm (my fig. 888 is from a photograph kindly supplied by M. Richard, Conservateur des Musées, Abbeville).

ii. 321 n. 1. A votive inscription to Zeus Ἐπιδότας in Messenia is noted by M. N. Tod in the *Class. Rev.* 1930 xliv. 89 and by P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 196 after N. S. Vaimin in the *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1928—1929 iv. 1 ff. no. 22 (at *Griekampen*) Δι Επιδότας.

ii. 322 ff. Janiform deities. C. N. Deedes 'The Double-headed God' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvi. 194—243 with 50 figs. attempts a conspectus of the evidence (Sumerian, Syro-Hittite, Greek, Etruscan, Italian, Celtic, mediaeval).

ii. 326, 374 f., 377 f. Janiform masks. V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 275 reports that two-faced masks are worn by men on Feb. 2 at Arles-sur-Tech in the French Catalan Pyrenees. *Ead.* 'The Candlemas Bear' in *The National Review* 1931 xcvi. 235—244 gives further details. The same observer and R. Gallop in their joint article in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvi. 352 f. state that at Arles-sur-Tech the Candlemas Bear is escorted by from four to twelve two-faced attendants, who wear women's cotton dresses, leather belts with eight or ten cow-bells attached, and small barrels painted with a face fore and aft by way of head-dress.

ii. 328 ff. The Salian Hymn. On Italian and Dutch reconstructions of the *carmen Saliare* by E. Cocchia (1917), F. Ribezzo (1917—1918), and P. J. Enk (1921) see M. Bacherler in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1925 ccv. 84.

ii. 335 Janus. O. Huth *Janus* Bonn 1932 pp. 1—96 is adversely criticised by H. J. Rose in *Gnomon* 1933 ix. 329—331. Huth finds the essence of Janus to consist in a certain 'polarity,' the contrast of birth-death, summer-winter, fire-water, entry-exit symbolised in Italy by a god with double face, in Germany by the runic sign ☐. But the early Italians were no philosophers, and the sign ☐ was not runic (? cp. H. Arntz *Die Runenschrift Ihre Geschichte und ihre Denkmäler* Halle/Saale 1938 p. 98).

ii. 337 n. 4 *dīvom̄ deo*. Cp. Tertull. *ad Scap.* 4 (i. 782 A Migne) tunc et populus adclamans deo deorum, qui solus potens, in Iovis nomine deo nostro testimonium reddidit. *Supra* p. 327.

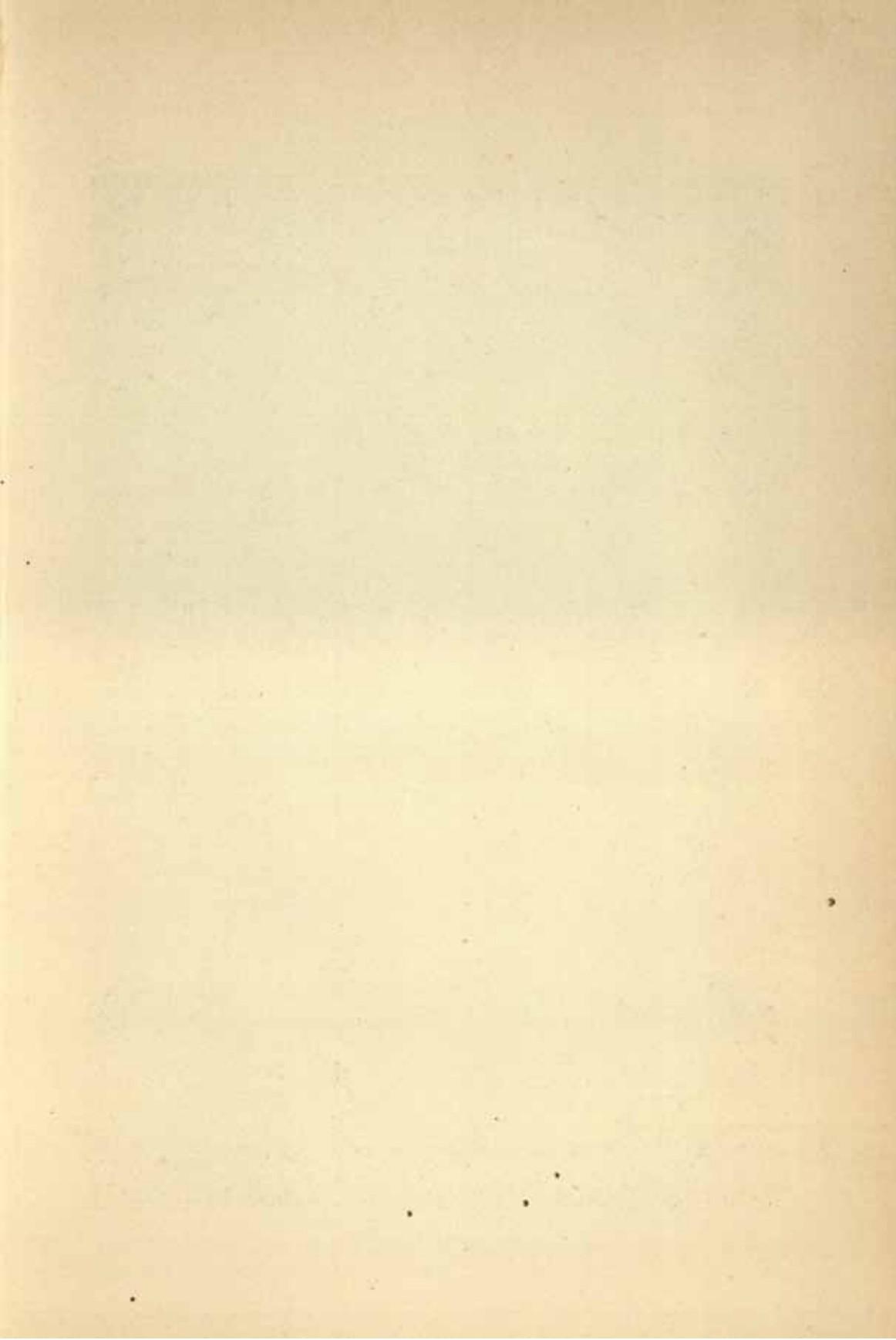
ii. 339 n. o *tīos* = 'lunae.' See further C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1056 f.

ii. 340 n. o Dæmonium, quod rustici Dianam appellant. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1092 f. 'Acta Symphoriani' Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 70 [ib. 2 Amstelaedami 1713 p. 82]. *Dianam quoque daemonium esse meridianum sanctorum industria investigavit, quae per compitus currēns et silvarum secreta perlustrans incredulim hominum mentibus zizaniae tribulos sceleris sui arte disseminat, Triviae sibi cognomen dum trivis insidiatur obtinuit.*' Cp. S. Eitrem in the *Symbolae Osloenses* 1929 viii. 32 n. 1 'das dæmonium meridianum, das die Christen Diana nennen.' It is tempting to suppose a mere confusion between meridianum and Diana. But see V. Alford—R. Gallop 'Traces of a Dianic Cult from Catalonia to Portugal' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvi. 350—361 (p. 358 f.). 'Immediately to the west of the Basque lands we find the word *Jana* in all its purity... In Sardinia *Jana* means witch. In the old Neapolitan dialect *Janara* means nymph... The old Spanish form was *Jana*. In the Montafia de Santander we find *Janassana*... In Asturias... *Dianu* means Devil, and the *Diana Burilón* is a kind of faun. In Galicia... the Devil is again *o Diana*... In Portugal... *Diânhos*. In the Algarve... women called *Jas* or *Jans* for whom it used to be customary to leave a skein of flax and a cake of bread on the hearth.' Etc.).

ii. 343 Ζάρι 'Ελευθερίας = Antoninus Pius. W. Peck in the *Arch. Eph.* 1931 p. 114 quotes O. Puchstein *Epigrammata Graeca in Aegypto reperta* Strassburg 1881 no. 56 = F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Historische griechische Epigramme* Bonn 1926 no. 118 Καλσαρι τοντορέσσατι και διείπων κρατέοντι | Ζάρι τὰ εἰ Ζαρός πατρὸς Ελευθερίως.

ii. 343 Ζάρει. Cp. Epiphani. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) Ζάρει δὲ οὐχ εἰς ὃ δύο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρες γεγναστι τὸν ἀριθμὸν. κ.τ.λ.

ii. 344 n. o Δεύ. This form of the name occurs also on a two-handled Rhodian jar of c. 400 B.C., now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (T. L. Spear in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1908 xxix. 461—466 with pl., C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston 1910 pp. 67, 293), which bears the painted inscriptions ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑ ΓΑΣ ΗΑ ΒΡΑΣΙΑ | ΗΩΣ ΕΜΙΝ ΔΟΚΕΙ (would-be iambic) and ΔΕΥΣ ΗΕΡΜΑΣ | ΑΡΤΑΜΙΣ ΑΟΑΝΑΙΑ.





*b*

*a* Marble head of Pan from Greece, now in the British Museum.



*a*

*See page 1131.*

ii. 347 ff. Πάν ὁ μέγας τίθηται. The literature of this famous episode (*supra* ii. 349 n. 20) should include I. Nyman *De magno Pane Plutarchi Upsaliae 1734*, W. H. Roscher 'Die Legende vom Tode des grossen Pan' in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1892 cxlv. 465—477, E. Nestle 'Zum Tod des grossen Pan' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 156—158, O. Weinreich 'Zum Tod des grossen Pan' *ib.* 1910 xiii. 467—473, A. Taylor 'Northern Parallels to the Death of Pan' in *Washington University Studies Series* iv 1922 (Humanistic Series x. 1) pp. 3—102 (discusses 246 variants and concludes that 'the voice of loud lament is an hallucination, an auditory illusion, and not a myth relating to the spirits of vegetation'), A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1923 xxxvii. 164 (cp. Hdt. 6. 105), O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925—1926 xxii. 328—330, G. Méautis 'Le grand Pan est mort' in the *Musée Belge* 1927 xxxi. 51—53 (cp. Plout. de Is. et Os. 12 οὐαὶ δεὶς Παπύλην τιὰ λέγοντις ἐν Θύβαις ὑδρόβουλον ἐκ τοῦ περοῦ τοῦ Διὸς φυῆς δεούσαν δακελενομένη ἀρτεῖται μετὰ βοῆς δι τοῦ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΤΣ ΕΤΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΟΣΙΡΙΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΕ).

Fresh light has been thrown upon the whole business by a simple but convincing discovery of A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 147 'Πάν ist nicht "der Hirte," sondern der "Papa," gehört zu den "Lallnamen"' Kretschmer 334 f. [P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 334 ff.] Das weibliche Gegenstück zu Πάν ist Μά, in Arkadien als Μαία, Mutter des Hermes Μαυάδεω erhalten.' If so, Pan was in effect another Zan, and I had no need to postulate that the former had stepped into the shoes of the latter. Pan the Great was all along a parallel figure to Zan the Great. Pan the goatherds' god took the form of a goat just as Zan the oxherds' god took that of an ox (*supra* ii. 345). And the ritual of the dead Pan, implied by Plutarch's narrative, may well have resembled the ritual of the dead Zan.

On this showing Pan was a more dignified deity than advancing civilisation was prepared to admit. He had some reason to complain of his neglect by the Athenians on the eve of Marathon (Hdt. 6. 105). But before the close of that century, or very soon afterwards, Attic sculptors had made the *amende honorable* by devising a type which gave the god an almost Zeus-like majesty and yet by retaining curved horns and prick ears, a shag of hair and a twist of lip, contrived to remind men that after all he was but a glorified goat. H. B. W[alters] in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1931—1932 vi. 33 f. pl. 16 was able to publish a head in Pentelic marble (height 8½ inches) recently acquired in Greece. Relying presumably on the proportions of the eye, the absence of overlapping lids, etc. he ventures to say: 'the style recalls some of the heads on the Parthenon metopes. It certainly cannot be dated later than the latter part of the fifth century.' My pl. lxxx is from the official photographs.

ii. 347 n. o Hipta. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1926 xv. 76 ff. takes Hipta to be an Asiatic mother-goddess = the Hittite *Hepit*.

ii. 350 Dodona. For the recent excavations at Dodona see G. Sotiriadis 'Fouilles de Dodone' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1921 xxxiv. 384—387 and D. Euangelidis in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1930 pp. 52—68, *ib.* 1931 pp. 83—91, *ib.* 1932 pp. 47—52 and as reported by E. P. [Blegen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 220 f., by D. M. Robinson *ib.* 1933 xxvii. 128, by H. G. G. Payne in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1930 i. 242, *ib.* 1931 li. 194 f., *ib.* 1932 lii. 245, *ib.* 1933 liii. 182, by H. Megaw *ib.* 1936 lvi. 147.

ii. 359 ff. the Triumphal Arch. On distyle bases at Delphi see É. Bourguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1911 xxxv. 473—481, *id. Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 148 f., 164—168, 202—205, F. Courby in *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. i. 44, M. P. Nilsson 'Les bases votives à double colonne et Parc de triomphe' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xl. 143—157. The origin of the Triumphal Arch is still a bone of contention, not to say a body of Euphorbos: e.g. G. Patroni 'L'origine degli archi trionfali' in *Historia* 1927 i. 3. 3—30 with 3 figs. (criticises G. Spano, E. Löwy, etc. and stresses Etruscan influence), E. Löwy *Die Anfänge des Triumphos* Wien 1928 pp. 1—40 with 3 pls. and 89 figs. (summarised in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 170 and in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1927 xvii. 249), M. P. Nilsson 'The Origin of the Triumphal Arch' in *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 1932 ii. 132—139, I. A. Richmond 'Commemorative Arches and City Gates in the Augustan Age' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 149—174 with pls. 15—19 and 11 figs. (follows Nilsson and urges that the main purpose of the Arch was to serve as a base for statues), H. Petrikovits 'Die Porta triumphalis' in the *Jahresheft d. öest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii. 187—196 (insists on the religious significance of the victors returning under this Arch, compares the passage of the vanquished *sub iugum*, and the sale of prisoners *sub hasta*, ending with a bibliography of 45 items). Much that is relevant had already been said by A. von Domaszewski 'Die Triumphstrasse auf dem Marsfelde' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 67—82 (= *id. Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig und Berlin 1909 pp. 217—233 with additional n. by B. Kahle).

- ii. 361 with fig. 254. H. Mattingly in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Emp.* iii. pp. ci, 177 f. pl. 31, 6—9.
- ii. 364 the 'yoke' of spears. M. Cary—A. D. Nock 'Magic Spears' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 122—127 (*sub ingum, sub hasta, etc.*).
- ii. 373 Janus *Quadrifrons*. A late Etruscan scarab of cornelian, mounted on a gold swivel, shows a bearded head of Janus *Quadrifrons* wearing a *pétasos* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 59 no. 327 pl. 9, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*<sup>2</sup> p. 88 no. 714 pl. 12; from the Castellani collection).
- ii. 381 ff. double herms. R. Lullies *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* Königsberg Pr. 1931 pp. 66—69 ('Doppelhermen mit nach entgegengesetzten Seiten blickenden Köpfen') argues that this type was originally intended to represent 'Hermes als Totengott' (*ib.* p. 86)—view questioned by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 ii. 330.
- ii. 382 n. 1 double bust of Dionysos. Cp. a fine archaic double bust at Ny Carlsberg (*Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler* no. 151 Dionysos pl. 11).



Fig. 389.

ii. 385 n. o. Ἀργεῖφόντης. Earlier interpretations in O. Neckel 'Ἀργεῖφόντης Progr. des Gymn. Friedland 1886 pp. 10—12, Sven Linde 'Über Ἀργεῖφόντης, dessen Form und Bedeutung' in *Skandinavisches Archiv* 1892 i. 394—414.

ii. 386 Odhin's broad hat. H. Naumann 'Breithut' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1550—1552 (cp. *id. ib.* i. 1386 f. 'Blauhütel').

ii. 388 double busts of Hermes and Herakles. P. E. Visconti 'Ermeracle' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1872—1873 pp. 97—102 pl. 1. Another of Hermes (*pétasos*) and Herakles (lion-skin) at Ny Carlsberg (*Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler* no. 267 pl. 19).

ii. 390 with pl. xxi Janiform *aryballos* of male and female Dionysiac heads. See now J. D. Beazley 'Charinos' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 61 (Group N, no. 1 'head of Herakles and woman's head [?]).

ii. 392 with fig. 300 double bust of Apis and Isis. H. Gressmann in the *Verträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 1923—1924 Berlin—Leipzig 1926 p. 183 pl. 3 fig. 6 assigns this bust to the time of Hadrian and regards it as combining the human and animal forms of Hathor. J. Leipoldt in D. H. Haas *Bilderalbum zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. vi with fig. 25 ('Die Büste 25 ist insofern altägyptisch empfunden, als Isis auch mit einem Kuhkopfe ausgestattet ist (allerdings handelt sich um eine künstliche Ägyptisierung; es fehlen altägyptische Analogien einer derartigen Isis). Etc.).

ii. 392 ff. double herms at Nemi. On Feb. 10, 1930, during the excavation of Caligula's second galley, a double herm of bronze was found, representing the conjoined heads of a bearded and a beardless Satyr. The former is wreathed with vine-leaves and

grapes, the latter with pine and cones: both wear a *nebris* (W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 351 with fig. 13). In the summer of 1931 further work on the second galley brought to light another double herm of bronze, the exact counterpart of the first, and a third combining two youthful female heads wreathed with ivy and draped. There can be no doubt that all these herms served as decorative posts of the ship's rail (*id. ib.* 1931 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 648 with figs. 4 and 5). In the spring of 1932 yet another bronze double herm from the rail was found (*id. ib.* 1932 xvii Arch. Anz. p. 479). See also *The Daily Telegraph* for June 18, 1931 p. 9 and *The Illustrated London News* for July 4, 1931 p. 19.

I take this opportunity of publishing (fig. 890, a—c) a small double bust of white marble in my collection (height 3½ inches), which represents *adossés* a bearded and a beardless Satyr, wreathed with ivy. It probably topped a slender pillar in somebody's peristyle in s. i A.D.



a

Fig. 890.

b

II. 394 foliate faces. T. Tindall Wildridge *The Grotesque in Church Art* London s.a. p. 112 ff. ('Masks and Faces') gives examples of foliate masks at Beverley Minster (Yorkshire), Dorchester (Oxfordshire), St Mary's Minster (Isle of Thanet), Westminster Abbey, Ewelme (Oxfordshire), Lincoln Cathedral, etc. C. J. P. Cave 'The Roof Bosses in Ely Cathedral' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* Cambridge 1932 xxxii. 35 f. with pl. 2 shows bosses representing heads with oak-leaves coming out of mouth and nostril. Cave acutely conjectures 'some survival from pre-Christian times.' Finally Lady Raglan 'The "Green Man" in Church Architecture' in *Folk-Lore* 1939 I. 45—57 figs. 1—17 concludes that classical and quasi-classical types (figs. 10—13) were from c. xiii. onwards influenced by 'the figure variously known as the Green Man, Jack-in-the-Green, Robin Hood, the King of May, and the Garland.' In 1934 I acquired from Mr J. Sinclair of Swanage a limestone corbel (height 7½ inches) said to have come from a fourteenth-century continental church. It represents (fig. 890, a, b) a male head with oak-leaves springing from eyes, nose, and ears, and bears traces of yellow priming and red paint.

II. 405 ff. Artemis Ephesia. On all the types of this goddess see now the excellent monograph by H. Thiersch *Artemis Ephesia* (Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1935 Folge iii Nr. 12) Teil i Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler. Mit 76 Tafeln u. 4 Textabbildungen.

ii. 407 n. o. On stags in relation to Artemis (Ma, Anaitis, etc.) see S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 151 f., who cites F. Cumont 'L'archevêché de Pédiachtoé et le sacrifice du Faon' in *Byzantion* 1931 vi. 521—533 ('Voilà bien un banquet rituel, tradition païenne christianisée').

ii. 410 n. o 'Εφέσιον γράμματα. See further A. Deissmann 'Ephesia Grammata' in the *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft* (Baudissin-Festschrift) ed. W. Frankenberg—F. Küchler (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 1918 xxxiii. 121—124).

ii. 410 n. o. On the occurrence of Zeus-emblems (thunderbolt and bay-wreath) in relation to Artemis *Ephesia* see H. Thiersch *op. cit.* i. 46 ff., 65 ff., who notes a statue of s. ii A.D. in the Museum at Tripolis (no. 29 pl. 27, 1, 3, 4) and a mosaic from Poggio Mirteto in the Vatican (no. 56 pl. 46).

ii. 411 Bendis. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 87 n. 3 draws attention to the numerous representations of Bendis on the rocks of Philippi (ib. 1922 lxxxvi. 117 ff.).

ii. 411 n. 6. C. Picard—C. Avezou 'Le testament de la prêtresse thessalonicienne' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1914 xxxviii. 38 ff. correct P. Perdrizet's reading ιέπεια θύσια | εὐεια Πρινοφόρος to ιέπεια θύσια | Εὐεια Πρινοφόρον, 'Eueia daughter of Prinophoros,' and show that the remainder of this much-misunderstood inscription refers to the ἀρκάωσις or ritual burning of roses on the tomb—a very different story.

ii. 419 n. 2. A writer in the *Times Literary Supplement* for June 17, 1926 p. 413 justly objects that *scomparte* means 'vanished,' not 'scattered.'

ii. 421 Artemis Orthia. H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Zürich 1928 Ergänzungsband p. 110: 'In Wirklichkeit ist Orthia, was freilich noch niemand gesehen hat, von ὄρθοι, "aufrechtstehend," abzuleiten, und der Beiname der Göttin erklärt sich aus den Erekctionen der an ihrem Altar gepeitschten nackten Jünglinge und der Zuschauer.' But such ultra-Aristophanic grossness is quite gratuitous.

ii. 422 the divine Sky as a double-faced god. K. F. Johansson *Über die altindische Göttin Dhipñā und Verwandtes* Uppsala 1919 p. 136 ff. argues for a proethnic Indo-germanic 'zwei-aspektig gedachten herrn gott' with dark and light sides, viz. Varuna (also Vṛtra) and Dyāus (also Mitra). So in Scandinavia we have Ullr and Týr (also Frøy), cp. the Van pair of gods Ullin and Fillin (ib. pp. 33, 139).

ii. 424 the temple of Aphrodite *Paphia*. See further R. Dussaud—P. Alphandéry 'Le sanctuaire primitif d'Aphrodite paphienne' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 liii. 114, 'Fouilles de Rantidi (Chypre)' ib. 1911 lixii. 376 f., 'Les divinités de Rantidi (Chypre)' ib. 1911 lxiv. 133, C. Blinkenberg *Le temple de Paphos* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* ix, 2) København 1924 pp. 1—40 figs. 1—9, S. Casson *Ancient Cyprus Its Art and Archaeology* London 1937 pp. 163 n. 1, 178.

ii. 427 fig. 331. A somewhat clearer illustration of this gilded glass is given by I. Benzingher *Hebräische Archäologie* Leipzig 1927 p. 218 with fig. 224.

ii. 434 ff. the Twins. In addition to the monographs of S. Eitrem (*supra* ii. 451 n. 1) and J. Rendel Harris (*supra* i. 760 n. 7) see the contributions of E. S. Hartland 'Twins' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* 1921 xii. 491<sup>2</sup>—500<sup>3</sup>, Schrader *Reallex.*<sup>2</sup> i. 588<sup>2</sup>, A. H. Krapp *Les dieux jumeaux dans la religion germanique* (extr. from the *Acta philologica Scandinavica*) København 1930 pp. 1—25, Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>: Aftermath pp. 82, 154.

ii. 436 ff. Kastor and Polydeukes. A. Döhring 'Kastors und Balders Tod' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1902 v. 38—63, 97—104, A. H. Krapp 'Herakles and Greek Dioskouroi Legends' in *The Classical Journal* 1923 xviii. 502—504, G. Maresch 'Der Name der Tyndariden' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 298 f. (*supra* on i. 766), A. Puech 'La mort de Castor dans la x<sup>e</sup> Néméenne' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 398—403.

H. J. M. Milne in the *Class. Rev.* 1933 xlvi. 62 edits a fresh fragment of Bakchylides (?) which tells how one of the Dioskouroi (or possibly Kabeiroi) lives on earth, the other in Hades (A. Vogliano in *Papiro greco e latino* (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana) Firenze 1932 x. 169 ff. no. 1181 Oxyrhynchos x. ii—iii A.D.): 21 ff. μᾶλλον ἐγγύατοι τοι[α]λέτα φάτις | ἔτει δόε[ι]σι κια[θε]ι | ἔπ[ει]ι πολο[θε]ρότεων ἀκτῶν | κίμη πε[ρῶν] διπ[ει]τον | Τίλον | θεών το[ι], αἰμ[φανδόν] [δ' ἀπεδεξεν] | αὐθὶ μέρε[ν τὸν μὲν παρ] 'Αἰδη | τὸν δ' αὐλόμε[νον κατὰ εὑρμον] | προφεγεῖται θε[υταν].

ii. 440 ff. Romulus and Remus. A. H. Krapp 'Notes sur la légende de la fondation de Rome' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1933 pp. 146—152.

K. Scott 'Drusus, nicknamed "Castor"', in *Class. Philol.* 1930 xxv. 155—161 thinks

that Germanicus and the younger Drusus, like Tiberius and the elder Drusus, may have been associated or even identified with Castor and Pollux—a view confirmed by a recently found inscription from Ephesos (*Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 58).

E. Kornemann *Doppelprincipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* Leipzig—Berlin 1930 pp. 1—210 is reviewed by M. P. Charlesworth in the *Class. Rev.* 1933 xvii. 143—146.

J. Carcopino 'La louve du Capitole' in the *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé Juillet 1924* pp. 3—19 and *Octobre 1924* pp. 16—49.

R. F. Eckels *Greek Wolf-lore* Philadelphia 1937 pp. 1—88 concludes with a discussion of wolf-nurses.

ii. 445 Zethos and Amphion. J. Rendel Harris in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 1926 x. 345 observes that the Egyptian twins Set and Horos were the architects of Thebes in Egypt just as Zethos and Amphion were the architects of Thebes in Greece. He suggests that the name Ζῆθος may be simply *Set*, whom Plutarch actually transcribes as Σῆθος [Where? *Plout. de Is. et Os.* 41, 49, 61 says Σῆθος without variants. A.B.C.]. A. H. Krappé in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 240 f. repeats and reinforces the conclusions of Rendel Harris.

ii. 445 ff. double-headed deities in Asia Minor etc. G. Contenau 'Idoles en pierre provenant de l'Asie Mineure' in *Syria* 1927 viii. 193 ff. pls. 44—48 publishes six idols in the Louvre, probably found at *Kül-Tepé* ('La colline de cendres') near Kaisareia in Kappadokia, close to Mt Argaios, where a Semitic colony had long been established—witness numerous tablets in cuneiform from the same site. All the six idols are in alabaster, with a reddish patina. They represent deities with one (pl. 44, a), two (pls. 44, b, 45), and three heads (pls. 46, 47, 4), but only a single rounded body. *Id. ib.* p. 200 compares Syrian bronzes in the Louvre, which represent a god embracing a goddess attached to his right leg at the knee, or again four deities arranged fan-wise. *Id. Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 824 f. figs. 593 and 594 dates the Cappadocian idols c. 2000 B.C. and the Syrian bronzes c. 1000 B.C. A better illustration of a two-headed Cappadocian goddess is given in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art L'Art de Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre* Paris 1936 i. 284 f. fig. A, and of a Syrian group *ib.* Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 109 fig. G. On the significance of polycephalic gods in general see L. Weber in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 172—175.

ii. 448 n. o the sickle of Kronos. See now *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1927 xvii. 65 no. 2080, 71—73 (= *Kallim. frag.* 502 + 172 Schneider) with A. S. Hunt *ad loc.*

ii. 448 n. 2 the sickle of Zeus. See F. Dornseiff 'Die Sichel des Zeus und Typhon' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlvi. Arch. Anz. pp. 754—757 fig. 1. *Id. Die archaische Mythenerschöpfung* Berlin—Leipzig 1933 p. 24 ff. cites *inter alia* a Hittite parallel noted by W. Porzig—'Illuyankas und Typhon.' Cp. G. Furlani *La religione degli Hittiti* Bologna 1936 pp. 87—91 ('Il Mito del dio della tempesta e del serpente Illuyankas').

ii. 453 ff. the original home of Apollon. Wilamowitz' view that Apollon came from Lykia is energetically attacked also by E. Bethe 'Apollon der Hellenen' in *ANTIKON Feukschrift Jacob Wackernagel...* gewidmet Göttingen 1923 pp. 14—21.

F. Poulsen *Delphische Studien* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser viii. 5) Kobenhavn 1924 pp. 3—40 ('Apollon und Asien') suggests that the name *Apollon* is to be explained by the Babylonian terms *apisu* 'the Firstborn' and *apisu alarida* 'the Firstborn Son,' a fixed epithet of kings in honorific inscriptions. Poulsen sees in Apollon a blend of Šamaš, god of the sun, of wisdom, of law, with Marduk, who as symbolising sunlight fought Tiāmat the dragon of darkness. Hence the lunisolar calendar, the ritual number seven, the *omphalos* (cp. the Babylonian *kudurrū*), etc.

C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xcii. 90 f. thinks it possible that the Hellenic Apollon was a blend of (a) a Creto-Anatolian god and (b) a Hyperborean god—each called *Apollon*.

L. Weber 'Apollon' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1933 lxxii. 165—191, 193—229 contends that Apollon, originating in Crete as an archer-god (cp. Nilsson *Min.-Myr. Rel.* p. 296 f. fig. 85, where note eye and ear), passed thence via Delos and Lykia to the Troad, was carried across the Bosporos by the Mysians and Teucrians some time before the Trojan War, and made his way southward through Thrace, Makedonia, and Thessaly to Delphoi. Homeric *epos* represents him as a foe of the Greeks because it was a product of the Aeolians in Thessaly, who were naturally hostile to the god of their northern neighbours. Delos as his cult-centre was prior to Delphoi.

ii. 460 n. 2 (b) Apollon riding on a swan. A rock-crystal scarab of early archaic style shows him thus crossing the sea (waves below, dolphin behind). He guides the swan by the beak with his right hand and holds a leafy branch in his left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 96 f. fig. 66, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*<sup>2</sup> p. 55 no. 460 pl. 8).

ii. 461 n. o fig. 362 Zeus drawn by eagles on a disk from Tarentum. Other examples at Trieste and Berlin (P. Wuilleumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 43 no. 78).

ii. 464. C. Picard 'La Crète et les légendes Hyperboréennes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 349—360 holds that the sacrifice of asses and other 'Hyperborean' tales belonged originally to Crete, and were transferred to the north only when Crete had been captured by northern invaders. Unconvincing.

ii. 469 n. 1 huius folia noctis et lucis imaginem declarant. Miss G. R. Levy 'The Oriental Origin of Herakles' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 44 well compares Orph. *h. Herakl.* 12. 11 85 περὶ κρατὶ φορεῖς ἦν καὶ νίκτα μέλανας.

ii. 475 Zeus seated, yet hurling a thunderbolt. A silver stater of Corinth, struck c. 338—300 B.C., has for symbol Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Corinth, etc. p. 33 no. 308 pl. 12, 19. There is a second specimen of the type in *Hauter Cat. Coins* ii. 96 no. 72. I have a third).

ii. 477 n. o. G. A. Snyder 'De symbolica Phaethontis fabulae interpretatione apud Romanos' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1927 iv. 401—409 claims that in Roman times the myth was interpreted as a Mithraic expression for the ascent of the soul to heaven (*Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 210, cp. S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 218). A. Lesky 'Zum Phaethon des Euripides' in *Wiener Studien* 1932 i. 1—25 puts the play late in Euripides' career and attempts to reconstruct the plot. M. F. Scalvizzari *Il Mito nel ΦΑΕΩΝ* di Euripide Napoli 1937 pp. 1—80 includes a pl. of the Ostia sarcophagus.

ii. 483 the *kilkānā*-tree. F. P. Dhorime 'L'arbre de vérité et l'arbre de vie' in the *Revue biblique internationale* Nouvelle série 1907 iv. 272 ff. shows that in the time of Gudea (c. 2600 B.C.) the Babylonians believed in two trees planted at the entry of heaven, *gil-ti* the 'tree of life' and *gil-kd-an-na* the 'tree of the gate of heaven.' He says: 'Le *gil-ti* ou "arbre de vie" ne sera autre-que le *kilkānā*, connu sous le nom de *gil-gan-abu*'. Dhorime is followed by A. J. Wensinck *Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia* Amsterdam 1921 p. 4. See now S. Langdon 'The Legend of the *kiškanā*' in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1928 pp. 843—848. Miss N. Perrot *Les représentations de l'arbre sacré sur les monuments de Mésopotamie et d'Élam* Paris 1937 pp. 1—143 with 32 pls., G. Lechner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 352 f.

ii. 484 n. 6. The etymology of *ἀπελλός* is discussed by F. Müller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 348.

ii. 487 n. 3 Apollon as an 'apple'-god. Rendel Harris' view is adversely criticised by J. Toutain in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1921 lxxxiii. 196—200. But there is far more to be said for it than the critics will allow. *Rira bien qui rira le dernier.*

On Demeter *Μαλοφόρος* at Megara see K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund (1934) p. 174 ff. Terracottas from her sanctuary at Selinous were published by E. Gabrici in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 pp. 67—91 figs. 1—33, and we have now the same author's sumptuous monograph 'Il Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1928 xxxii. 1—419 with 97 pls. and 192 figs. (reviewed by F. von Duhn in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 529—539).

*The Times* for Oct. 8, 1926 p. 11 in a report by J. Borozdin on 'Excavations in South Russia' notes the discovery by Prof. Farmakovsky in 1924 of Apollon's temple at Olbia. Its ruins stand in the centre of the old town at the outlet of the river Bug. See further E. Diehl in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2417, 2421.

ii. 493 n. 2 amber routes. The most thorough and authoritative investigation of the subject is that of J. M. de Navarro 'Prehistoric Routes between Northern Europe and Italy defined by the Amber Trade' in *The Geographical Journal* 1925 lxvi. 481—507 with distribution-maps of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Central Europe and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Central Europe, also a map of Trans-continental Amber Routes distinguishing Central Routes (opened Early Bronze Age), Western Routes (opened Middle Bronze Age), and Eastern Routes (opened Early Iron Age), and two plans of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Italy and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Italy. Mr de Navarro does not deal with the amber trade to Greece and the East Mediterranean area, remarking only 'The Baltic-Black Sea route is, in my opinion, a late development.'

ii. 493 ff. the Hyperboreans. Rendel Harris 'Apollo at the back of the North Wind' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 229—242 includes chapters on 'The prehistoric

amber routes,' 'Apollo and the Hyperboreans,' 'The Apollo stations,' and 'a possible third amber route from the land of the Hyperboreans into Greece.' G. H. Macurdy *Troy and Paonia* New York 1925 pp. 196—210 returns to the subject with a further section on 'The Hyperboreans.' C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1928 lviii. 685 argues thus: 'It seems improbable that barbarians devoid of all Hellenic connections would have troubled to keep in touch with Delian Apollo. The chief Istrian cult was Apolline. Istrus, like other Milesian Pontic Colonies, was populated by Mix-hellenes and monopolized Danubian trade, having factories far up the river... Perhaps these barbarized descendants of Istrian, i.e. Milesian, stock sent the offerings. If so, the Herodotean Adriatic route employed about 450 B.C. would have been closed by the Celtic invasions of the early fourth century B.C. and the later Istrus, Sinope, Prasiae-route, of (?) Phanodemus, would have been used subsequently. The fourth century B.C. coins of Istrus and Sinope with identical reverse types point to close connections between these States... Accordingly, if the people who sent offerings to Delos were geographically "Hyperborean," but not racial or mythical Hyperboreans; if they are less likely to have been the barbarian Proto-Hellenic parent-stock left behind in Central Europe than the semi-barbarized descendants of Ionian traders located in the south of Central Europe, then there is no longer any need to seek for a partially northern origin for Apollo merely on the grounds of his supposed Hyperborean connections.' This acute hypothesis is welcomed by A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 126 and by M. Cary *ib.* 1929 xliii. 214. The latter, quoting Kallim. *h. Del.* 283 f. οἱ μὲν τοι καλάμην τε καὶ λεῖα δράγματα πόστοι | δοταχίων φορέσσον, adds: 'Surely, then, they were the ears of wheat whose haulms served as packing.' Yet the actual custom of packing an egg (*Osterei*) in the first or last sheaf, cited by Mannhardt (*supra* ii. 498 n. 2), tempts us to conjecture that the offerings in question were swans' eggs similarly packed: this would at least suit both their Hyperborean starting-point and their Delian destination, and might further be supported by the ritual preservation of Leda's egg (*supra* ii. 1015 n. 7). A more remote parallel may be found in a former (c. 1860 A.D.) usage of the Easter Islanders: the man that brought in the first tern's egg of the year, which his servant had procured from a neighbouring islet, swimming across with it in a small basket tied on his head, was saluted as *Tangata-Manu*, 'Man-Bird,' and chosen as chief for the year (S. Chauvet *L'île de Pâques et ses mystères* Paris 1935 pp. 35—37).

ii. 496 n. o *fin.* C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 i. 285 n. 1: 'Pour le nom des Perphériques d'Hérodote (iv, 32), compagnons des Vierges hyperboréennes, on comparera maintenant l'Hermès Perpheraos d'Ainos, sculpté par le Dédalide Épeios, constructeur du Cheval de Troie: un papyrus récent l'a révélé.' Mr H. J. M. Milne kindly refers me to M. Norsa—G. Vitelli ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ di poemi di Callimaco in un papiro di Tebtynis Firenze 1934 p. 45 f. col. vii, 32 ff. Ερμῆς ὁ Περφεραός Αἰνειών θεός Περφεραός Ερμῆς ἐπ' Αἴνῳ τῇ πόλει τῇ Θρακῆς τιμᾶται. ἔτειθεν Ἔπιος πρὸ τῷ δουρειῶν ἵππον ἀπομορύγηες Ερμῆς, δε ὁ Σκάμαρδος πολὺς ἐρεχθεῖς κατέσυρεν· οὐ δ' ἐντείθεν προστηνέχηη εἰς τὴν πόλιν Αἴνου θάλασσαν, αφ' ης ἀλειμόνην τοὺς διελέκτους αὐτὸν τῇ σαγήνῃ. δέ *<* δέ > θεόσαρτον αὐτὸν, καταμεμύησεν τὸν βάλον πρώτον μὲν σχίζει τε αὐτὸν *<* — *>* καὶ παρακαλεῖ αὐτὸν ἐπεχειρεῖν, οὐδὲ δέ πέπτον θέβασαν ή τὸν ὕπον παίσατες τραχύνατο τόπον ἥρασαν, διατηρεῖ δὲ ἡθητησαν· καὶ διον αὐτὸν καίειν ἐπεχειρούν, τὸ δέ πῦρ αὐτῷ περιέρρει. ἀπετίστες *<* οὐδε *>* κατέρρεψαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἔτει δ' αὐτὸς ἐδικτυοδλητας, θεὸς ροπαλαρτες εἶναι ή θεῶν προσήκοντα καθιδράσαντο ἐτί τοι αἰγαλοῦ λεπόν αὐτὸν, ἀπρόκατο τε τῆς ἄγρας ἀλλος παρ' ἀλλοι αὐτῷ τοι [\*\*\*\*\*] (προσελλάτη?). τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος χρήσαστος εἰς σεβέξαντο τῇ πόλει καὶ παραπλησιώτεροι θεοῖς ἐτίσσαν. Cp. R. Pfeiffer 'Die neuen ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ zu Kallimachosgedichten' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1934 x. 29 f.

ii. 500 Phoibos. W. Schmid 'Φοῖβος 'Απόλλων' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1923—1924 xxii. 217—223 tries to persuade us that Φοῖβος is a metrical substitute for Φόβος!

ii. 505 ff. lightning as a weapon. H. Balfour 'Concerning Thunderbolts' in *Folk-Lore* 1929 xi. 37—49, 168—172 with 23 figs. on 2 pls. surveys and illustrates popular beliefs about 'thunderbolts,' prophylactic or otherwise.

ii. 510 ff. inscribed neolithic celts. The best parallel to figs. 390 and 391 is the implement published by my friend and former pupil J. H. Iliffe 'A neolithic celt with Gnostic inscriptions at Toronto' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 304—309 with 2 figs. It is a polished celt of hard brown stone, acquired in Smyrna but said to have been found at Ephesus, and bears on one side a well-cut design with lettering of c. iv—v A.D. Enclosed by a snake biting its own tail, stands a nude winged and tailed figure holding a whip with double lash in his right hand, a short rod in his left. A bunch of leaves springs from his head, which bears some resemblance to a winged *Gorgoneion* (?). He is flanked by

two tall sceptres with animal-headed (?) tops, and surrounded by words of power:  
 ΑΙΑΟΥΑΗ ΤΤΑΙ ΖΗΘ | ΦΘΛΘΣΖΑ | ΙΑΩΟΥΗΕ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ |  
 ΑΔΩΝΑΙΕ || ΑΚΡΑΜΜΑ | ΧΑΜΑΡΕΙ || ΕΕΣΕΝΓΕΝ | ΦΑΡΑΝΓΗΣ ||  
 ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ | ΔΑΜΝΑΜΕΝΕΥ.

ii. 512 sliced neolithic celts with added inscriptions. A large oblong axe (?) of brownish green jade, formerly in the collection of J. Martinek, Shanghai, and now in my possession, has been sawn lengthwise and bears on the exposed surface an inscription in archaic Chinese characters, which—Mr A. Waley kindly informs me—are an extract from the *Analects* of Confucius reading: 'Gentlemen use *té* (inner power, "virtue" in the sense "potency"). Small men use force.' The *Martinek Sale Catalogue* (Messrs. Puttick and Simpson Dec. 13, 1929) p. 8 no. 67 refers this piece to the Han period.

ii. 513 ff. The double axe in 'Minoan' cult. M. E. L. Mallowan in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 16, 1933 p. 436 f. fig. 7 publishes beads or amulets in the shape of the double axe, which were found in Iraq at *Arpachiyah*, a prehistoric mound four miles east of Nineveh, and are attributed to a period earlier than 4000 B.C. These he claims as prototypes of the 'Minoan' symbol.

B. Schweitzer *Herakles* Tübingen 1922 pp. 21—28 ('Die Doppelaxt in nachkretischer Zeit') adduces a mass of miscellaneous evidence, not always judiciously handled.

ii. 516 n. 6 the sarcophagus of *Hagia Triada*. To the bibliography add R. Vallois 'Autels et culte de l'arbre sacré en Crète' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1926 pp. 121—132. Id. in the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* Paris 1932 ii. 839—847 cp. a similar arrangement of altar and base in the earliest Artemision at Ephesus.

ii. 518 n. 3 the magpie. R. Riegler 'Die Elster im Mythus' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiii. 349—353, Taylor 'Elster' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 796—802.

ii. 519 n. o the crow. Euphorion frag. 65 Meineke, ap. schol. Nik. ther. 406, Peuckert 'Krähe' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 352—370.

ii. 522 n. 2 the colour red. See now the careful compilation of Eva Wunderlich *Die Bedeutung des roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 (reviewed by S. Eitrem in *Gnomon* 1926 ii. 95—102) and by E. Fehrie in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 15, 1926 pp. 520—525.

ii. 528 ff. double axes imbedded in columns. H. Sandars in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 259 f. fig. 2 (=my fig. 891) publishes an Iberian column from the Mina de la Plata between Baeza and Jaen. Its square stone capital is decorated with double axes on all four faces.

ii. 536 hands raised, one palm outwards, the other in profile. The same peculiar and at present unexplained gesture may be seen in a seated terra-cotta goddess of the 'Geometric' period (height: 4½ inches), from northern Greece, now in my collection (fig. 892 a, b).

ii. 543 the 'hour-glass' ornament on the indigenous pottery of Apulia perhaps derived from the double axe. This is doubtful. Paintings from the rock-shelters of southern Spain, belonging to the Copper Age, show X or the like as the stylised form of a woman (H. Breuil—M. C. Burkitt *Rock Paintings of Southern Andalusia* Oxford 1929 p. 84 'Spanish Art Group III').

ii. 544 fig. 419 gem from Melos. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 70 objects that 'Minoan' deities are wingless and ej. 'plutôt un génie ptérophore.' Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 187 n. 1 adds: 'upward curved wings do not occur in this age' (cp. V. Müller 'Minoisches Nachleben oder orientalischer Einfluss in der fröhkkretischen Kunst?' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 i. 54 f. with fig. 1). Lastly, the attitude of *Knielauf* (*supra* i. 296 n. 6) also points to a post-'Minoan' though still archaic period. Probably the term 'sub-'Minoan' or 'sub-Mycenaean' would best fit the case. (*supra* on i. 725).

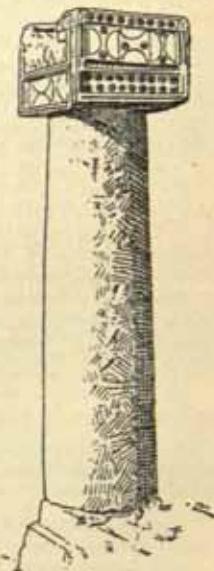


Fig. 891.

One thinks of Daedalus

ii. 544 n. 3 the Egyptian *neter*. Miss M. A. Murray 'The sign 7' in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 312—315 pl. 49 argues that this sign represents a pole with votive streamers and is descended from an early cult of the poplar or willow.

ii. 547 n. 2 the sacrificial table. H. Mischkowski *Die heiligen Tische im Götterkultus der Griechen und Römer* Königsberg i. Pr. 1917 p. 32 f.

ii. 548 n. o sword-worship. Among the Quadi (Amm. Marc. 17. 12. 21 quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Viduari filius regis, et Agilimundus subregulus, aliquie optimates et



a

b

Fig. 892.

indices, variis populis praesidentes,...eductis...mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, iuravere se permansuros in fide). In the south-east of Sweden (A. Nordén *Östergötlands Bronsålder* Linköping 1925 pp. 1—407 is summarised by A. J. Uppvall in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 394—397, who notes among the rock-carvings in the region of Bråviken 'gigantic swords...now carried by one man, now by two, and found in processions where one being—a giant—towers above the rest.' Cp. O. Almgren in Ebert *Reallex.* iii. 216 with pl. 51, 1, H. Shetelig—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 167 ff.).

ii. 549 Kronos swallowing his own children. See now M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* xi. 1991 ff.

ii. 549 *Kronos* as 'Chopper.' R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 385 n. o attempts to combine two incompatibles: 'Kronos als \*Köp-ros = Keipos'

= "Schnitter" und *κρουός* "Brunnen". G. A. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 51 quotes parallels e.g. *Kátoros*, which 'probably originated in the Semitic root *kāṣat*, *kāṣah*, ... "The Cutter, Breaker"; and *Mjölnir* the 'Crusher.'

ii. 550 fig. 426. F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 178 f. no. 51 pl. 13, 18 observes that on this coin there is drapery over the back of Kronos' head and a small crown with three peaks, also some object in his left hand.

ii. 550 ff. fig. 428 the dagger-god of Iasili Kaya. See further P. Couissin 'Le dieu épée de Iasili-Kaya et le culte de l'épée dans l'antiquité' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 107—135 with 21 figs.—an important article on hoplaltry summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 509. G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 970 f. fig. 672, G. Furlani *La religion degli Hittiti* Bologna 1936 p. 59 f. Good photographs taken in two different lights are supplied by K. Bittel *Die Felsbilder von Yassilikay* Bamberg 1934 p. 11 no. 82 pl. 30.

ii. 561 Tyrimnos. A. H. Sayce 'The Phrygian hero Tyris' in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvi. 11.

ii. 569 Zeus *Aisbamalos*. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 61 no. 8 figures a marble altar at Amasra in Bithynia inscribed Θεῷ | δρεικήρῳ | Ἀσβατεῖ καὶ | Γῆ (?) κύριος κατ.λ. E. Fehrie in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 605 treats 'Ασβατεῖς as the equivalent of ὄρκος.

ii. 570 n. o. *À propos* of Celtic divinities Prof. F. E. Adcock draws my attention to Zeus *Bousouros*, who is mentioned in two inscriptions of 2. iii A.D. from Galatia (J. G. C. Anderson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 163 ff. no. 1 at *Aktche Tash* on a block rectangular in section Λέρηλος Ἰλιος | Δάμουν | κώμης Κλωσσαμυρών | γεωκόρος τοῦ Δάμος Βουσουρεψ(ί)ου | σὺν θεού | κατεκεκάστε τὸ μημεῖον = *Carp. Inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4102. No. 2 at *Karayuk* on a stèle surmounted by a fragmentary wreath Θάρη. Φιλάρας | φΣτατελίου | κώμης Ἰκοταρίου λείτης | καὶ τίπητεών | Δάμος Βουσουρεψ(ί)ος | φρονών εἰντον τὸ μημεῖον κατεκεκάστε. Anderson loc. cit. p. 165 adds: 'The epithet Bussurigios is undoubtedly Celtic, as is clear from a comparison with Bussumarus or Bussumarius, a Celtic god identified with Jupiter Optimus Maximus in two inscriptions of the Dacian Apulum and probably in an inscription of Moesia Inferior [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4621 with n.]. The termination -*mārus*, 'great,' is common in Celtic personal names.... As Bussumarus is Bussu magnus, so Bussurigios is Bussu regius. The Celtic equivalent of *rex* (O. Irish *rī*, gen. *rīg*) is one of the commonest terminations of Gallic personal names...?'

ii. 578 n. 4. A. W. Persson in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 399 ff. adds two more inscriptions from Mylasa: no. 4, 15 f. [δάγαρδψαι δὲ τοῦ τοῦ] | [ψήφισμα ἐν τῶν λεπίων τοῦ Δάμος Οἰσογῶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον] and no. 5, C 3 f. [δάγαρδψαι δὲ τοῦ τοῦ ψήφισμα ἐν τῶν] | [λεπίων τοῦ Δάμος Οἰσογῶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον]. See further an important paper by A. Laumonier 'Notes sur un voyage en Carie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 31—55 figs. 1—20.

ii. 582 Poseidon originally a specialised form of Zeus. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 72 n. 2 pronounces this view to be 'fort vraisemblable.'

ii. 583 ff. the name *Poseidōn*. A. Mommsen *Delphika* Leipzig 1878 p. 3 ff. regards Poseidon as 'ostgriechischer Obergott' and ib. p. 7 f. already advances the true derivation of his name: 'Das Wort Poseidon bedeutet vielleicht *Zēbē δέσποτης*. Man kann von der aoliischen Form *Ποτεΐδης* oder *Ποτεΐδα* (vgl. *Ποτείδαι*, lokr. Stadtname) ausgehn. Dan ist Zeus. Die beiden ersten Silben gehen auf skt. *patis* Herr zurück, welchem Stamme auch griech. *πότνια δέσποτη δέσποτα* angehören. Danach ist Poseidon ursprünglich ein modifizierter Zeus, der Wortsinn: Gott der Herr, Herrgott.'

A. Carnoy 'Etymologie du nom du dieu de la mer Poseidon' in the *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 1924 iii. 390 f.: 'Ποτεῖ signifiant "malte" (mis au vocatif donne τοὺς) et un mot δέσποτος signifiant "eau" et qu'on retrouve dans diverses langues indo-européennes avec le sens de corps liquide.'

G. H. Macurdy 'The Name *Poseidōn* and Other Names Ending in -*oū* in the Iliad' in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1930 li. 286—288 argues that all such names are either Trojan or Northern and postulates a Northern origin for Poseidon.

ii. 587 Zeus *Pilaxos* or *Spilaxos*. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—C. W. M. Cox in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1924 xiv. 71 f. no. 105 pl. 16, 105 a, b publish the back of a limestone seat found at *Ak Kilitse* in Issauria bearing a dedicatory inscription Ποδαδβιον Πολωσου ζδρψ | καὶ ἡ κώμη αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ διαρρόητον αὐτὸς καὶ Τ[.....] | Τ[.....] Αρτον, which probably means 'Podadbiou (an indeclinable personal name) dedicated this seat of *Pilaxos* and so did the god's village in accordance with a dream: Podadbiou himself and T[.....] son of Attes set it up.' See further T. Klausen *Die Cathedra im Totenkult der heidnischen und christlichen Antike* Münster in Westf. 1927 p. 49 n. 21.

ii. 587 n. 7. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 73 n. 2 doubts the equation  $\pi\delta\kappa\epsilon\nu$ =*balag*, citing C. Autran 'La Grèce et l'Orient ancien' in *Babylonica* 1924 viii. 185 n. 1 ('*balag* dont le sens probable est bien plutôt de *lyre, ou harpe*'), *id. Sumérien et Indo-européen* Paris 1925 p. iv n. 1. Further literature on this disputed question is noted by A. Nehring 'Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat' in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 31 n. 11.

ii. 594 pectoral ornament (?). In favour of such a *προστηθίδων* see also W. Müller in the *Röm. Mitt.* 1919 xxxiv. 93 ff., C. Picard *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 p. 529 ff., *id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 73 n. 1, and especially G. Furlani 'Ornamenti astrali e corazze di dei dell'Asia anteriore' in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 1931 vii. 43 ff.

ii. 594 the temple of Athena *Alla*. C. Dugas—J. Berchmans—M. Clemmensen *Le sanctuaire d'Alla Athéna à Téhé au ix<sup>e</sup> siècle* Paris 1924 i. 1—144 with 41 figs. and ii Atlas of 116 pls.

ii. 600 f. The double axe and the Labyrinth. R. Ganszyniec 'Labrys' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 286—307 gives a well-arranged and interesting survey of the facts. Humborg *ib.* xii. 314 f. and G. Karo *ib.* xii. 321 deal with  $\lambda\delta\beta\rho\sigma$  and  $\lambda\alpha\beta\theta\rho\sigma\theta\sigma$ . G. Dumézil 'ΛΑΒΡΤΣ' in the *Journal asiatique* 1929 cccv. 237—252 derives  $\lambda\delta\beta\rho\sigma$  and its congeners ('l'asianique et égénie  $\lambda\delta\beta\rho\sigma$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\beta\theta\rho\sigma$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\beta\theta\rho\sigma$ ') from a pre-Greek word which he connects with the classical and modern Georgian *lahtvari*, 'lance.' Early Georgian lances, preserved in churches and museums, have a bifurcated blade. In Mingrelia they are regularly taken to be the arms of St George, who mounted on horseback attacks evil spirits issuing from the sea with his double lance ('il leur porte des coups avec sa lance; chacun de ces coups s'accompagne du tonnerre que nous entendons, et fait jaillir des étincelles, qui sont l'éclair'). Dumézil views the double lance *lahtvari* as the lineal successor of the double axe  $\lambda\delta\beta\rho\sigma$ , the essential point being its twofold blade ('force redoublée? perfection? union des sexes?')—a convincing conclusion. H. Güntert 'Labyrinth. Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad.* d. *Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1932/3 Abb. i. 1—49 would relate  $\lambda\alpha\beta\theta\rho\sigma\theta\sigma$  to  $\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\sigma$  'stone,' and takes  $\lambda\delta\beta\rho\sigma$  as 'Steinbeil.' But his contentions are traversed by P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1934 xxii. 252 f. ('Diese Etymologie scheitert daran, dass  $\lambda\alpha\beta\theta\rho\sigma\theta\sigma$ ,  $\lambda\delta\beta\rho\sigma$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\beta\theta\rho\sigma\theta\sigma$  immer nur mit  $\beta$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\sigma$  dagegen nur mit  $\nu$  bezeugt ist, die Bed. "Stein" an die Form mit  $\nu$  geknüpft ist'). See further C. Picard 'Les origines du Labyrinthe' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 264 f.

ii. 601. H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 380 thinks that I am here confusing the Quinquennalia of Maxentius, *i.e.* the celebration of the fifth year of his reign, with the quinquennial *agon Capitolinus* of Domitian, which had ceased to exist centuries before Maxentius was born. But the Quinquennalia of Maxentius would have fallen in 311, not 312. Also, Lactantius states that the Quinquennalia in question were ending and that Maxentius' day had not yet come. He is probably alluding to the *ludi Capitolini*, which were still being held (G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1528, L. C. Purser in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 86). I adhere therefore to my view as expressed in the text.

ii. 607 E. Conybeare's suggestion that the *labarum* was derived from the *labrys*. The same solution of the problem was reached independently by E. Harrison, who however—so far as I know—did not publish it.

H. Grégoire 'L'étymologie de "Labarum"' in *Byzantion* 1927—1928 iv. 477—482 comes to the following conclusion: 'La *laurea* en or qui enferme le Chrisme est l'élément caractéristique du sublime étendard décoré en outre des images *laureas* des pieux empereurs. De même qu'on disait le *dragon* ou l'aigle, *draco*, *aquila*, pour l'étendard surmonté du dragon ou de l'aigle, on a dû qualifier le nouveau *rexillum* à la couronne d'un nom dérivé de *laurea*. Et, de même que le *labarum* n'est qu'une variante du *lauratium*, *laureum* n'est qu'une variante de *laureatum*'.

ii. 613 the hidden meaning of knife or double axe. R. Eisler drew my attention (Oct. 14, 1908) to the small axe received by the Essenes when admitted to the order (Joseph. de bell. Iud. 2. 8. 9 ταῦ δ' ἀλλα ημέρα βόθρον δρεσσούτες βάθος ποδιαῖς τῷ εκαλύπτει, τοσούτος γάρ ἐστι τὸ διδόμενον ὅτι ἀντῶν δικτύον τοῖς νεοσυντάροις, καὶ περικαλύψεις θομάτιον, ὃς μὴ τὰ αὐγάς ἴθριζεν τοῦ θεοῦ, θακεύοντος εἰς ἀντρόν. κ.τ.λ.).

ii. 613 Simias' poem on the axe of Epeios. W. Deonna 'Les "poèmes figurés"' in the *Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 1926 I. 187—193 ('Il s'agit d'un procédé instinctif et universel, ancien et moderne, européen ou oriental, qui n'a qu'une intention: résumer en quelque sorte par une image le sens du texte écrit, donner de

celui-ci une transposition figurée. On constate de plus que certains de ces arrangements ont un sens religieux ou magique'.

ii. 614 ff. Zeus (?) and the Centaur. J. C. Hoppin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1900 iv. 443 ff. pl. 6 (part of which = my fig. 893) published a proto-Corinthian *lkythos* of the early seventh century at Boston (inv. no. 6508), interpreting the main scene as a Centaur attacked by Herakles (sheathed sword, branch, tree-root). K. F. Johansen *Les vases sicyoniens* Paris—Copenhagen 1923 p. 146 f. fig. 109 pl. 22, 2d thinks that we have here an early version of the Lapith v. Centaur myth. E. Buschor 'Kentauren' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 128 f. fig. 1 rightly recognises Zeus with a sword at his side, a sceptre in his right hand, and a thunderbolt in his left, but would have us believe that the horse-monster is Typhon. To my thinking, this thunderbolt-bearing figure strongly supports our explanation of the axe-bearing figure as Zeus.

ii. 620 Sucaelus the mallet-god. For a Cornish counterpart of Sucaelus see 'Jack of the Hammer,' whose exploits are told by W. Bottrell *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* Penzance 1870 p. 10 ff. He passed as 'a travelling tinkard... hammer in hand,' but proved more than a match for Tom the eight-foot giant-killer. 'The tinkard, taking his black-thorn stick in the middle, made it spin so fast that it looked like a wheel flying round Tom's head and ears.... Tom didn't know the play;—though the few downright blows he gave came down with the force of a sledge hammer,



Fig. 893.

they had no effect on the tinkard, because he wore a leather coat, the like of which was never seen in the west country before. This coat, made of a black bull's hide, left almost whole, was without a seam, and dressed with the curly hair on it. On the breast, back, and shoulders it was as hard as iron, and roared like thunder whenever Tom struck it, which made him think he had to deal with the devil.' Etc. See further Keune 'Sucellus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 515—540.

ii. 620. Thor's hammer used as a pendant or amulet is well illustrated by J. J. A. Worsaae *Nordiske Oldsager i Det Kongelige Museum i Kjöbenhavn* Kjöbenhavn 1859 p. 113 fig. 469 and P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee* Leipzig 1936 p. 65 ff. figs. 24—26 pls. 17, 1 and 23, (3).

ii. 630. Mrs A. Strong 'Sepulchral Relief of a Priest of Bellona' in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1920 ix. 205—213 pl. 26 discusses an inscribed tombstone from the Via Triumphalis, now in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana at Rome (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2233 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4182, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 173 f. no. 3876). The relief shows L. Lartius Anthus, a *cistophorus* and priest of Bellona *Pulvinensis* wearing a bay-wreath with three medallions (Mars, Bellona, Minerva?) and carrying in his right hand a bay-branch, in his left two small double axes.

ii. 632 n. 6 axes with animal heads. Other examples are collected by P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 ff. figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 15.

ii. 633 fig. 542 f. axes backed by a bull. Cp. G. A. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 43 (*supra* p. 884 n. o).

ii. 635 f. Trojan axe-hammers of blue or green stone. H. Schmidt 'Zu den trojanischen

'Prachtbeilen' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 123—125 (summarised by R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1925 xxxviii. 214 f.), A. M. Tallgren in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 121 pl. 62, a, b, S. Casson 'Battle-axes from Troy' in *Antiquity* 1933 vii. 337—339 pls. 1 ('nephrite, almost indigo in colour') and 2 ('rich blue lapis lazuli flecked with brown spots and striated').

ii. 637 amber axes. An amber axe from Birka in Sweden is published by P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee* Leipzig 1936 p. 73 fig. 30, a.

ii. 637 Cretan double axes. S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix Arch. Anz. pp. 251—254 records important finds made at the cave of *Arkakochori* in a hill  $\frac{1}{2}$  hours from Lyktos. First children and then adults of the neighbourhood discovered in one corner of the cave a mass of bronzes and a pair of small double axes in gold. The authorities hearing of it intervened and appropriated some twenty gold double axes, leaving perhaps another ten in the hands of the rustics. Bronze double axes, knives, and swords were found in considerable numbers, all heaped together in a space of two or three square metres. The small double axes of gold (*ibid.* fig. 3 shows four) are decorated with a leaf-pattern which points to the beginning of the 'Late Minoan II' period (1450—1400 B.C.) or else with engraved lines of a more usual type. A few axes are of silver. The whole treasure had been sealed up by a fall of rock, probably occasioned by an earthquake. But votive offerings continued to be made at the mouth of the cave down to the end of the 'Minoan' age and even later (a few proto-geometric finds?). Marinatos concludes: 'Es erhebt sich die Frage nach der Gottheit dieser an Funden bisher reichsten Kulthöhle Kretas. Sollte sie nicht die berühmte Höhle des Zeus und der Rhea sein [*supra* ii. 925 n. 1], die manche in Psychro zu finden glaubten?' Reports in *The Times* of June 29, 1935 p. 13 and in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 354 mention that the recent excavations in the *Arkakochori* district have found hundreds of copper 'Minoan' axes (one with three lines of hieroglyphic inscription (c. 1600 B.C.)), a number of silver axes, and twenty-seven gold double axes with golden shafts. These finds have been taken to the Candia Museum for cleaning. See further Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 1. 346 f. fig. 290 (three gold axes, enlarged) and 378 fig. 315 bis (four miniature bronze axes). S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 I Arch. Anz. pp. 248—254 figs. 3 (gold model of mountain?), 4 (bronze double axe), 6 (the ten hieroglyphic characters of the inscribed double axe) now concludes: 'Da sich aber nach Abschluss der Grabung ergab, dass die Höhle nichts Jüngeres als SM.I enthielt, gehörten m.E. auch die goldenen Beile in diese Zeit,' etc. J. D. S. Pendlebury *The Archaeology of Crete* London 1939 pp. 212, 232, 236 pl. 36, 3 (three gold axes).

ii. 641 n. 2. Recent writers on Charon are B. Schmidt 'Charon' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 79—81, F. de Ruyt *Charon démon étrusque de la mort* Bruxelles 1934 pp. 1—305 with 58 pls. (reviewed by A. Grenier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 ii. 128—131, by F. Pfister in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 28, 1935 p. 1092 f., by H. J. Rose in the *Class. Rev.* 1935 xlii. 24 f. and in *Gnomon* 1935 xi. 278 f.). Schmidt holds that the Etruscans, originally dwellers in Asia Minor, owe their conception of Charon to the influence of Assyrian demons. Rose makes the further helpful suggestion that Charon's mallet or hammer on Asiatic soil was the double axe of a thunder-god, which might well be used by an underground power to produce the subterranean thunders that portended death (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 138)—a view anticipated by me *supra* ii. 641.

ii. 642 n. 2 fig. 559. With the upper end cp. the votive terra-cotta *ktels* in the Berlin Antiquarium (H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1926 ii. 76 fig. also the votive marbles in Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 164 nos. 1594 ff., 1821, 2730).

ii. 643 n. 7 designs incised on neolithic celts. O. Tafrali in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 i. 26—28 figures a flat celt of smooth stone bearing an incised quadruped and inscription. This suspicious-looking object is said to have been found at Rădăşani, near Folticeni, in Moldavia. Prof. Tafrali deems it to be of neolithic date and comparable with finds at Gózel!

ii. 643 ff. designs incised on double axes of bronze. In a small collection of 'Minoan' double axes I have two which, on account of their decoration, are deserving of special notice.

One is an almost oblong axe of bronze (fig. 894 a, b, c. Length  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches) with dark green patina. On either side of it is incised a lion recumbent on rough or rocky ground with whisking tail. I obtained this axe from a Cretan vendor with no indication of its provenance. But Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me that he had already seen it at Mokhos,  $\frac{1}{2}$  hours south of Mallia. He adds: 'It comes from a place called Mousa (the "meeting place"), where are MM and LM sherds, close by a small lake  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour east of the village. There is an EM site on a hill 25 minutes to the north-east called 'Eðixrys' or 'Ariepostia, and from somewhere not far off come Neolithic sherds. Classical-Roman, near Mousa.'

The rocky ground is characteristic. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2, 450—454 dilates on the 'Minoan passion for rock scenery': cp. e.g. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 848 pl. 16, 12 and 840 fig. 424 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 3, 2 and 46, ii. 14 and 16 = H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete*<sup>3</sup> London 1937 p. 36 pl. 231

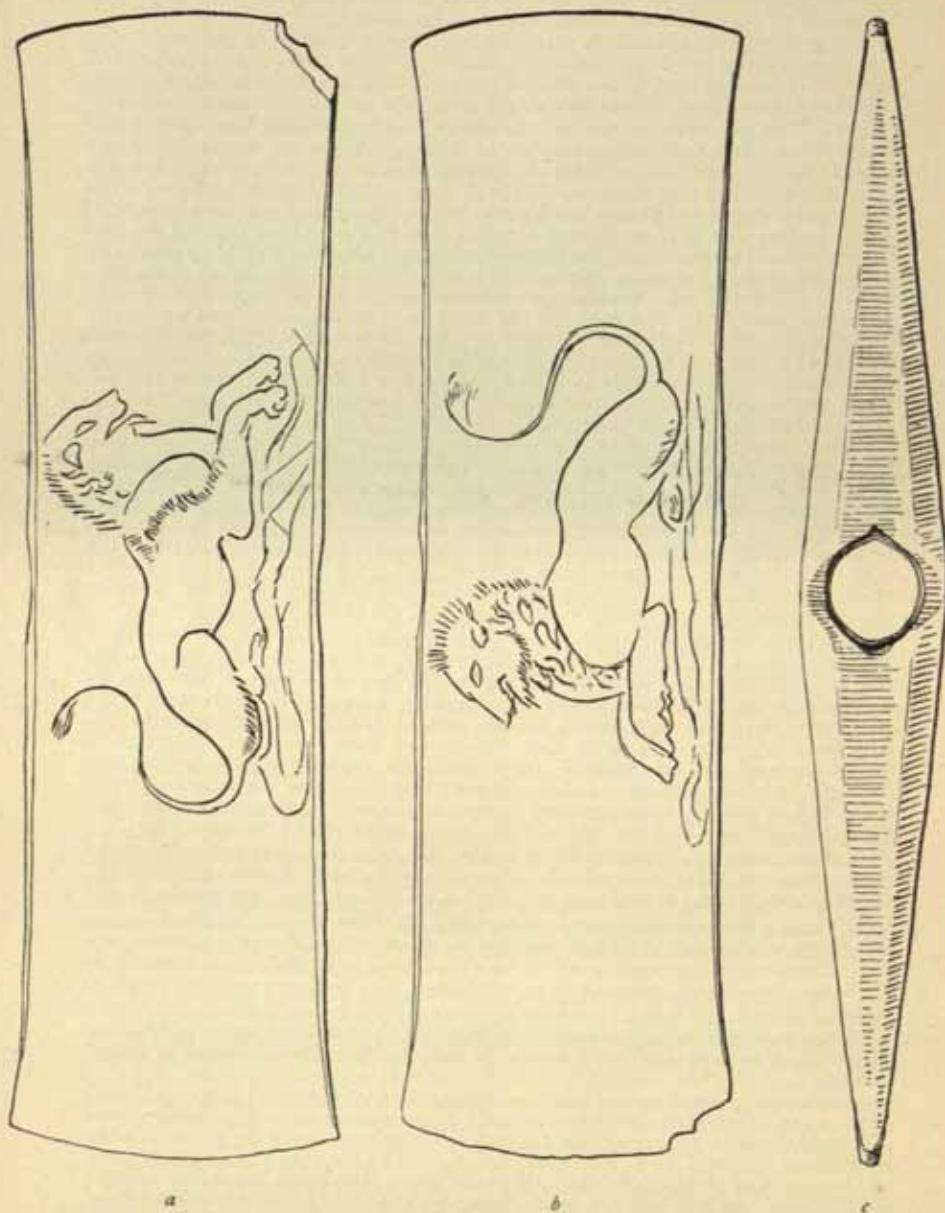


Fig. 894.

fig. 394, *a* and p. 37 pl. 235 fig. 398, *g*. The same feature recurs on occasion in later Cretan art (*supra* i. 528 fig. 394).

The second axe (fig. 895 *a, b*. Length 7½ inches) was found near Athens. It is of yellow bronze with blackish patination, in part scrubbed off by sand-paper. Its outline is of a later type with more pronounced curves, and it is decorated on both sides with *pointillé* patterning. Within a border of chevrons are a man, a waterfowl, a horse, and a wheel. I have suggested (*supra* p. 605 n. 3) that these are the constituents of a solar

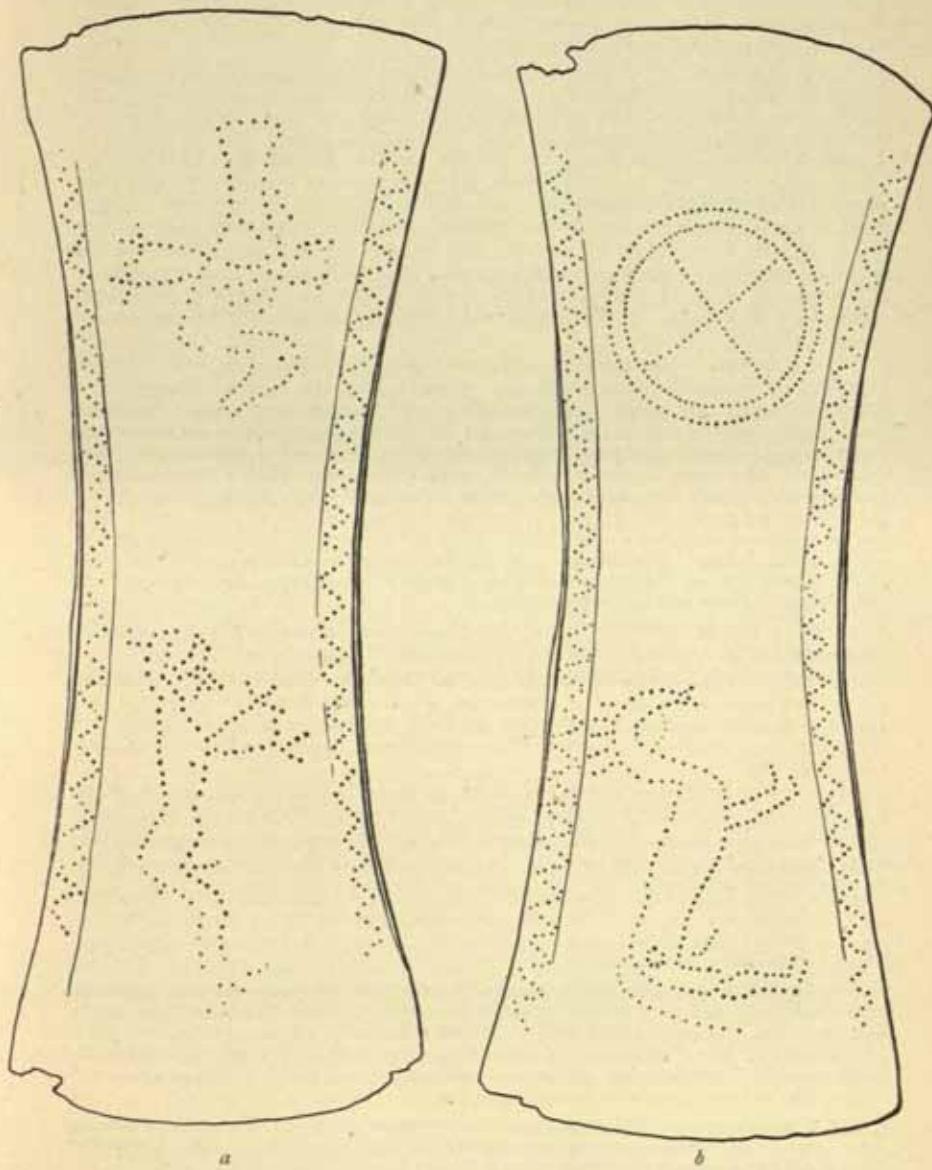


Fig. 895.

equipage as rendered in the Hallstatt period. If so, the axe was presumably in some sense a sacred object.

ii. 645 n. 4 the soul as a butterfly. The Copenhagen gem (fig. 563) is now included in P. Fossing *The Thorvaldsen Museum: Catalogue of the antique engraved gems and cameos* Copenhagen 1929 p. 91 no. 504 pl. 7. The Berlin amphora (no. 1684) is figured by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Zürich 1928 Ergänzungsband p. 73.

ii. 648 n. 1 axe-pendants from Benin. P. Amaury Talbot *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* Oxford 1927 p. 8 'A considerable number of examples of the old Minoan double-headed axe cult were found in other parts of West and Central Africa' (criticised by A. R. Wright in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 215 f.).

ii. 656 n. 0 ingots. C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 1 ff. figs. 1—4 points out that these ingots were cast in the shape of an ox-hide dried and stretched, one side rough and hairy, the other raw with inward curling edges, just because they were an ox-unit, the price of an ox in base metal. Cp. id. *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 7 f. with figs. 1 and 2. K. Regling in Ebert *Reallex.* iv. 1. 223 with pl. 100, a—d still (1926) speaks of them as 'die doppelbeilförmigen Kupferbarren des Mittelmeergebietes.' H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete* London 1937 p. 43 pl. 277 fig. 525, a—e is non-committal. But Seltman is clearly right.

ii. 663. W. R. Halliday 'Tenes' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 36—44 insists on 'the absolute unanimity of tradition which associates Tenes with Apollo,' not with Zeus or Dionysos. Id. ib. p. 39 quotes Aristeides of Miletos *frag.* 32 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 327 Müller) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τένεδος ... τὸν τε Τενίδην Ἀπόλλωνα πέλεκυν κρατεῖ, but questions its reliability.

ii. 664 fig. 603. This bronze plaque is now at Berlin (photograph in F. J. Dölger *ΙΧΘΥΣ* Münster in Westf. 1922 iii. pl. 33). A marble altar of s. iii (?) A.D. from *Ineuunu*, Phrygia (Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 52 ff. no. 846 with 4 figs.), has reliefs on its front, back, left, and right sides. (a) On the front, a rider-god on horse-back, brandishing a double axe, gallops uphill: above him is inscribed ἀγαθῆ τύχη. Θεοῖς Ὁσιοῖς καὶ Δ[ι]καιοῖς Προφελ[οι] | Παῖες εὐχήσ. (b) On the back, a draped goddess holding grape-bunch and *cornu copiae* stands on a small plinth beside a fruitful vine-branch and a large *krater*. (c) On the left side, Asklepios with oval object (fruit? egg?) and serpent-staff stands on a small plinth: above him is inscribed Ασκλάπιος καὶ Ασκληπίων. (d) On the right side, Nemesis draped and veiled holding scales (?) and cubit-rule stands on a small plinth between two thick garlands terminated at either end by three ivy-leaves.

ii. 665 n. 1. See further K. Tümpel 'Der Karabos des Perseus' in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 544—553.

ii. 666 n. 1 *Cancer*, 'the Crab.' D'Arcy W. Thompson 'The Emblem of the Crab in relation to the sign Cancer' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 1899 xxxix. 603—611 maintains that the crab as divine attribute or emblem regularly presupposes the constellation Cancer, which was *domus Lunae, exaltatio Jovis, sedes Mercurii*, etc.

ii. 667 n. 3 fig. 606. Cp. Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1547 f. no. 2328 pl. 78, 12, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 238 no. 2032 pl. 65, 3, *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 26, 794 f. Lloyd. Since on a later tetradrachm of Kamarina Ξ + Ξ is the beginning of an artist's name (*Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 29, 868 Lloyd), presumably that of Exakestidas (*ib.* pl. 29, 871 Lloyd), *Ionice Exekestides*, it is probable that Α + Ξ on the Agrigentine coin stands for the name of a magistrate or artist Exakestidas, grandfather of the later engraver. For + instead of Ξ see W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i pl. 3 ('Westliche Alphabete').

ii. 673. A bronze coin of Chersonesos Taurike, struck c. 300—200 B.C., copies the Tenedian combination of god and goddess (*Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 3 pl. 1, 7 Artemis and Herakles, Head *Hist. num.* p. 279 young Dionysos (?) and Zeus (?), E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pl. 4, 7 Artemis and bearded Dionysus (?). I have another specimen of this scarce coin, and I incline to agree with Head that the type represents Dionysos and Zeus).

ii. 675 androgynous deities. See now the important study of J. Halley des Fontaines *La notion d'androgynie dans quelques mythes et quelques rites* Paris 1938 with 16 figs. pp. 1—231 (pp. 216—219 'Résumé et conclusions').

ii. 681 figs. 621—624. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 75

observes that in the tree-cutting scene on the coins of Aphrodisias the second man averts his face owing to a sort of visual taboo, for which parallels are cited.

ii. 687 rock-carvings of the hafted axe. At the base of Ben Vorlich, not far from the shore of Loch Lomond, a great rock called in Gaelic *Clach nan Tairbh*, 'The Rock of the Bulls,' bears the rough outline of a hafted axe (A. D. Lacaille in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 233 ff. pls. 4 and 5).

ii. 688 ff. n. o. M. C. Burkitt 'Rock Carvings in the Italian Alps' in *Antiquity* 1929 iii. 155—164 with map and pls. 1—7 discusses the designs pock-marked on the red rock-surfaces of Monte Bego and attributes them to seasonal pilgrimages of a neighbouring agricultural population made during the Bronze Age at different dates but in all cases prior to c. 300 A.D. (absence of Christian symbols). P. Reinecke in *Germania* 1934 xviii. 46—48 reports on two sandstone blocks in the Val Camonica and would date their drawings to the pre-Roman Iron Age or more probably to the Bronze Age. P. Jacobsthal 'Celtic Rock-Carvings in Northern Italy and Yorkshire' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 65—69 accepts the contention of F. Altheim and E. Trautmann 'Nordische und italische Felsbildkunst' in *Die Welt als Geschichte* 1937 iii. 83—113 that the largest of all rock-carvings in the Val Camonica (fig. 3 = Jacobsthal pl. 9, 1) represents the Celtic stag-god Cernunnos with a small-scale worshipper. See further *eid.* 'Neue Felsbilder aus der Val Camonica: Die Sonne in Kult und Mythos' in *Wörter und Sachen* N.F. 1938 i. 12—45 pls. 1—32.

ii. 690 Penelope's marriage-test. E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage*<sup>8</sup> London 1921 ii. 490 notes that among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur the bridegroom shoots an arrow through the loophole formed by the bride's uplifted arm, and suggests that this was a magical means of securing the bride's safe delivery. I suspect that we have here the ultimate explanation of the marriage-test proposed by Penelope.

ii. 692 ff. Tereus. M. Bieber 'Tereus' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 11—18 pl. 2 publishes a sherd from Paestum, now at Dresden, which shows Tereus pursuing Prokne and Philomela with a double axe in his hand (A. D. Trendall *Paestan Pottery* London 1936 p. 127 no. 290 'Tereus (?)'). O. Schroeder 'ΠΡΟΚΝΗ' in *Hermes* 1926 li. 423—436 discusses the development of the myth.

ii. 699 "wine-skin" and "hatchet." 'Y.' in *The Cambridge Review* 1926 xvii. 268 draws attention to a better solution of this long-standing problem propounded by S. Koujeas 'ΑΣΚΟΣ-ΠΙΕΛΕΚΤΣ' in *Hermes* 1906 xli. 478—480, who remarks that at Abia in Lakonike words meaning 'wine-skin' and 'hatchet' are used in popular speech to denote the contrast of light and heavy: thus πλέχει σάρα δοκι 'he swims like a wine-skin,' πλέχει σάρα τσυκούρη 'he swims like an axe.' The visitor bouncing the baby says the tactful thing.

ii. 699 small bronze axes. F. Haverfield in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Norfolk* London s.a. i. 292 fig. 9 illustrates a tiny bronze axe found at Caister-by-Norwich (Venta Icenorum).

ii. 699 n. 7. On Osthanes see now J. Bidez—F. Cumont *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Ostanès et Hystrapse d'après la tradition grecque* Paris 1938 i. 165—212, ii. 265—356.

ii. 703 n. 2 a hammer thrown to ratify the acquisition of property. K. Künstle *Ikonographie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 597 f. says of St Wolfgang (Oct. 31): 'Auf den Wolfgangsbildern, die vom Kloster Mondsee ausgehen, trägt der Heilige fast regelmässig ein Beil oder eine Axt als Attribut. Dies ist aus dem langen Kampfe herausgewachsen, den das Kloster um den Besitz der Gegend am Abersee, die man das "Wolfgangsland" nannte, gegen Salzburg und das Hochstift Regensburg führte. Die spätere Legende erzählt nämlich, Wolfgang habe, als er im Abereforst ein Einsiedlerleben führte, mittelst des Werfens eines Beiles, das in dem später nach ihm benannten Orte niederfiel, den Platz gesucht, wo er eine Zelle und eine Kirche mit eigenen Händen erbauen wollte. Durch diese Handlung hat er für sein Eigenkloster Mondsee von dieser Gegend Besitz genommen. Der Beilwurf ist nämlich ein altgermanischer Rechtsbrauch; er diente zur Ermittlung des Verlaufs einer Grenze und bestimmte die jeweilige Erstreckung des Rechtes auf Grund und Boden. Das Beil wurde so Sinnbild der Besitzergreifung.' Etc.

ii. 704 the spear of Zeus. L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl. 155 cp. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 5 τὸν αἰγαράκη πεπωνόν.

ii. 707 n. 1. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 69 f. no. 17 gives a facsimile of this inscription, and dates it in 68 A.D.

ii. 722 Zeus Horkios at Olympia. On the exact site of this statue see E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 274.

ii. 723 n. o Zeus *Skylios*. An inscription of 120 A.D., found at *Rhotäsi* (Rhyton) and now in the Museum at Candia, speaks of a letter restored by a priest of Zeus *Skylios* and of an imperial rescript, relating to Gortynian trespassers on his sacred domains, which had been engraved on a *stèle* kept in his sanctuary (*Inscr. Cret.* i. 303 ff. Rhyton no. 1, 6 ff. Αὐθόρος ὁ [κατα]ράθεις | ερεύν Διὸς [Σκυλίον τῆν] | Πυριασιων κώμης καὶ Πέλογον | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 16 ff. [ισχ]ηποτοιαῖς | προφέρει[κα]ρ -----] καθ' ἄν | φαβεραι[-----] | Διὸς Σκυλίου κ.τ.λ. with the remarks of M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1931 ii. 243 and A. M. W[oodward] *ib.* 1936 lvi. 97). B. Kock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 647 s.v. 'Skylios' and 660 s.v. 'Skylios.' Further literature cited by E. Fehrlé in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 659 f., including the view of W. Aly in *Klio* 1911 xi. 15 and *Philologus* 1912 Ixxi. 473 that Zeus Σκύλλης was a sea-god akin to Skylla the sea-monster and Skyllies the diver (*supra* p. 414).

ii. 724 n. o On oaths that must be taken in the open, not under a roof, see P. Sartori 'Das Dach im Volksglauben' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 234 f., Weiser in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*: Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 124.

ii. 725 fig. 660 f. A. Della Seta *Italia Antica* Bergamo 1922 p. 252 fig. 281 has a photograph of this statue with the arms restored as holding a bow in the right hand, a hawk (?) in the left.



Fig. 896.

ii. 727 Zeus and the boar. The *stèle* of Zeus *Karaïs* at Thespiai (*infra* on ii. 874 n. 2) has three reliefs—a filleted *bucranium*, a boar's skull, and a boar's jaw (?) (P. Jamot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 262 with fig. 37).

ii. 727 n. 3 Zeus in relation to oaths. An engraved gem of pink jasper (?), found in Makedonia and now in my collection (fig. 896: scale ʃ), shows Sarapis (*kolathos*, wreath) standing before Zeus (sceptre, thunderbolt) and between them the word ΩΜΟΙ CA. Fairly good Hellenistic work. Possibly the seal of some public functionary.

ii. 731 fig. 663 Zeus wielding thunderbolt. A. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 12 f. no. 10 pls. 23—25.

ii. 731 fig. 663 Zeus wielding thunderbolt and sceptre. Among the scenes represented on the great *kalyx-krater* in New York by 'the Nekyia Painter' c. 450—440 B.C. (P. Jacobsthal 'The Nekyia Krater in New York' in the *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1934—1936 v. 117—145 with 21 figs., P. Friedländer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 I Arch. Anz. pp. 20—33 figs. 1—4, G. M. A. Richter *Red-figure Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 168—171 no. 135 pls. 135—137 and 170 (of which pl. 137 = my fig. 897)) is one—lower frieze B—in which Zeus, supported by Hermes, blasts a Giant, presumably Porphyron (*supra* p. 55 ff. n. 5).

ii. 733 ff. fig. 665 *psychostasis*. The Paris fragment is re-published by J. D. Beazley *Der Kleophrades-Maler* Berlin 1933 p. 26 no. 37 pl. 2 and pl. 30, 6. The subject in general is handled by E. Wüst 'Psychostasis' in the *Blätter für das Bayerische Gymnasial-Schulwesen* 1929 lxv. 201—211. See also W. Deonna 'Ex-voto déliens' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1932 lvi. 478 ff. with figs. 15 and 16, M. P. Perry 'On the psychostasis in Christian art' in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 1912/13 xxii. 94—105 and 208—218 with 4 pls., W. L. Nash 'The origin of the mediaeval representations

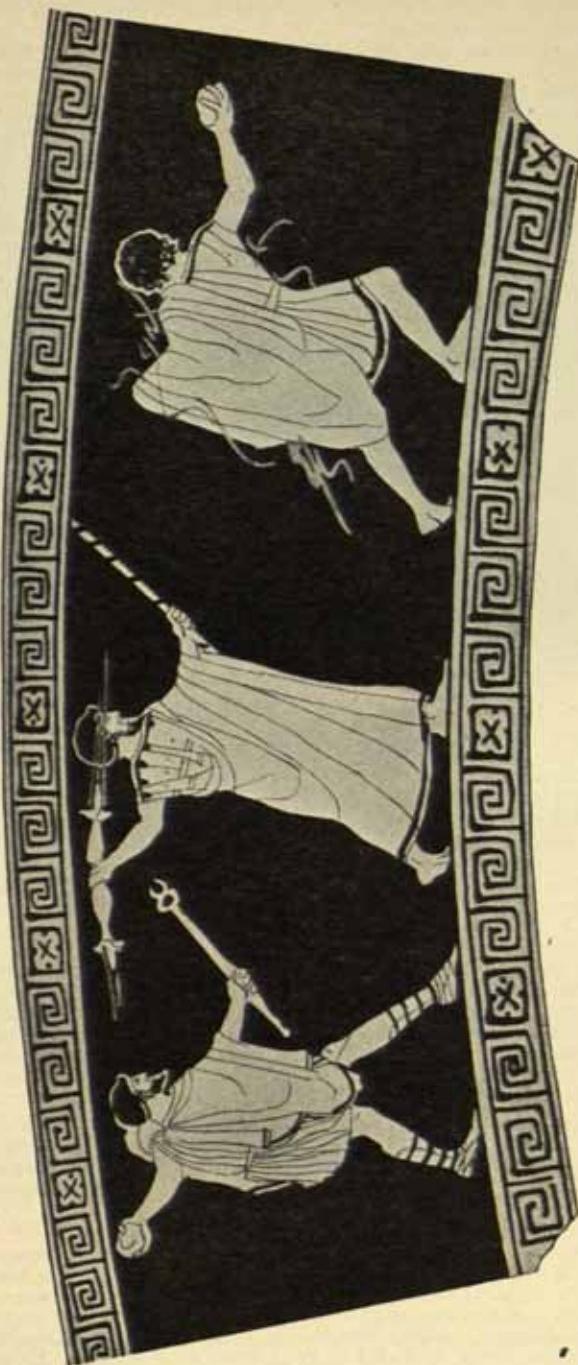


Fig. 897.

of the weighing of the soul after death' in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1918 xl. 19–29 pl. 1.

ii. 734 n. 3 the scales of Zeus. Add Kerkidas meliamb. 4. 24 ff. Powell = 2. 24 ff. Knox = 1. 16 ff. Diehl και μάρ τὸ γέλατος ὁ σεμός | διπεροπαγέρεται | μέσον τὸ Ολυμπίων . . . . | ὥρθε [τετράει] | [εἰπε] νένεκες οὐδέμην | καὶ τούθ | Ομηρος | εἶτε δὲ Τιτανός | πέτει δ', θεας αἰσιος ἀμαρ, | αὐδροῖς εὐδαλμοῖς [ηρ]. | τῶν οὖν ἐμίν οὐσιῶν ἔργειν | ὥρθεις ωρογενάρας; | τὰ δὲ τεχατα Βρόγια Μοιών, | ἄσοις δέ θηρ λέγειν, | δοσος [τετράει] τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς | τῶν Διὸς πλα[στ]ηγγιον with the notes of the three successive editors (I. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1925 p. 204 ff., A. D. Knox in the Loeb ed. London 1929 p. 196 ff., E. Diehl *Anthologia lyrica Graeca* Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 123. Cp. E. A. Barber in *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Oxford 1921 p. 6).

M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 267 with fig. 56 claims that a Cypro-Mycenaean vase of c. 1300 B.C. found during the Swedish excavations in the upper burial stratum of chamber tomb no. 17 at Enkomi, represents 'Zeus taking the scales of destiny in order to determine the fate of the combatants, a famous scene of the Iliad,' etc. But Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 659 n. 2 fig. 646 justly demurs. The scene is merely commercial, or at most a matter of ransom.



Fig. 898.

ii. 739 ff. early types of Zeus advancing from left to right. C. D. Bicknell suggests to me (Jan. 3, 1934) that a precursor of Zeus advancing with bolt and bird may be seen on a *pithos*-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C., published by S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 311 figs. 20 and 21 (=my fig. 898), cp. T. B. L. Webster in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1939 lix. 103 fig. 1. Pl. lxxxi is from a photograph procured for me from H. G. G. Payne through the kind offices of my old pupil Mr E. J. P. Raven. The lid shows a nude male figure advancing to the right with a triple lightning-fork in his right hand, a bird on his left. Before him is a tripod, on which is another bird with a third on a stone beside it. Beneath the tripod a human head rises from the ground (?as central support of the tripod: *supra* ii. 193). Marinatos comments: 'Es handelt sich wohl um eine mythologische Szene.' But it is possible that the 'tripod' was meant for an altar, and that the head seen on the face of it marks it as the altar of the advancing god. The interpretation is very uncertain.

A bronze statuette (height 0·165m: bright green patina), found near Epidaurus (?), later in the Tyskiewicz and Dutuit collections, and now in the Petit Palais at Paris, represents a nude bearded male figure advancing to the right with his right arm raised and his left thrown forward—the whole on a bronze base inscribed HVBRIS STASIS ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ. Peloponnesian work of 600–550 B.C. K. Wernicke in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 167 f., cp. p. 339 took the subject to be a young warrior with spear and shield. But most critics have assumed Zeus fulminant (W. Fröhner *La collection Tyskiewicz* Munich 1892 p. 18 pl. 21 (=my fig. 899) ('Un aigle perchait sur le revers de la main gauche du dieu; cette main est d'ailleurs perforée'), Reinach *Rdp. Stat.* ii. 1 no. 2, A. Furtwängler *Alteine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 467 fig. 9, G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 33, A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*



*Pithos-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C.:*  
Zeus advancing with triple lightning-fork and bird.

*See page 1148 and page 1150 fig. 898.*



Leipzig 1928 xiii./xiv. p. ix fig. 116 ('um 460 v. Chr.'), W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 pp. 95 (c. 550 B.C.), 148 f., 153 pl. 32, a. Fröhner's facsimile of the inscription is repeated in *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1476.

Between April 1926 and September 1928 a magnificent bronze god was fished up piecemeal from a depth of more than 25 fathoms in the sea off Artemision. It seems to have formed part of the cargo on board a ship, which was carrying barrels of late



Fig. 899.

Hellenistic style from northern Greece towards Rome, but foundered in a gale off the upper end of Euboea. If so, the statue had probably been pillaged from some temple in Thessaly or Chalkidike or even Thrace. After careful cleaning from accretions and corrossions, the whole figure (c. 2'10" high) proved to be a nude bearded god striding forwards with right arm drawn back and left arm outstretched—one of the most impressive of all Greek statues (Ch. Karouzos 'The Find from the Sea off Artemision' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 141—144 figs. 1 and 2 pls. 7 and 8, *id.* 'Ο Ποσειδών τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου' in the *Ἄρχ. Δελτ.* 1930—31 xiii. 41—104 figs. 1—42 pls. 1 (=my fig. 900)—5, H. G. Beyen *La statue d'Artemision* La Haye 1930 pp. 1—55 pls. 1—13 with further bibliography p. 1 n. 1). Several problems arise: (1) To what period, school, and sculptor

should it be assigned? It belongs clearly to the later part of the transitional period when fighting-man developed into fighting-god (*supra* ii. 739 ff., 1222 f.) and may be dated c. 460 B.C. Beyen attributes it, on rather insufficient grounds, to the Sicyonian school; Karouzos, more explicitly, to the Sicyonian-Boeotian school of Kalamis. (2) Votive figure or cult-image? Hardly the latter. A cult-image should be strictly frontal: the worshipper expects to find a propitious and friendly presence, not to be met by a

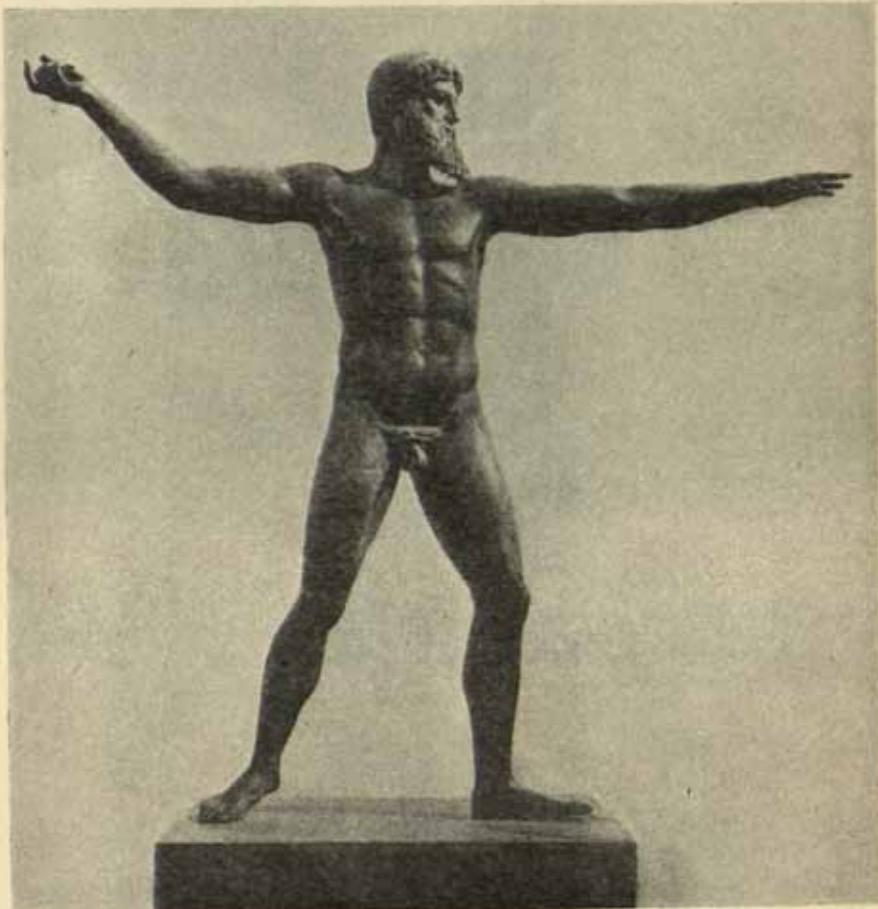


Fig. 900.

tremendous antagonist in the act of hurling a missile! (3) Zeus or Poseidon? The attitude would suit either, according as we assume thunderbolt or trident in the right hand. Karouzos and Beyen think that the fingers imply a cylindrical trident loosely held rather than a tightly grasped thunderbolt: yet we must remember that the Greek thunderbolt often had a rounded handle in the middle, to prevent the god burning himself. They note further that there is no trace of an eagle on the extended left hand, and that there is a marked resemblance to the head of Poseidon (certified as such by the trident over his shoulder) in a terra-cotta relief at Munich (Furtwängler *Glyptothek zu München*<sup>2</sup> R. 74 f. no. 62). On the other hand it must be admitted that the striding-warrior type points primarily to Zeus fulminant and only secondarily to Poseidon.

Indeed, Poseidon leaning on a trident, or striking with a trident, may be fairly frequent. But Poseidon hurling a trident is quite exceptional; and where he is so represented, as on the early silver coins of Poseidonia, he regularly wears a *chlamys* over his arms. Also the head, with its neat plait twisted round trim locks, its long silky moustache, and its full beard with undulating strands, seems too refined and dignified for any deity beneath the rank of Zeus. I conclude that the originator of this remarkable type was deliberately portraying Poseidon in the guise of Zeus (cp. *supra* ii. 795 n. 3 figs. 762—764). After all, Poseidon was but a by-form of the greater god (*supra* p. 736). J. Jüthner.

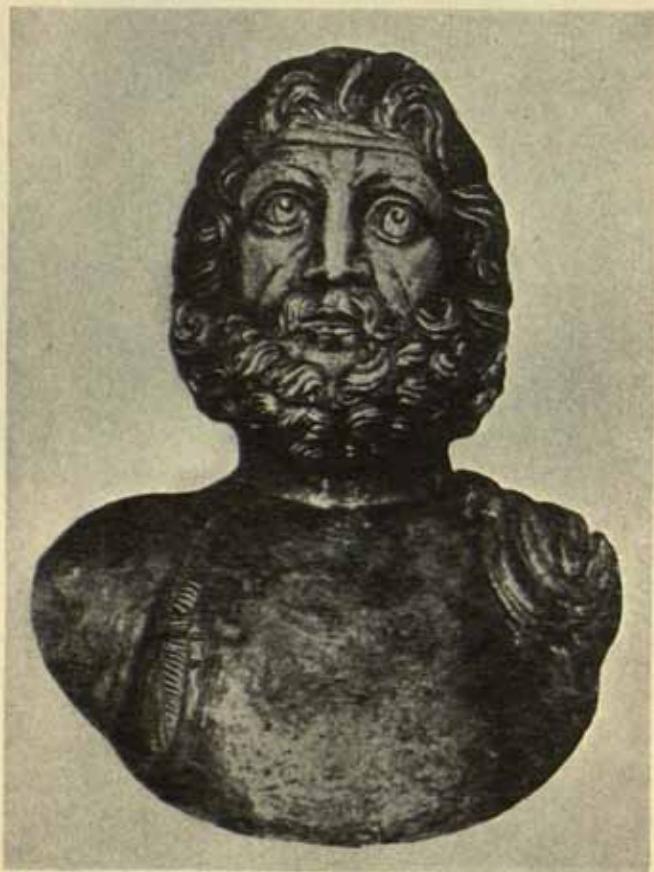


Fig. 901.

however, in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1937 lxii. 136—148 decides for an athlete hurling his *abnentia*!

ii. 741 *Zeus Ithomatas*. C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1932 lxii. 799 claims that the Brussels tetradrachm of Zankle-Messana (*supra* ii. 794 f. fig. 757), 'which should be dated ca. 461 B.C., the year of liberation from the tyranny, has on the obverse a figure, not of Poseidon, but of Zeus fulminating' (*Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 168) which closely resembles the *Zeus Ithomatas* on coins of Messenia from 369 B.C. onwards (*B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, Pl. xxii, 1, 6, 7, 10). Thus the Messenians of Zankle showed their sympathy with the Messenians, who in 461 were being besieged on Ithome. Apparently, therefore, Hagelaidas made the statue before 461, therefore at

Ithome, and not at Naupactus after 455 B.C. This agrees with other dated works by the sculptor and does away with the need either for inventing a younger sculptor of the same name, or for assuming his unnatural longevity.'

ii. 745 n. 4. F. Matz 'Ein Zeuskopf in Villa Borghese' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xvi. 1-31 with figs. 1-21 and pls. 1 and 2 reaches the following



Fig. 901.

conclusions (p. 31): 'der Zeuskopf Borghese ist der nächste Verwandte des Kasseler Apoll. Kopiert ist er nach einer Bronzestatue des stehenden Gottes, der mit der Linken das Zepter aufstützt und in der gesenkten Rechten den Blitz hält. In demselben Verwandschaftsverhältnis wie zum Kasseler Apoll steht der borghesische Kopf zu dem des olympischen Zeus. Auch der Kasseler Apoll und der Zeus Borghese sind also Schöpfungen des Phidias. Jener ist in den fünfzig Jahren, dieser in dem Jahrzehnt zwischen 455 und 445 entstanden. Die engen Beziehungen, die zwischen dem olympischen Zeus und dem Zeus Borghese bestehen, sind entscheidend für die Frühdatierung des olympischen Zeus und für seinen Ansatz vor der Parthenos.'

ii. 746 n. 2 pl. xxxii, 1 silver statuette of Zeus. A. W. Van Buren in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 489 ff. fig. 6 (=my fig. 901) illustrates a silver bust of 'Jupiter,' which was found in 1924, in a crushed state, at a Roman station on the Little St Bernard ('Mons Minoris Jovis') together with patterned silver ribbon and a figure of Hercules within the front of a small shrine, likewise of silver (P. Baracelli in the *Nat. Scavi* 1924 p. 391). The bust has now been restored and installed in the Museum at Aosta. The thunderbolt in relief on the right side of the chest implies that the silversmith was copying some statue of the god with that attribute in his right hand.

ii. 748 f. beardless type of Zeus. T. Birt 'Anxius und Anxur' in *Glotta* 1927 xv. 118 discusses the epithet of the Volscian Iuppiter *Anxurus* (on whom see E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 640 fig., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Ene.* i. 2653) and supports the derivation from ξέω, ξέος already given by Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 799 circa hunc tractum Campaniae colebatur puer Iuppiter, qui Auxurus dicebatur, quasi ἀρεύ ξέποι, *id est* sine novacula, quia barbam numquam rasisset, et Iuno virgo, quae Feronia dicebatur, cp. Akron in Hor. sat. i. 5. 26 Anxur [autem] dictum, quod ibi in herbis Iuppiter colitur.

ii. 752 the eagle of Zeus. R. J. H. Jenkins (June 3, 1930) notes: 'With regard to eagles and Zeus, it is interesting to recall that some 3000—4000 B.C. A-anni-padda built a temple to the Earth Mother Nin-khursag at al 'Ubaid, and over the door flew the eagle of the sky-god, Im-dugud.' See C. L. Woolley *The Sumerians* Oxford (1929) p. 40 f. fig. 10.

ii. 754 n. 1 Tavium. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 304 derives the name of the town *Tavium* 'von einer vorphrygischen Stammform *Tav-*=Zeus, wie die bithynische Stadt *Tieu*' (Strabo [542 f., 365]), kontrahiert *Tium* (Tios Aelian [de nat. an. 15. 5], Tior Ptol. [5. 1. 7]) von der phrygischen Namensform *Tiv-*, armen. *tiv* "Tag" = gr. Δι<sup>τ</sup>.

ii. 757 n. 8 the chronology of Pheidias' career. Recent discussion by G. Lippold 'Das Ende des Phidias' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix. 152—155 (Pheidias was already at work on his Zeus c. 448, but may well have been simultaneously engaged upon his Athena), H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 27 (his Zeus must be dated between c. 460 and 448, *i.e.* before his Athena), W. Judeich 'Zum "Pheidias-Papyrus"' in *Hermes* 1925 ix. 50—58 (rejects H. Schrader's view: holds that Pheidias finished his Athena in 438/7, retired to Elis in 433/2, and was at Olympia making his Zeus from 432 onwards), E. N. Gardner *Olympia Its History and Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 240 f. (his Zeus should be dated 438—432, *i.e.* after his Athena), C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 80 n. 3 (accepts the finding of H. Schrader), G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 pp. 166—170 (the later dating of Zeus 'would seem to be the more likely,' but 'We must leave it an open question whether Pheidias left Athens in 438 or in 432'). The contest continues.

ii. 759 the marble statuette of Zeus at Lyons. Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* iii. 46 f. no. 1810 with three views.

ii. 760 n. 2 throne-legs of white marble. Cp. the statue of Zeus (?) enthroned found in Delos (J. Chamaron in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 155 ff. fig. 16) and the statuette of Kybele enthroned from a neighbouring site (*id.* in *Dilos* viii. 1. 220 with fig. 97).

ii. 760 f. Alexander's reversion to a pre-Pheidias type of seated Zeus. One of the town-gates of Thasos, which can be dated 412—411 B.C., is adorned with an archaizing relief (G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 560—569 pls. 14 and 15 wrongly dated c. 470 and interpreted as Demeter with Iris, Nike, or Hebe. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 223 says more correctly 'the fine relief of Zeus and Nike.' C. Picard 'La porte de Zeus à Thasos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1912 ii. 43—76, *id.* 'Encore la porte de Zeus à Thasos' *ib.* 1912 ii. 385—398, *id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 81 n. 1 recognises Zeus and Iris). Within a *naïskos*, the pediment of which is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, sits Zeus on a throne with back, arm-rest, support in form of dancer (cp. *supra* p. 682 figs. 492, 493, p. 700 fig. 517), and footstool. He wears an Ionic *chiton* and *himation* with formal pleats, holds a long sceptre

in his left hand, and fingers a tress of hair with his right. Before him stands Nike, winged and wearing *chiton* and *himation*.

ii. 764 ff. Modifications in the shape of the thunderbolt. E. Unger 'Dreizack' in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 462 deals with the near East (Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, Asia Minor). G. Furlani 'Fulmini mesopotamici, hittiti, greci ed etruschi' in *Studi Etruschi* 1931 v. 203—231 is a careful and well-documented survey, but without illustrations.

At *Ras el-Shamra*, 'Fennel Head,' the capital of ancient Ugarit, some ten miles north of Laodikeia on the Syrian coast, Prof. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Director of the French Archaeological Mission, in 1932 recovered from a small sanctuary 'in the western periphery of the great temple' a splendidly preserved *stèle* (1·45<sup>m</sup> high), which shows in *chaux-lé* relief Ba'al and, under his protection, a small man—probably a local king. Ba'al brandishes a club in his right hand and holds in his left a stylised thunderbolt of unique design. Above, it seems to be an elaboration of the bipartite fork with zig-zags. Below, it ends in a straight shaft and fine spear-head. The date appears to be c. xiv B.C. (C. F. A. Schaeffer in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 11, 1933 p. 212 with figs. 5 and 15 on pp. 178 and 181; Mlle M. Ruttin in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* Le Musée du Louvre: Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 102 with fig. (= my fig. 901).

As to the thunderbolt on coins of Olympia, another specimen of the very rare 'fly'-type (*supra* ii. 781 pl. xxxvi, 5) is now in my collection. Mr C. T. Seltman informed me (April 26, 1934) that one or two examples of a late *drachmē* had come to light, on which the handle of the bolt took the shape of a small human head, perhaps Keraunos. I am indebted to Mr E. S. G. Robinson for the casts from which my fig. 903 was made. But I should prefer to describe the little facing head as a *Gorgoneion*, with obvious allusion to the *aigis* of Zeus *aiglochos*, and Mr Robinson (Sept. 7, 1938) agrees 'that the head is probably that of a gorgon.'

ii. 782 sacrifice to living animals on Greek soil. The goddess Boubrostis, to whom a black bull was sacrificed at Smyrna (Metrodorus of Chios (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 205 Müller)=*frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 266 Jacoby) ap. Plout. *gymf.* 6. 8. 1 ἐδόκει δέ τη βοῦβρωτις ἔπειρος εἶναι (sc. τοῦ βούλμοντος) τὸ δὲ τεκμήριον θαυμάσιον ἐκ τῶν Μητροῦδων Ἰωνίων. Ιεροῖς γὰρ διτὶ Συμφροῖς τὸ παλαιόν αἰδεῖς ὅρτες θύουσι Βοῦβρωτες ταῦροι μέλαναι κατακόψατες αὐτούδος φλοκαντούσιες may well have been a personified Gadfly (see W. Leaf on II. 24—532, but also O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 933). An Athenian inscription of the early fourth century B.C. prescribes Κυνίς πόταρα τρία (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 672, 9), on which see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Berlin* 1886 and *supra* p. 1083.

ii. 784 Keraunos. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 81 n. 3 suggests that the small figure beneath the throne of Zeus on the gateway at Thasos (*supra* on ii. 760 f.) may be 'une personnification de la foudre.' Improbable.

ii. 788 n. o. Two five-pronged forks, aptly illustrating the *περιπλόδα* of II. 1. 463=Od. 3. 460, were found in a 'Depotfund' of c. 1000 B.C. at Tecciarello di Pariana in the province of Massa-Carrara and are now at Florence (F. von Duhn in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 378 no. 118, *id.* 'Pempobolon' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1916 xli Arch. Anz. pp. 331—334 fig. 1).

ii. 789 ff. the trident as a lightning-fork. See now G. Furlani 'Sulla preistoria del tridente di Posidone' in *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1932 viii. 42—47 with figs.

E. F. Coote Lake 'Shrove Tuesday in South Dalmatia' in *Folk-Lore* 1927 xxxviii. 371—375 describes the Carnival at Cattaro in 1927, when a young man wearing a black mask with sheep's horns and carrying a small black trident, about two feet long, leapt high in the air throughout the procession. Lake suggests (p. 374) that this was magic to make the crops grow high, and that the magician bore 'his old trident-thunderbolt as part of the fertility rites.' Possible, but precarious.

Sir John Marshall's discovery of a chalko-lithic civilisation on the Indus has enabled us now to trace the figure of Civa back to a period c. 3000 B.C., when he appears as an ithyphallic god with bull's horns and a raised point between them. Sir John suggested to me in conversation that this arrangement of two curved horns and a central spike may have developed at a later date into Civa's attribute the trident.

ii. 802. On Jan. 10, 1927 I saw two other specimens of the M. Herennius terra cotta belonging to Messrs W. S. Lincoln & Son. One of these corresponded closely with that



Fig. 903.

described by Mr E. J. Seltman (*supra* ii. 1225) and was obviously modern. The other, of heavier make and devoid of the signature **T. AT.**, represented three herms in juxtaposition—Poseidon, Zeus, Hades—all wearing *billathoi* and each marked in front by his attribute. Was this M. Herennius the *decurio* of Pompeii who was struck by lightning on a cloudless day (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 137: F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 664)?

ii. 805 the Etruscan *bidental*. See further G. Furlani 'Il *bidental etrusco* e un'iscrizione di Tiglatpileser I d'Assiria' in *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1930 vi. 9-49 (reviewed by G. B. Pighi in *Aevum* 1930 iv. 415-417 and by L. Banti in *Studi etruschi* 1931 v. 624).

ii. 807 n. 5 (5) *astragalomanteia*. E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1793 and T. Hopfner *ib.* Suppl. iv. 51—56. An article on 'Wurforakel' is promised for the 'Nachtrag' of vol. ix of the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin 1938—.

ii. 808 n. o (9) Zeus *Keraunios* in Moesia Inferior. C. M. Danoff 'Eine neue Weihung an Zeus Keraunios aus Niedermoesien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1936 xxxiii. 166—169 with

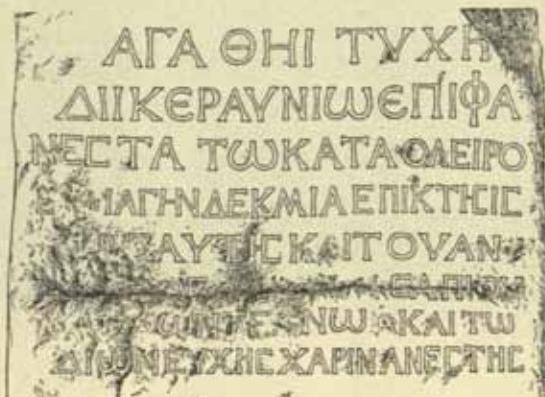


Fig. 904.

fig. (=my fig. 904) publishes a rectangular limestone altar of Roman date found in 1925 at *Tirnovo* near Nikopolis. Its dedication runs: Ἀγαθὴ Τόχη[ι] | Διὶ Κεραυνίῳ Ἐπιφα-  
νεστάτῳ κατὰ ὄντερον | ἐπίταγχος Δεκιμᾶ Επικέρποις | [ὑπὲρ] ἔμετρος καὶ τοῦ διὸς [δρός] Δε.....  
Σαπιού | καὶ τῷ τέλου καὶ τῷ[ρ] | [ι]δίων εὐχῆς χάρας ἀνέστησε. The husband's name  
was perhaps Δεκιμᾶς or Δεκιμάτος.

ii. 808 n. o (13) Zeus *Keraunios* in Thessaly. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *APX*, 'Εφ. 1924 pp. 143-146 no. 388 fig. 2 (= my fig. 905) publishes a *stèle* of local grey marble, found in the ruins of a temple of Zeus at Python (*Topidiane*) in Thessaly. This is inscribed in lettering of c. 200 B.C. or a little earlier [ $\Delta\gamma$  ή  $T\lambda\mu\omega\rho\tau\eta\pi$ ]  $\Lambda\gamma[r]i\pi\alpha\tau\mu\beta\omega\pi$  |  $[k\alpha]i$  |  $[E]\pi[r]i\pi[k]y$   $\Pi\alpha\omega\pi[\lambda\omega]$  |  $[\Delta]i\mu$  |  $K\epsilon\pi\alpha\pi\pi\omega$  and bears a relief representing Zeus as a bearded god, in a *himation*, striding from left to right. His raised right hand brandishes a bolt; his outstretched left has an eagle on the forearm and appears to touch the apex of a tombstone, round which is bound a fillet painted purple. To the right of the tombstone stands Epinike, fully draped and perhaps carrying a *phiale*. Kern thought her a priestess, but Arvanitopoulos with more probability supposes that she was the wife of De(?)mokrates, that her husband had been killed by lightning, and that she put up this votive relief to avoid sharing in his fate.

ii. 808 n. o (17) *Zeus Keraunios* at Rome. This inscription is included in the latest (1933) fascicule of the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 4 no. 36802.

ii. 811 n. 5 fig. 777. Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 48, 4, ii. 4 comments: 'früher Sammlung Biacas...wohl Titus oder Domitian.'

ii. 812 fig. 778. C. T. Seltman in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1934 Plates iv. 144 fig. b speaks of 'a small Cupid (wing and lower part only preserved) helping to support the huge thunderbolt.' I see rather a Giant with snaky legs and curled wing. The Pergamene frieze had set the fashion.

ii. 814 n. 3 with fig. 780 the relief from Emesa. Similar reliefs have been found at Palmyra (*Tadmor*). H. A. Seyrig in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlvi Arch. Anz. pp. 715—742 figs. 1—9 presents a preliminary report on the excavations carried out there by the French Department of Antiquities in 1930—1933 and supplements on many points the handsome work of T. Wiegand and his colleagues (*Palmyra Berlin* 1932 i. 1—171 with plan of town, ii pls. 1—100). It appears that the Palmyrene temple was dedicated on April 6, 32 A.D. to the triad Bel, Iaribol, and Aglibol. Somewhat later it

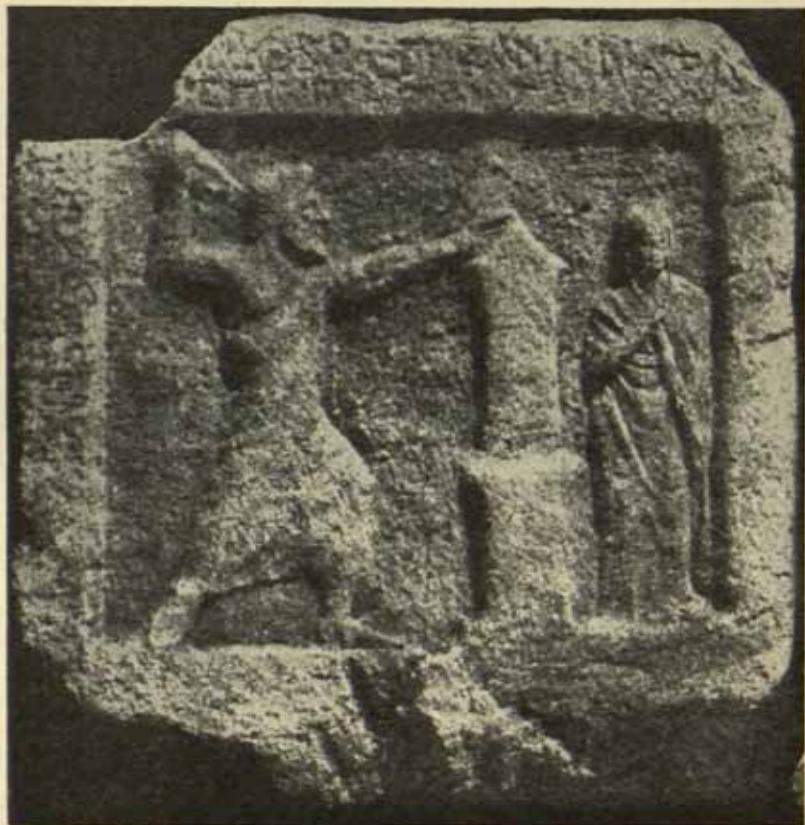


Fig. 905.

was surrounded by four colonnades, on the north, east, and south by a double row of lower columns, on the west, where the main *Propylaeon* lay, by a single row of higher columns, all of the Corinthian order, but unfluted. Work began at the north-west angle in early Flavian times, and continued along the north, east, south, and west sides, reaching completion c. 150 A.D. Within this great quadrangle, some 200<sup>m</sup> square, still stands on its broad *podium* a Corinthian pseudodipteral temple (8 × 15 columns, fluted) with the foundations of its altar on the north and its lustral basin on the south. It had originally two pediments and was quasi-Greek in plan, a north-to-south oblong with a door at the southern end. The plan, however, underwent sundry modifications. The southern door was built up. A fresh door was opened in the western side, south of its centre. A couple of *ddytas* was constructed at either end of the *naos*. The northern *ddylon*, with much mythological decoration, seems to have housed the *pteredroi* of Bel—the sun-god Iaribol and the moon-god Aglibol. These names suggest that the principal

Palmyrene god was properly called Bol, not Bel, the latter spelling being due to Babylonian influence. The southern *ddyton*, with simple geometric and plant designs, was possibly used for the *lectisternium* of the god. The roof of the northern *ddyton* is a square monolith hollowed out to form a dome, which is decorated with hexagonal compartments containing busts of the seven gods of the week—in the middle Jupiter, round him Sol, Mars, Luna, Venus, Saturnus, Mercurius—and ringed by the signs of the zodiac with four eagles in the spandrels. Bel was clearly conceived as a cosmic power. The lintel of the *ddyton*-door (cp. *supra* ii. 431) showed a great eagle with spread wings seen against a background of stars and flanked by Iaribol on the right and probably Aglibol on the left. On a level with the eagle's claws is a long snake, symbol of the sun's course, between six balls representing the other planets. Lastly, the space between the columns and the *nais*-wall was spanned by a series of vertical slabs supporting the roof of the *ddoton* and carved with reliefs illustrative of the cult. The reliefs have been studied by H. A. Seyrig 'Bas-reliefs de la cella du temple de Bé'l' in *Syria* 1933 xiv. 253—260 fig. 2 lintel, fig. 5 dome, *id.* 'Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bé'l à Palmyre'



Fig. 906.

*ib.* 1934 xv. 155—186. One of them (*ib.* 1934 xv. 178—181 fig. 2) renders Iaribol in military dress, with rayed *nimbus* and sceptre, standing between Aglibol, likewise in military dress but with crescent horns and spear, and a fully draped goddess with sceptre (Beltis?)—a fairly close parallel to the relief from Emesa. Another (*ib.* 1934 xv. 173—178 pl. 22) shows Aglibol joining hands with a second and ill-preserved god over an altar set out with pine-cones, a pomegranate, and an apple, above which hovers an eagle bearing a snake (?) in its beak and a palm-branch in its talons. The scene takes place in a sanctuary marked by a cypress-tree etc. Fortunately a Palmyrene relief at Rome with a bilingual inscription enables us to name the second god Malachbelos (W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* Leipzig 1912 i. 566 f. no. 988, Reimach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 177 no. 5, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 257 f. Scala v no. 3 pl. 100. *Inscr. Gr. Sic.* II. no. 971 Αγαθβέλως καὶ Μαλαχβέλως πατρῶοι θεοῖς | καὶ τὸ σύγχρονον ἄστρον τοῦ παντός κόσμου ἀνέθηκε | Τ. Αἰρί(λιος) Ηλιόδωρος Αρτιόχου Αδραιός Παλαιόροδός εἰ τῶν ιώσων ὑπὲρ | σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συμβίου καὶ τῶν τέκνων, ἔρωτι διαφ. (547 Seleucid era = 235 A.D.) μηδὲ Περειρίου) —another solar power (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2293—2301, K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 824—828).

ii. 818 f. Zeus *Zbelthūndos* with snake. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 77 n. 3 cp. a small unpublished bronze in the Musée Saint-Pierre at Lyons, which portrays the god with a snake rolled round the arm that holds the thunderbolt. But does this betoken his *aigis*?

G. I. Katsarov in the *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare* 1934 viii. 44—68 lists new dedications to deities, e.g. 'rough statues' of...Zeus *Zbelthūndos*, Kybele, Mithras, Dionysus, etc.' (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 140).

ii. 823 n. 1 Dionysos as ἥπας? W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 29 prints my emendation ἀθεῖν ἥρη, ὡς Διόνυσος and p. 157 f. is 'inclined to welcome' it.

G. Seure 'ΝΕΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ, ΚΟΤΡΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 241—254 discusses two sepulchral stelai from Odessos (*Varna*), one inscribed Αγαθόντων Απατούριον νέος ἥρως (fig. 1), the other Αρτεμίδωρος Νομαρχίου, | κοῦρος ἥρως [ἱμ]αδός, χαῖρε (fig. 2).

ii. 824 ff. The whip of Zeus. L. Laistner *Nebelungen* Stuttgart 1879 pp. 45, 160 f. already cites from German folk-lore proof that lightning was regarded as a long whip held by a fiery female form amid thunder-clouds, as a blue whip held by the storm-god, etc. Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1937 i. 1400 'Auch als Peitsche, Rute und Kugel in der Hand mythischer Gestalten dient der Blitz.'

ii. 833 n. 8 with fig. 793. See now Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 47 f. no. 842 fig. *Id. ib.* p. 48 ff. describes and illustrates a series of small altars dedicated to Zeus Brontôn: (1) p. 48 ff. no. 843 with three figs. (=my fig. 906) (*Ineuuni*, early 1. iii A.D.) 'Αγαθῆ Τόχη' | Διὶ Βροτῶντι Ἐπηκόῳ θεῷ Δαδᾶς Δαμᾶς | σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις Οὐρανίαις καὶ Δαιμόνιοις | καὶ Χρυσίᾳ ὑπὲρ τῶν | Ιδίων εὐχήις δέσποσαν. Front: bust of Zeus facing, with large girdle round head; below, Hermes with caduceus, purse, and ram before a wreathed altar, on which is perched an eagle with a leafy sprig in its beak. Back: rosette between horns; bull running to right uphill. Left side: two-handled vase with grape-bunches; two *bucrania* with frontlets above plough. Right side: traces of bust with radiate nimbus. (2) p. 50 f. no. 844 fig. (*Ineuuni*, early 1. iii A.D.). Front: rosette and the inscription 'Αγαθῆ Τόχη' | Διὶ Βροτῶντι Μένης Θάλλου σὺν τέκνοις καὶ εὐταγῆς δέσποσαν. Back: bust of god, bearded (?); eagle on wreath, below which is inscribed Διὸς Μεγίστου. Sides: rosette above *bucranium*. (3) p. 51 f. no. 845 fig. (*Gumbet*, 1. iii A.D.) 'Αγαθῆ Τόχη' | Διὶ Βροτῶντι Μένης | [Φόρησε καὶ εἰλένει] | σὺν τοῦ θεοῦ. Front: crescent; half-length bust of Zeus with short beard and long hair, eagle on right shoulder. Back: two *bucrania* above plough. Left side: rounded vase above thunderbolt. Right side: rounded vase with two handles, vine-branch. *Supra* ii. 836.

S. Ferri 'Nuovi monumenti plastici dello Zeus di Bitinia' in *Historia* 1932 vi. 238—273 starts from a bust of coarse-grained Asiatic marble (figs. 1—3) and a similar head (fig. 4) in the Museum at *Brussa* (Prousa). Both are third-century effigies of Zeus, comparable with a head at Berlin (fig. 5) and with the inscribed bust of Zeus Brontôn in the British Museum (fig. 6= *supra* ii. 837 fig. 794). Ferri goes on to consider analogous heads in later art, e.g. the silver bust of Zeus from Little St Bernard (fig. 7 unrestored, *supra* p. 1153 fig. 901 restored), which he regards as descended from the original type of the Bithynian Zeus.

But by far the most important contribution to our knowledge of Zeus Brontôn is the painstaking study by C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1937 v pp. xxxiv—xlv. These two scholars in the course of a four-weeks vacation (March 26—April 21, 1931) traversed the districts of Dorylaeum and Nakoleia, and catalogued there no fewer than 323 monuments, 282 for the first time. Among the new finds are 56 dedications to Zeus Brontôn; and a useful conspectus of previously published inscriptions is added by way of appendix (pp. 172—176). *À propos* of 'sepulchral-dedicatory inscriptions' the authors comment (p. xxxvii): 'It is curious that nowhere else in Asia Minor should epitaphs explicitly combined with dedications have been found or epitaphs concealed beneath dedications have been reasonably suspected; that the area should be virtually identical with that of the Zeus Brontôn cult; and that Zeus Brontôn, though by no means monopolising the dedications of the region and very far from dominating the coin-types, should virtually monopolise the dedicatory epitaphs.... It may well be that the explicit dedication of the grave to the god was here thought to be the most effective means of rendering it inviolable, and that Zeus Brontôn receives the dedications, not only as the most prominent local deity, but as the god who made his presence felt most potently and whose wrath might most drastically strike down the impious or, by drought or storm, devastate their means of livelihood.' But Cox and Cameron 'regard it as still open to question whether Zeus Brontôn was a chthonic deity' (p. xliii) and urge that inscription no. 225 (*Sevit Gazi* (Nakoleia)) Θεοῖς Καὶ <καὶ> ραχθόβιοις καὶ | Διὶ Βροτῷ τῷ τοῦ | 'need not imply any intimate connection' between him and the Θεοὶ Καταχθόνιοι, though they hasten to add: 'None the less, if only from his constant association with the tomb, Zeus Brontôn no doubt came to be conceived as having a chthonic aspect' (p. xlvi). They demur (*ib.*), perhaps rightly, to my contention that he was served with mystic rites in a cave (*supra* ii. 836 ff. *ἐξ αὐλῆς, speluncum*), and note (p. xli) that he and Apollon 'may

have been σύρραις θεοί' (nos. 173 *Ayvacık*, 181 *Knyucak*). Lastly, they dissent from Sir W. M. Ramsay's view that *Zeus Brontōn* was called 'the Father god' and 'the Victorious Father' (*supra* ii. 836). In inscription no. 232 from *Seyit Gazi* (Nakoleia) --- | Δι Βρόντωντος τοχηρ | καὶ ταρποθεῶ | it seems probable that, as Körte thought (A.M. xxx, 1900, p. 442), ll. 3—4 link to the dedication to Bronton an epitaph to the dedicator's father, now dead and dedicated, and not a further dedication to a deity known to the citizens of Nakolea as *Ιλαρίων Θεός*' (p. 111). 'Even in the Nacolean village dedication Νεκάνων καὶ Ταρπίου Δι Βρόντωντος καὶ Νεκάνων ταρπί' (*Ann. dell' Inst.* xxxiii, 1861, p. 188, no. 38, at Ayalı)... we incline (partly owing to the resemblance of the names) to see in Νεκάνων ταρπί the deceased father of Neikanor... and not a god Νεκάνων Πατρός' (p. 112).

ii. 836. On Zeus as 'Hearer of Prayer' see the valuable article by O. Weinreich 'ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΙΚΡΟΟΙ' in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1912 xxvii. 1—68 (especially pp. 23—25) and an interesting supplement to it by the same author in his *Gebet und Wunder* Stuttgart 1929 pp. 200—204 ('Die θυρίδες am Himmel, beim Ort der Gebetsandienzen. Eine Interpretation von Lukian, Ikaromenippos 23 ff.').

ii. 838 Dionysos *Brōnios*. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 83 n. 2 would explain the appellative by a reference to R. Pettazzoni *I misteri* Bologna (1925) pp. 1—40 ('Il rombo').

ii. 838 ritual enthronement. See now A. D. Nock in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvi. 47 f. ('Thronosis').

ii. 854 n. 9. To the bibliography of Kleanthes' *Hymn* add E. Neustadt 'Der Zeus-hymnos des Kleanthes' in *Hermet* 1931 lxvi. 387—401 (in line 4 is content with T. Bergk's ej. δλον), A. S. Way *Hymns of Callimachus with the Hymn of Kleanthes in English verse* London 1934 p. 35 f., M. Meunier *Hymnes philosophiques d'Aristote, Cleanthe et Proclus* Paris 1935 pp. 1—116.

ii. 859 ff. Kairos. A. A. Papadopoulos 'Καιρός' in the *Ἑρμηνείας Ερευνών Σπουδῶν* 1927 iv. 251—256 is summarised by G. Soyer in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 22, 1928 pp. 1168 (Papadopoulos explains Kairos 'als den Boten des Patriarchen, der dem Kaiser meldete, dass es "Zeit" sei, in die Hagia Sophia zu gehen. Später habe καιρός in der kirchlichen Sprache die Bedeutung "Erlaubnis (zum Messelesen)" angenommen').

ii. 861 fig. 799. The fragmentary *replica* at Athens is included in O. Walter *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* Wien 1923 p. 74 no. 125 fig. Another, better preserved, was found at Tragurium (*Trogir*) in Dalmatia in 1928 and is published by M. Abramić 'Ein neues Kairos-Relief' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1930 xxvi. 1—8 pl. 1 with figs. 2 and 4. A relief at Petrograd is similar, but has the bearded type of Kairos (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiii. 8 pl. 2, 1 condemns it as a forgery. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 490 no. 3).

ii. 863 n. 1 fig. 801. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesiskult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 298 no. 4 with fig. 2.

ii. 869 n. 2 Zeus *Aktatos* on Mt Pelion. The alleged discoveries of A. S. Arvanitopoulos stand in much need of verification. On June 27, 1934 Dr N. Bachtin wrote to me from Athens to say that early in May he had visited *Pliaſtidi* and found the place indicated by Arvanitopoulos 'still covered with deep snow.' Dr Bachtin continues: 'The *peribolos* was nowhere visible (though I cannot absolutely assert that it does not exist, since it might have been under the snow). Moreover, there is not a single sherd anywhere round to suggest the idea of a site that has ever been built on. Three weeks later I returned there with Mr Wade-Gery of Wadham. There was still too much snow to allow a thorough examination, but all that could be seen fully confirmed my suspicions, and Mr Wade-Gery agreed with me entirely. After that, I had the opportunity of meeting in Volo Giannopoulos... and mentioned my fears to him. He too expressed the gravest doubts as to the reliability of the results claimed by Arvanitopoulos.' With praiseworthy persistence Dr Bachtin visited *Pliaſtidi* yet again in the summer, when the snow had melted, and camped there for some time. He reports (Dec. 11, 1938): 'I found that the site I had examined with Wade-Gery in the spring was not the one which Arvanitopoulos meant: the supposed temple site is just above it—on the very summit marked 1548 on the Greek staff map. The shallow cave, or rather hole, is just below the trig. point and there seem to be some traces of a wall running from summit 1548 towards the lower summit marked 1529. There are also bits of tile... That is all, so that my conclusion remains substantially the same: Arvanitopoulos' sketch of his "excavation" is pure invention.'

ii. 874 n. 2 Zeus *Karaibēs*. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 I. 399 ff. no. 17 gives the text of the dedication from Thespiai (*supra* on II. 727) τοι σφεστοι Δαι | Καραιδάνθεας | Πούθων | Σόλων | Ηγετόβαρος | Δαμοτήλευς | Διονύσιος | Μένετ | Αγριφάνως | Απλεταρχός. He cp. a *stèle* from Akraiaphia, now at Thebes (inv. no. 957), inscribed λαρῶν | Διος | Κεραιών and perhaps another from the same town inscribed Κεραιώ (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 253 no. 7 had transcribed it as Κεραιώ).

ii. 875 n. 1 (1). E. Sittig should have said Erythrai, not Smyrna (L. Robert in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 472 n. 5).

ii. 876 n. 1 Zeus *Hypsistos*. Further evidence includes the following items: (5a) Sparta. A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1924; 1924—1925 xxvi. 222—224 publishes three dedications on small marble altars, perhaps used as building material, in the theatre at Sparta: no. 16 Δαι | Τύλιστρον | Νεκύρειον [εὐχή], no. 17 Διοελῆνος | Δαι | Τύλιστρον | εὐχή, no. 18 Αφροδείειον δούλων | Κλαν. Πρατολίδων τοῦ Βραχίδου Δαι | Τ[ψ]-Ιστρον εὐχή] with an epigram restored by A. Wilhelm θρησκειασιον ιπερειγέλα[σιον τοῦ διάθηκα.] | δόρα τοι | εἰς ἔμον | ἡθος εσαθρόφατ | [ἀγορεύοντος (or ἀγορεύειν)] | “τοῖσιν | γάρ μερίσων καὶ | [γάρ]ειν [θαλέθει (or θαλερό)]”.

(9) Makedonia. C. Avezou—C. Picard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1913 xxxvii. 100 no. 8 (a broken slab of white marble at Thessalonike) Θεᾶς Τύλιστρον καὶ ἐπιτάγμη IOYEC (‘L’existence d’une colonie juive à Thessalonique dans l’antiquité [Acts 17. 1] fait supposer que le Θεᾶς Τύλιστρον est ici, comme en d’autres cas, le Jahvè des Hébreux’). This grafting of Jewish henotheism on to a Greek stem is comparable with St Paul’s treatment of the dedication Αγρώστη Θεῷ (Acts 17. 23). C. F. Edson in the *Harvard Theological Review* 1936 xxix. 62 n. 53 reports that Ch. I. Makatonas has found more Zeus *Hypsistos* inscriptions at *Kozani* in Makedonia.

(10) Thrace. G. Bakalakis in *Θρακικόν* 1935 vi. 302 ff. = *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 385 no. 168 (Tsari near Cavalla) Δαι Τύλιστρον εὐχαριστούση] προς κ.τ. λ. on behalf of Rhoimetalikas iii.

(11a) Dacia. C. Daicoviciu ‘Contributions au syncrétisme religieux à Sarmizegetusa’ in the *Anuarul Universității Cluj*, Publ. Instit. Studii clasice 1928—1932 i. 81—88 publishes seven inscriptions on altars found at Sarmizegetusa illustrating syncretism. ‘Thus we have an altar to Invicto Deo Serapidi, another where Sol Invictus (Mithras) is included in a list of Roman deities, Θεῷ Τύλιστρον ἐπικεφαλῇ [p. 85 no. 3 Θεῷ Τύλιστρον ἐπικεφαλοῦσαν διέθηκεν] Αἴλια Κασσιά, Fortanae Daciærum, etc.’ (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 135).

(17) Karia. Iasos (B. Haussoullier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 456 no. 4 a white marble boundary stone Δάος | Τύλιστρον). Mylasa (A. W. Persson *ib.* 1922 xlvi. 414 no. 18 Λ. Δ | Δαι | Τύλιστρον). Stratonekeia (A. Laumonier *ib.* 1934 lviii. 337 no. 21 fig. 21 [Δαι] Τύλιστρον καὶ Θεός αὐτοῦ Λαγαδία | Σαρδηνία)—a striking combination of appellatives.

(19) Delos. For the uplifted hands of my fig. 817 C. Picard in the *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. o cites F. Cumont in the *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia* Serie iii Memorie 1923 i. 1 ‘Il sole vindice dei delitti ed il simbolo delle mani alzate’ pp. 65—80.

A. Plassart in *Delos* xi. 289—293 (‘Le sanctuaire de Zeus Hypsistos’) includes fig. 234 ground-plan, figs. 235 and 236 views, fig. 237 four leaden ‘figurines d’envoûtement’ found in the precinct, and one inscription on a white marble block Ποστῆς Προτεύοντος | [δι επολεῖ] τὸν περιβόλον | [καὶ τὰ ἐπι] αὐτῶν χρηστήρια Δαι Τύλιστρον καὶ | θεοῖς οἷς τοῦτο βασιόδει | διόρυστο διέθηκεν.

(23) Phrygia. Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 182—189 devotes a chapter to ‘The Waggon (Benna)’ and again concludes (p. 188): ‘The god on the car, Benneus or Zeus Bennios, was the peasant-god, the trainer of men in the art of agriculture. He lives in legend as Gordius, whose ox-drawn car was preserved as a holy relic at the Phrygian Gordion’ [Swoboda in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 1590 f. A. Körite *Gordion* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. Ergänzungsheft v*) Berlin 1904 p. 16 already claims that the famous waggon was first meant for Zeus (cp. *supra* i. 338 n. 2) and later transferred to the ‘Bauernkönig’ Gordios].

(23a) Pisidia. *Suppl. epigr. Gr.* vi no. 550 Saghir ὁ αὐτὸς Σκύψιος καὶ ἐπι | ἐπικαταλεῖτω τῷ κάμῃ | δημάσια | ρὲ ἐκ τόκου | γείτονθας βέ-*v*-| ποι Δετ Καλαγαθίη οὐπέρ καρπῶν. This bequest was first published by Sir W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* London 1906 p. 345 no. 25 (*id. in the Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 162 no. 25), then discussed by J. Zingerle in the *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Phil.-hist. Klasse Anzeiger* 1923 pp. 61—63 no. 2 (proposing βέ-*v*-ος for ΒΕΝΟC), and lastly defended by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1933 liii. 317 no. 550.

(25) Paphlagonia. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt pp. 64—66 no. 3 with fig. 31 publishes the ‘Vogelfels’ at Kushkaja near Amasra. An

artificially smoothed rock-wall is here decorated with ambitious carvings worked in very high relief. From the top of rock-cut steps rise two rock-cut bases side by side. That on the left supports a column c. 4<sup>m</sup> high, on which an eagle c. 2<sup>m</sup> high but now headless sits with spread wings. That on the right supports an arched distyle niche, within which stands a male figure clad in a *toga* but minus his head. The base below the eagle-column is inscribed Θεῶν Τύπωνα | Επηκόλ[ω]ν Ηλ[ιο]ν | εἰ[τερη] ? εδ[ει]ρα | [ε]και [τὸν αὐτὸν...] | τ[α]κο[ν]ε[ρ] - - - | [---]. Above the arched niche is a *tabula ansata* with a longer inscription beginning ὑπέρ τη[ν] Σε[βα]στῆς εἰ[τερη] καὶ εἰ[τερη] | τὴν τεμένην X [Τι]μ[η]ς[π]ιον Κ[αλ]λι[θ]εαν Γ[ερμ]ου[ν]τον | Καστανο[ν] | Σεβαστού δὲ τοῦ εἰ[τερη] πάτρονον θεον | Σεβαστού δὲ τοῦ αρχα[π]ε[ρ]ο[ν] τ.λ. A neighbouring inscription in both Latin and Greek (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 6983=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5883) shows that the dedicatory was G. Iulius Aquila (*nomen omen*) 'divi Augusti perpetuus sacerdos,' and dates his dedication to the year 45 A.D.

(29) Syria. Doura on the Euphrates. C. Hopkins in P. V. C. Baur—M. I. Rostovtzeff *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* Second Season 1928—1929 Yale Univ. Press 1931 pp. 86—90 fig. 2 publishes an inscribed stone slab found within the tower of the temple of the Palmyrene gods on what appears to have been the site of an older sanctuary έρευν βου' | μηνὸς Διον | περὶ δ' ὄφαν ἵμεροντο σεισμοῦ | κατὰ τὴν χώραν | γενούμενον ή | πόλις τὸν βωμὸν ἀνήγειρε | Μεγίστου Διοῦ. The exact date of the earthquake would thus be about 10 o'clock in the morning of Oct. 26/7, 160 A.D. Hopkins cp. the votive inscription of Byblos for escape from an earthquake (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1896 i. 299 on a stone altar Διοῦ Σεβαστοῦ | Απολλόδωρος Νικηροῦ | ἀπὸ σεισμοῦ | διασωθεῖς ἀρέθηκε), and adds: 'from the north wall of the pronaos come two graffiti to greatest Zeus scratched near the person to the right in the scene of the Roman tribune sacrificing' (F. Cumont *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922—1923) Paris 1926 p. 387 f. no. 25 Διοῦ Μεγίστου, | [Ε]στια? and below Διοῦ Μεγίστου[ν] with col. pl. 50). See further R. Cagnat—M. Besnier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 ii. 369 no. 114. A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 93. M. Rostovtzeff *Dura-Europos and its Art* Oxford 1938 p. 65 (cp. pp. 36 and 44 with pl. 6 plans and restoration by H. Pearson) sums up: 'Zeus Megistos was probably the *interpretatio graeca* of one of the local Semitic names of the great sky god. He succeeded in all probability in this temple to the great Greco-Macedonian god Zeus Olympius. His *synnaos theos* in this temple and his acolyte was the Arabian light and caravan god Arsu.'

Damaskos. R. Mouterde in *Syria* 1925 vi. 246—252 no. 33 pl. 33, 2<sup>a</sup> and 2<sup>b</sup> publishes an altar of Zeus *Mānapho* found somewhere in the *Hauran* and now at Damaskos. The basalt block bears in high relief of c. 1. iv A.D. a half-length bust of the deity, who is beardless and has curling locks like a sun-god, a Syrian collar, and Greek drapery. Front: Ζεῦ Μάναφε, μῆτ[η]ρ[α τῆ]ν τύχην. Left side: Ζεῦ Μ[άναφ]ε, | μῆτ[η]ρ τῆν τύχην. | Β[α]σιλούρος Ινδάρος | εὐεξεῖται | βιώσας | [ά]ρεθηγε. Cp. *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii. 1 no. 3668=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4349 (Aquinum or, more probably, Carnuntum) *dis patris Ma[n]alpho et Thean[d]rio pro sal.* | *dd. nn.*, | *Ci. Victorinus* | *eq. coh. D Canprag.* | *et Cl. Maximus fil.*, | *dom. Can.*, *v. s. l. l.*, where J. H. Mordtmann in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1875 p. 106 n. 1 rightly ej. *Manapho*. T. Nöldeke in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 662 says: 'The name *Manaf*, "height," "high place," is also a kind of abstract noun. That *Manaf* was worshipped as a god [among the ancient Arabs] is proved by the testimony of a verse, and is confirmed by the occurrence of the name *'Abd Manaf*, which was especially common at Mecca and among the neighbouring tribe of Hudhai.' See further W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2309 f., K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 971.

(30) Phoenike. M. Pillet 'Le Temple de Byblos' in *Syria* 1927 viii. 105—112 gives a ground-plan (pl. 28) and views (pls. 29 and 30) of the famous temple, excavated in June 1926. R. Dussaud *ib.* pp. 113—125 discusses its restoration (fig. 2 after a coin of Macrinus).

(33) Aigyptos. C. Roberts—T. C. Skeat—A. D. Nock 'The gild of Zeus Hypsistos' in the *Harvard Theological Review* 1936 xxix. 39—89 publish with elaborate and valuable commentary a papyrus sheet of the late Ptolemaic period (c. 69—58 B.C.) containing regulations for the gild with its election of an annual president, its monthly banquet in the sanctuary of Zeus, its standing orders, etc.: 3 ff. ἀγαθὴ τύχη. | νόμος δὲ ἔθετο [καὶ] καύσις οἱ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διοῦ Τύπλου συνδόνοι τούτοις εἰραι κύριον, | καὶ ποιῶντες καθὶ διεγέρειν πρώτοι μὲν προχειρόδιμους ἐπ' ἑαυτῶν | ἡγεμονος Πλεγοῦ(χορ) Τεεφβενίοις, ἀνδρα λόγιοις, τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν | δῖοι, εἰς ἐνηργεῖαν ἀπὸ τοῦ προφῆτη[ν] γέγοναμένου μηνὸς καὶ ἡμέρας συνει[θ]ε[σ]θαι[ν]ει[σ]θε[σ] κατὰ μῆνα πόσι[ν] μιαν ἢ δύο τῶν τοῦ Διοῦ | ιεροῦ ἢ αἱ ἀνδρῶν κοινῇ συγένδοντες εὐχέσθωσαν καὶ ταῦτα τὸν μι[θ]ηκέαν ἵπτερ τε το[ν]οῦ θεοῦ(ῦ) καὶ κυρίο(ῦ) βασιλεὺος· ὑπακούειν δὲ πάντας τοῦ τε ἡγεμονοῦσαν το[ν]

τούτον ὑπέρεστον ἐν τε ταῖς φυῖσιν τῶν κοινῶν καὶ παρέσταται ἐπὶ τῷ[το] δοθεῖσοι[σου]έραις  
αὐτοῖς παραγγελίας εἰς [συνδέοντας καὶ συναγωγάς καὶ ἀποδημίας] | καὶ μῆν[οι][δέ]κανι αὐτῶν  
ἡζέστω συντειματαρχήσειν μηδὲ σχιμata συντετασθεῖσαι | μηδὲ ἀποχωρήσειν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ  
τῆ[σον]μένου φράτραν εἰς ἔτεραν φράτραν | καὶ μὴ γενεαλογίας οὔτε ἔτερος τὸν ἔτερον ἐν τῷ  
συμποσίῳ μηδὲ κακολογίας οὔτε τὸν ἔτερον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ μηδὲ λαλήσειν μηδὲ  
ἔργοντας οὔτε καὶ μηδὲ ἀφαίνειν τὰ συμποσίατα μηδὲ ἀπόρρησθε· [-] · η[το]τοις εκτὸν |  
μηδὲ ἀποκλεῖσθε τὰ τεράν καὶ μὴ κωδίσσειν τὸν | κ.τ.λ.

ii. 890 n. 2 Mt Taygeton. D. W. Freshfield *Below the Snow Line* London 1923 pp. 124–128 describes his ascent of this mountain (7874 ft.): ‘The highest top of Taygetus lies some twelve miles south-south-west of Sparta. The peasants who make a pilgrimage annually to the chapel on the summit in the month of August follow a path which climbs to the village of Anavryti, on the middle shelf of the mountain, and then slants upwards to a gap in one of the spurs and across the upper slopes to the saddle north of the culminating crest.... The top of Taygetus has been curiously treated. When I reached what had from a distance looked like a dilapidated stone man it proved to be the ridge of the roof of a small chapel. The rest was buried under snow-drifts, which choked up a little stone enclosure and several cells built round it.... I envied the pilgrims who watch sunsets and moonrises here in August. It was just mid-day when I arrived, and local mists were playing round the mountain, which promised, and before long produced, a brief thunder shower. The distant panorama was imperfect; but I saw a great deal under beautiful shifting lights. To the north the eyes overlooked all Peloponnesus to the vapours that rested on its northern heights. To the west the green hills of Messenia glowed in sunshine; its great bay swept round in a wonderful curve, and beyond lay Pylos and the distant islands. At our very feet a little town hung over its haven, a tiny bay of the Gulf of Kalamata. To the south the long promontory of Cape Matapan stretched out, peak beyond peak, all far below me. A transparent opalescent mist hid Crete, but only veiled Cythera.’

ii. 894 n. 3 Zeus Hellánios. J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 27–29, 40 f., 53, 55 f., 67, 82 ff. attributes the cult of Zeus Hellánios to Achaeans of the period Helladic III (1400–1100 B.C.). Summary by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 252.

J. P. Harland ‘An Inscribed Hydria in Aegina’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 76–78 fig. 1 f. publishes a bronze *hydria* found by L. Curtius (1906) in an ancient cistern high up on Mt Oros. Round the rim of this beautiful vessel runs a dedication in lettering of c. 470 B.C. ΓΛΑΟΟΝ : ΕΚΕΣΟΕΝΕΣ : ΑΝΕΩΕΝ : ΗΒΙΟΙ :

ΓΡΟΚΛΕΟΣ : ΗΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΙ : ΔΙΙ ‘Plathon (and) Echesthenes, sons of Prokles, dedicated (this) to Hellánios Zeus.’ *Id. Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 p. 83 adds: ‘Professor Ludwig Curtius wrote me that a roof tile with several letters of the god’s name had been found on this site.’

G. Welter ‘Der Heilige Berg des Zeus Hellanios’ in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1938 liii Arch. Anz. pp. 8–16 republishes this *hydria* (fig. 3 f.) and goes on to describe his own excavations of August 1933. He laid bare a terrace, approached by steps and partly cut out of the rocks, on the northern slope of the *Oros* (fig. 5 f.). On the terrace are the foundations of a hostel for pilgrims, which could be dated by sherds of ‘Megarian’ bowls, to the Pergamene period of Aigina (210–133 B.C.). The actual altar of Zeus Hellánios occupied the highest point of the *Oros*, where there had been a Late Mycenaean settlement (fig. 7 plan). The summit on its west and south sides was partially encircled by a retaining wall and built up to form a round platform comparable with the γῆς χώμα (Paus. 8. 38. 7) on the top of Mt Lykaion (*supra* i. 81 ff.). It was further equipped in Hellenistic times with hostels and *steal*, suggestive of games perhaps held below on the level at the foot of the terrace. Bronze coins of Pergamene date, struck either at Pergamon or more probably in Aigina, have *obv.* the head of Aiakos, *rev.* ΑΙΓΙΑΛΗ nude archaic Apollon advancing to right with filleted bay-branch and strung bow (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc.* p. 145 pl. 26, 4 f., H. Thiersch ‘Aeginetische Studien’ in the *Nachr. d. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1928 pp. 141–147 pls. 1–3). Aiakos was appropriate as the forefather both of the Aeginetans and, through Pergamos, of the Pergamenes. G. Welter *Aigina* Berlin 1938 includes p. 91 f. a brief chapter on ‘Die Kultstätte des Zeus Hellanios auf dem Oros’ and p. 122 the ‘Fasti’ of the site. The Late Mycenaean settlement on the summit was vacated c. 1225 B.C. ‘Geometric’ sherds found there imply the arrival of the cult, which thenceforward was kept up throughout the whole classical period. The lay-out of the terrace and the building of its hostel may be dated c. 170 B.C. From the ruins of this

building, in Byzantine times, was constructed the monastery of St Nikolaos. That in turn was left derelict in the middle ages, and is now succeeded by the church of the Taxiarchs.

ii. 895 n. 1 Zeus *Aphéios*. On the cults of Zeus at Megara—Zeus *Olympios* (Paus. i. 40. 4), *Aphéios* (i. 44. 9), *Kénias* (i. 40. 6), with the Muses (i. 43. 6)—see now E. L. Highbarger *The History and Civilization of ancient Megara* Pt i (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology No. 2) Baltimore 1927 pp. 41—43. K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund 1934 pp. 79—82 deals with Zeus *Aphéios* and his relations to Zeus *Apesantios* ('Zeus Aphesios ist der alte Gott des argivischen Apesasberges, dessen Kultus die Argiver nach Megara mitgebracht haben, wo der Kultus, wie die Funde zeigen, in der geometrischen Zeit gegründet wurde... An den Kultus des Zeus Aphesios knüpft sich wie in Argos die Flutsage. Stifter des Kultes ist ein aus der Flut geretteter Heros' [supra ii. 897 n. 1], in diesem Falle ein Sohn des Gottes selbst und Eponyme des Landes. Sein Rettung geschieht übrigens in einer sehr eigenartigen Weise, indem er dem Geschrei fliegender Kraniche nachschwimmt. Hierdurch wird noch eine schöne Etymologie gewonnen [Paus.]



Fig. 907.

i. 40. 1 δέλλα—νήχεσθαι γάρ πετομένων γεράσιων πρὸς τὴν βούην τῶν δριόων αὐτός—διά τοῦτο Γεράσιαν τὸ δρός δρομαλοθῆρα], und eigentlich ist dieser Zug hinreichend, um die ganze Geschichte als späte dichterische Erfundung zu charakterisieren').

ii. 898. To the mountain-cults of Zeus in Boiotia add that of Zeus *Keraios* at Akraiphia and that of Zeus *Karaïos* at Thespiai (supra on ii. 874 n. 2).

ii. 899 n. 1 Herakles *Cháropē*. N. G. Pappadakis 'Περὶ τῷ Χαρόπειον τῆς Κοπυρέως' in the 'Αρχ. Δελτ. 1916 ii. 217—272.

ii. 901 n. 2 Mt Parnassos. D. W. Freshfield *Below the Snow Line* London 1923 pp. 128—130 gives the height of Parnassos as 8064 ft. and says of his ascent: 'When I got to the top a faint gleam was already visible in the eastern sky. It quickly deepened and broadened until, without warning, a spot of light shone on the dark sea horizon, grew to an arch, and in a few moments the sun's orb was floating on the sky. To the sailors on the Aegean it had not yet risen, and it was some minutes before a path of light flashed across the waters to Euboea. Then the long backbone of the great island stood out with all its heights and hollows blue against the golden east, throwing a clear-cut shadow on the strait that divides it from the mainland. The plains of Boeotia next took the day; the mist rose from its lakes, and the rivers flashed out as silver threads across its broad fields. On the northern horizon, beyond the Gulf of Volo, Pelion, Olympus, and

even distant Athos took shape as grey phantoms. Still the shores of the Gulf of Corinth were slow to awaken. Night hung reluctantly over the Adriatic long after Attica was in broad day. But at last the veil of twilight was lifted everywhere; hills and valleys, cities and harbours stood out clear and distinct in local detail and colour. I shall not attempt a catalogue of the famous sights in view. I had had that rare enjoyment, a most successful sunrise, worth a night in the open, and worthy of the Poets' Mountain.' Fig. 907, which shows the summit of Parnassos as seen from the south-west, is from a photograph taken by Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 9, 1926.

ii. 902 n. 2 Mt Kenaion. N. Pappadakis in 1924 attempted to locate the sanctuary of Zeus *Kinaios*. He found a massive precinct-wall, 2·5<sup>m</sup> thick, extending for a stretch of c. 50<sup>m</sup>. The side towards the sea was missing, but three angle-towers were preserved. Neither temple nor altar came to light (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlvi. 480, A. M. Wood-

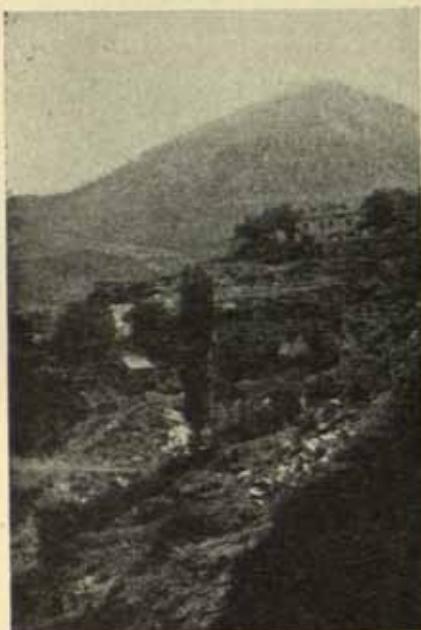


Fig. 908.



Fig. 909.

ward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xl. 224, E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 112). Resuming his search, Pappadakis discovered that the precinct was pentagonal. On the south and south-east the wall had been largely destroyed. The angle-towers also had suffered. They were well built with regular courses of *poros*-blocks. The walls, 3<sup>m</sup> thick, had two faces of *poros* masonry with internal filling, the stones being taken from the Lichades. Minor finds were disappointing—a large marble *phiale* near the north tower, sherds of Graeco-Roman date (none older than c. 300 B.C.), etc. Within the precinct stands the Church of St Constantine (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 554 f.).

ii. 903 Akarnania. At Stratos the temple of Zeus occupied a commanding hill-top. A. K. Orlando's 'Ο ἐν Στράτῳ τῆς Ἀκαρναίας ναὸς τοῦ Διός' in the *Ἄρχ. Δελτ.* 1923 viii. 1—51 with 43 figs. and 2 pls. purports to give the first full account of the building. But it is not free from inexactitudes, and the author seems to have poached unduly upon the preserves of the French School at Athens, which had been at work on the site intermittently ever since 1892. We must therefore rely on the definitive publication by F. Courby—C. Picard *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie* Paris 1924 pp. 1—124 with 78 figs. and 19 pls. The temple—possibly not the first on the spot—

was built c. 330 B.C. It is a Doric peripteral structure of fine grey limestone with 6 × 11 columns as yet unfluted. *Prónaos* and *opisthodomos* had each two columns *in antis*. Within the *nais* were Ionic columns, ranged round three sides of it, and these may have carried a carved (?) frieze and dentils. The roof was perhaps, but not certainly, hypaethral. A. Joubin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 451 f. no. 4 = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 nos. 447 f. published an inscription which proves that at Stratos in c. ii B.C. slaves were manumitted by a deed of sale to Zeus: lines 3—5 read (Courhy—Picard p. 13) [d]ιπέδορο Διονύσιος [Δ]ιονυσίου Στράτιος τῶν Δαι ἐπ' [διενθείας σώματος] [δι]δρεῖον κ.τ.λ.

ii. 904 Mount Ossa. I am indebted to Dr N. Bachtin for photographs of the mountain and of the chapel on its summit taken in 1934. Fig. 908 shows Ossa as seen from *Spilia* on the north-west. Fig. 909 gives the entrance into the little chapel of

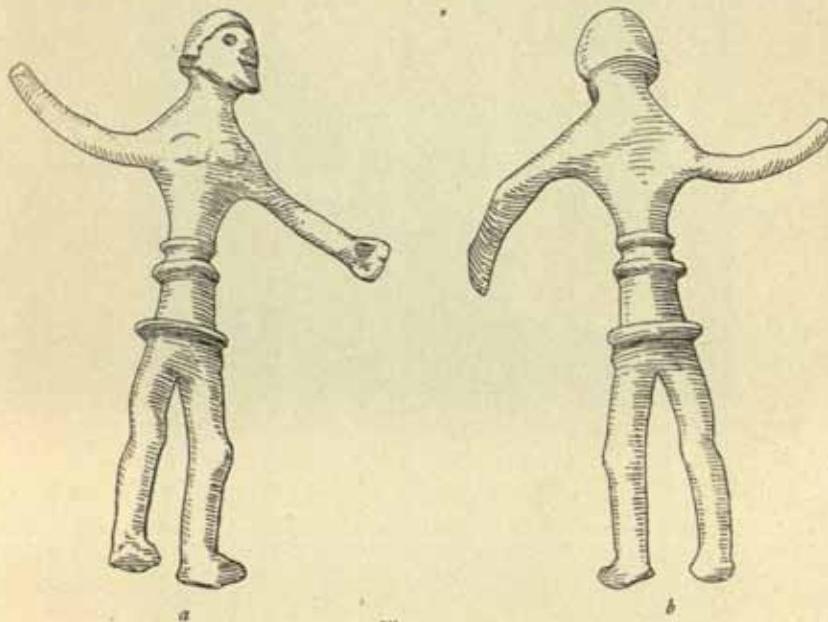


Fig. 910.

Hagios Elias. Steps down lead to a doorway, within which is a round-headed arch. The roof of the chapel forms the actual summit of the mountain. 'People nowadays prefer to worship St Elias lower down in the valley.'

ii. 904 n. 1 *Zeus Laphystios*. N. I. Giannopoulos in the *'Αρχ.' Εφ.* 1925—1926 pp. 183—185 figs. 1 a, 1 β (=my fig. 910 a, b) publishes a bronze statuette ploughed up in a field among the ruins of Halos, where once stood the sanctuary of *Zeus Laphystios*. It shows a bearded male figure advancing with right hand raised and left held forward. If, as seems likely, this was meant for Zeus, his right hand must have brandished a thunderbolt, his left may have carried eagle or sceptre (?). Hair projecting like a cap, wedge-shaped beard, mere holes for eyes, incised lines for mouth, triangular chest with two small projections for nipples, double belt above, single belt below—the whole suggesting a date c. 700 B.C. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* vi. 164 no. 1.

ii. 905 n. o. My friend and colleague Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 3, 1926 and again on July 14, 1929 made the ascent of Mt Olympus and secured a series of excellent photographs. These include my pl. lxviii *Mitska*, the highest peak, as seen from the Ridge, fig. 911 the 'Throne of Zeus' from *Mitska* Ridge, fig. 912 *Skolian* from the Brèche, fig. 913 the chapel of St Elias (*supra* i. 103) from the south-west.

ii. 906 Mount Tomaros. E. Polaschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1697 f. draws attention to a group of mountain-names found mainly, if not entirely, in the Illyrian area: (1) *Tmor* on the Dalmatian coast, north-west of Ragusa; (2) *Tomori* in northern Epeiros, east of Berat; (3) *Tómaros* or *Tmáros*, the modern Olicka, south-west

of Dodona; (4) *Tnidrion* in Arkadia (Hesych. Τηδριον· δρυς Ἀρκαδίας). Whether these names are of Greek or Illyrian formation is uncertain (H. Krahe *Die alten balkan-illyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1925 p. 58). N. Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* vi. 34 decides for the latter. In either case they would be connectible with the root *tem-* of *τέμνω*, *τομή*, etc. and so signify 'sheer-cut' or the like (cp. *Τέμνη*, *Τέμνυρα*, *Τομεύς*, *Τόμας*). In Greek times such mountains would be the natural habitat of Zeus. That is certain for Mt *Tomarus* or *Tmáros* near Dodona (Claud. *de bello Getico* 16 ff. *iacent... Minervam... caeso Tomari Iovis augure luco | arbore praesaga tabulas animasse oquaces*, Hesych. Τηδριον· *Ζεὺς ἐν Δωδάεῳ*), where the priests of the god were called

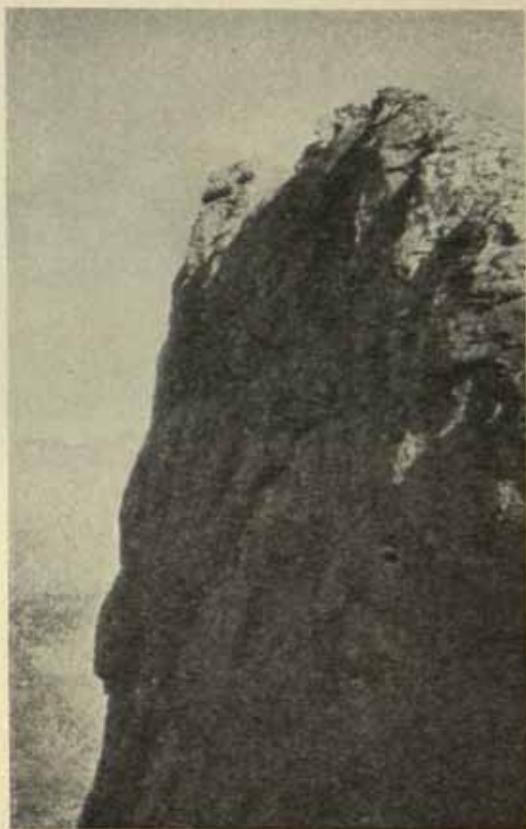


Fig. 911.

*tomoúroi* (Strab. 3:28 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τομάρου τοῖς ἵπτο τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένου ὑποφῆτας τοῦ Διός, οὗτοι καὶ διατέτοδας, χαμαιεύεται καλεῖ, τομούροις φασὶ λεχθῆται κ.τ.λ.) or *tomoúroi* (Sufra ii. 693 n. 3). It is probable also that Zeus was worshipped on Mt *Tomori* near Berat, to judge from the sacred character of that mountain and from certain cult-usages reported by recent travellers. To attest these curious and little-known facts, I cite three eye-witnesses:

J. Swire *King Zog's Albania* London 1937 p. 250 ff. describes in graphic terms his ascent of 'Tomori's holy summit' and *ib.* p. 253 gives the local legend: 'One August 25 long ago...Abas Ali came from Arabia to Berat; and mounting a great white horse (which has left hoof-marks upon the mountain) he fought the barbarians of the neighbourhood. When he had overcome them he rested for five days on Tomori, then went to dwell on Mount Olympus; but every year he returns on August 25 for five days, when

there come Bektashis—and Christians too—sometimes eight or nine thousand people, to pay him homage. They bring their sheep for food, slaughter them on the summit, then take them down to their bivouacs by the *tekke*. So Tomori is a holy mountain and *për Baba Tomorit* a sacred oath. The shrine was built, so Baba Tyrabiu told me, on the site of an antique pagan shrine, so Abas Ali probably inherited his supernatural powers from the pagan god he displaced.<sup>1</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 280 mentions a sacred cave made by Mahomet with 'passages which may not be defiled by man; and they lead underground...to the top of Tomori and to the *tekke* on the crag above Kruja.'

R. Matthews *Sons of the Eagle* London 1937 p. 273 ff. ('A mountain of Zeus') has

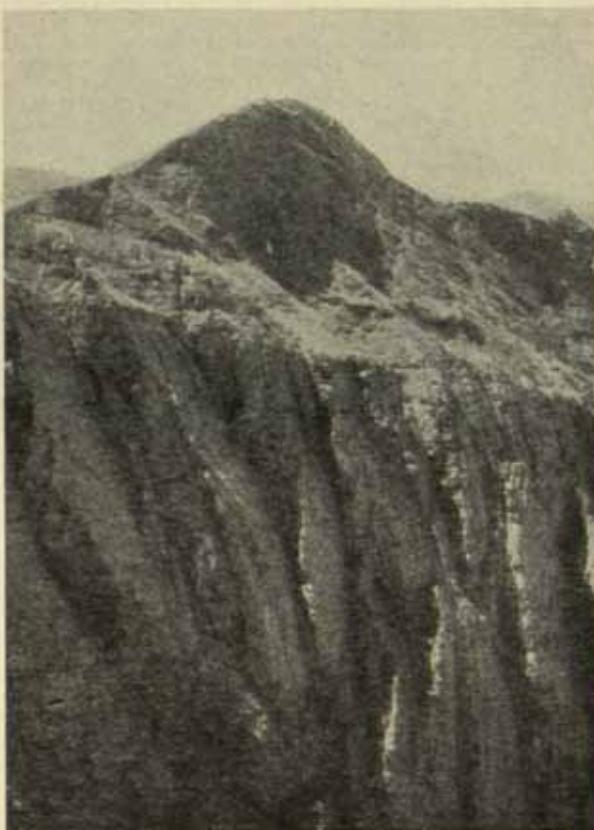


Fig. 912.

much the same tale to tell. He too climbed the mountain under the guidance of a kirijec, who had been up it often before and said: "Last year there had been twelve hundred sheep sacrificed on top, or it might be fifteen hundred. And it didn't do to be disrespectful about these matters either." When asked why the mountain was so holy, he replied: "Many hundreds of years ago...there were two brothers, very holy men, who lived in Arabia. One day they arrived in Albania: no one knows how, some say through the air. The younger of the two set up his house in Berat, where he was highly venerated for his sanctity and became the patron saint of the town. But the elder brother, Ali, was a great warrior. Through all the countryside he rode on his wonderful horse, challenging and conquering the barbarians who lived around. His horse could cover miles at a single bound. You may still see the marks of its hooves on the rocks of Tomori...At last a day came when Ali had overcome all his enemies. So he retired to the summit of Tomori, to

the spot where the shrine stands to-day. For three days he meditated alone there on the fate of his foes and the future of his country, Albania. Then one last time he vaulted into the saddle of his great horse. Through the air it bore him to the top of Mount Olympus, in Greece, and there he lives for ever. But every year, on August 15, the day when he and his brother first arrived in the country, he returns to Tomori's summit. For three days he remains there to receive the homage of his people. And it is because of that and because of his guardianship that Christians and Moslems alike make their pilgrimage every year and for three days offer sacrifices at the shrine." "Living for ever on Olympus.... Then it was indeed to Zeus, under this so thin disguise, that the people of southern Albania still paid their homage." *Id. ib.* p. 283 "All I could feel as I halted finally beneath the shadow of the shrine was a sentiment of immense pathos. For hundreds of years, thousands probably, pilgrims had been making their way up the great mountain to sacrifice to Something on the spot where we stood now....Round these few square



Fig. 913.

yards had centred the reverence of tens of thousands of men peopling a score of centuries. Yet they had left nothing behind to see. Just a sacrificial stone. And four bare walls. Unroofed. Partially breached on one side. The home of Zeus: the Zeus who had never died for the people of this country round. His last home on earth, probably, and he had not wherewith to cover his head. But it was easy to understand, lifting one's face to the strong clean wind that blew out of nowhere, that a god or a saint should have chosen the summit for his residence. Beneath, and to the west, the whole land lay stretched out and visible, to the distant silver of the Adriatic, eight thousand feet below; only in the south did the chain of the Acroceranunian mountains cut off the view. To the east, wave beyond wave of peaks, tumbling black in the sunset, conducted the eye to the imagined Serbian frontier. The evening haze had hidden from sight all trace of human habitation but one: a square white monastery, folded in a lonely pineclad valley at our feet on the further side, whose head was the guardian of the sacrifice. We stumbled down another stony path in the failing light." At the monastery the *baba*, a young and scholarly man, had more to tell (*ib.* p. 284 f.): "You must know...that the shrine isn't Tomori's only claim to veneration. Somewhere on this northern side, they say, is a crag from whose topmost pinnacle there springs an apple tree. I've never been near there myself, I only speak of what I hear, but every one talks about it. For this apple tree's fruits are of more than natural size. But so steep are the precipices that tumble beneath it that not the hardiest climber has yet been able to scale them to pluck one. Now and then, in

the autumn, a windfall will roll down the rocks to the turf below. Peasants who pass at that time of year always look to see if there is one there, for those great apples, they say, have the power of healing all diseases. Even the dying, I have heard men say, can be brought back to life if such a fruit is given them." Mr Matthews ends his narrative by noting the resemblance between Tomori in the north and Tomaros in the south: *ib.* p. 286 'if you go one way up Tomori to-day, you will eventually reach a village, itself called Tomori. Above it is a collection of ruins, so far unexplored, and known locally as Qyteti (the city). And the biggest among them is named by the villagers Dodona.'

Mr Hugh Hunt of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, made the ascent of Tomori in the spring of 1929 and has kindly furnished me with an account of his experiences: 'In a tekke (small monastery) at the foot of Mt Tomori I spent the night. I was on my way from Korita to Berat...accompanied by an English police officer and an interpreter. We were welcomed by the monks, who were of the Bektashite branch of Mohammedans.... The monks professed great interest in the Christian religion and asked me many questions about the Anglican church, particularly about Saint George, whom they held in great reverence and whose feast day they celebrated. We learnt that on the following day a pilgrimage was to be made to the summit of Mt Tomori, where a sacrifice of a white bull was to take place, and accepted the invitation to join in this festival. On the following day we rose at daybreak and commenced the climb. The full complement of monks were in attendance—some forty in all—and a few servants. The climb was an arduous one and the day was hot. The summit was veiled in clouds—a good omen, the monks told me, for this indicated the presence of ZEFS, to whom this sacrifice was to be dedicated. I became interested, for although my knowledge of Greek mythology is remarkably small I began to see that there must be some connection between this cloud-loving deity and Zeus. But questions proved of little use; the monks appeared as little informed as myself; the ceremony was an annual rite—or perhaps of more frequent occurrence, for I am of the opinion that they informed me that they celebrated St George's day in like fashion, but I cannot be sure of this. We reached the summit—it was late in the day—and there we found a bull, brought up earlier by the villagers, and a fire was already kindled. The killing of this beast was an unpleasant spectacle, and I did not attend very closely, interesting myself in the glimpses of the valley below, which appeared every now and again like pools of water through the cloud rifts. Prayers were offered by the chief monk; and the bull, now happily released from pain, was hoisted on a stout wooden construction and roasted. So far as I remember, it had a garland of bright flowers round its neck; but these were, I believe, put on after its decease. I left earlier than the rest, accompanied by the interpreter and my companion, and regained the village after nightfall. What was the ultimate fate of the bull, I never discovered.'

The foregoing statements appear to involve a threefold blend of Bektashite usage, common folk-belief, and classical reminiscence. On the Bektashi order and its syncretism of Islam with Christianity see G. Jacob *Die Bektashijje* (*Abh. d. bayer. Akad. Philos.-philol. Classe xxiv. 3. 2*) Munich 1909 pp. 1–53 figs. 1–3, also F. W. Hasluck *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* Oxford 1929 II. 869 Index s.v. Tomor, Mount (Bektashi tekke on, 163<sup>3</sup>, 548: Abbas Ali haunts, 93<sup>2</sup>, 548, 548<sup>2</sup>: gold plant on, 645<sup>2</sup>: oath by, 548<sup>2</sup>). Folk-belief has provided the magic horse, the underground passages, the apples of immortality, the gold plant. Classical reminiscence will explain the hoof-marks on the mountain, the departure to Olympos, above all the survival of the name *Zeus*. Nevertheless, when due allowance has been made for all these factors, the abiding sanctity of the mountain, the annual pilgrimage to its summit, and the solemn sacrifice of a white bull by the assembled villagers are ample proof that the ancient cult of the sky-god on his holy hill goes on from generation to generation almost untouched by the passing changes of politics and religion.

ii. 906 n. 3 the stone ship of Agamemnon. W. Dörpfeld *Alt-Olympia* Berlin 1935 i. 265 cites as a possible parallel a ship-like foundation of river-worn stones in the *Altis* at Olympia.

ii. 907 n. 2 *Zeus Ainetios*. K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix. 163 would see *Zeus Ainetios* on a bronze coin of Krainoi in Kephallenia (*ib.* p. 162 fig. 1, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 80 pl. 17, 1 (Poseidon?), *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 439 no. 6683 pl. 228, 12 (Kephalos)).

ii. 910 n. 1. The great temple of Zeus at Akragas is still a battle-ground for the architects. R. Vallois in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 198 criticises the results reached by B. Pace (*supra* ii. 1227), S. R. Pierce 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico a Girgenti Sicilia' in *Architettura e arti decorative* 1913/1924 iii. 385–391 returns to the charge. P. Marconi

*Agrigento. Topografia ed arte* Firenze 1929 pp. 1—238 with 162 figs. (especially pp. 57—66 figs. 29—36)—an important work, of which T. Ashby in *The Times Literary Supplement* for May 15, 1930 p. 413 says: ‘the excavations conducted some years ago in the vast temple of the Olympian Zeus...’, which proved that the *telamones* faced outwards (and not inwards, as Pace and Pierce had believed), are for the first time adequately described.’ P. Marconi ‘Novità nell’ Olimpieion di Agrigento’ in *Dedalo* 1932 pp. 165—173 gives 5 figs. of these *telamones* and a reconstruction. Lastly, W. B. Dinsmoor read a paper, as yet unpublished, on ‘The Giants of Agrigento’ at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New York 1935 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 126).

ii. 918 n. 1 *Zeus Mήlos*. See the succinct article by gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 524. C. Bosch of Halle a. S. in the *Numismatisches Literatur-Blatt* 1932 xlix. 2575 f. reviews Kruse’s article and tries to discredit this appellative: ‘Vaillant und Piovene sind Miomets Hebräermänner!... Das Zeugnis aber ist ganz wertlos, denn die Münzen sind bis heute nicht belegt.’ Bosch wants to jettison all the early coin-men, Cohen included. That strikes me as hypercritical.

ii. 918 Mount Kynthos. Three years after the publication of my note the final and authoritative report of A. Plassart *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe* Paris 1928 pp. 1—319 with 260 figs. and 6 pls. was issued in *Delos* xi. The sections that chiefly concern me are pp. 51—69 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le culte de Zeus et d'Athéna aux temps archaïques'), 71—92 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athéna au temps de l'indépendance Délienne (314—166)'), 93—144 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athéna sous la seconde domination Athénienne'), 228—255 ('Sanctuaire de l'anatre'). Plassart has here and there corrected my statements: e.g. on p. 66 n. 2 he regards as arbitrary my assumption that in ‘Minoan’ times the top of Mt Kynthos was tenanted by the earth-mother (Rhea) as well as by the sky-father (Kronos), and on p. 252 n. 4 he refutes my attempt to find traces in Delos of Rhea’s lions. Again, he has succeeded in proving what—in spite of having visited the spot—I had never suspected, viz. that the supposed prehistoric cave-temple was in reality only a pseudo-antiquity, an artificial grotto put together in Ptolemaic times for Herakles as ancestor of the Ptolemies!

O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. p. 360 fl. adds some points of interest. In pp. 361—367 ('Zur Vorgeschichte des Delischen Kultes') he notes the small prehistoric settlement underneath the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena on the mountain-top as being of early Cycladic date and as probably postulating a cult akin to that of the Cretan Zeus; he connects with the same settlement two large Cycladic graves in the *thmēnes* of Apollon—the θήκη of Opis and Arge (*Delos* v. 63—74 ('Le "Tombeau mycénien")) and the σῆμα of Hyperoche and Laodike (C. Picard—J. Replat in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xviii. 247 ff.); and he finds a survival of early Helladic worship in the altar of horns and its archaic ritual (*supra* i. 482 n. 1, iii. 1057). In pp. 367—370 ('Zeus Kynthios und Athena Kynthia') he distinguishes an archaic period when the square precinct had only a rock-cut altar in the midst; a third-century reconstruction with stairways, *prōpylon*, *peribolos*, and two Ionic *ekklesi*; and a later lay-out of three small terraces on the east side, of which the most southerly had an oblong building and a mosaic inscription (*supra* ii. 919 with fig. 829) of doubtful significance, possibly the banquet-hall and lustral centre of some mystic society. In pp. 375—379 ('Das Höhlenheiligtum am Kynthos') he accepts Plassart’s dating of the bogus cave, but questions his interpretation of it as a Herakleion. Herakles in Delos was associated with the Kabaeiroi (P. Roussel *Delos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 232 f.), who had there two distinct sanctuaries, one on the left bank of the Inopos, the other described as τὸ Καβεῖροις τὸ εἴλος Κέρθων (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 144, A 90) and probably to be identified with the famous cave-temple.

Plassart in *Delos* xi. 265 records two inscriptions to Zeus *Mégistos* (e.g. Ἡλύδωρος Διὶ | Μεγίστῳ | κατὰ πρόσταγμα on a block of white marble found with some Roman lamps in the south-west portion of sanctuary c on the northern slope of Mt Kynthos) and justly treats him as a Semitic god.

ii. 922 Mount Atabyrion. R. Herbig in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 633 f. mentions as a new undertaking the excavation of the sanctuary of Zeus *Atabyrios*. No remains of a temple were found, but a massive *peribolos*-wall (fig. 26) and a building of uncertain use ('Halle für Votive? Monumentaleingang?'). Many dedications of Graeco-Roman date, all to Zeus *Atabyrios*, made monotonous reading. Votive objects included numerous small bulls and zebras in bronze and two fine fragments of bronze statuettes representing the god (fig. 27).

O. Eissfeldt ‘Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung’ in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 14—41 claims that the name and cult of the Palestinian Tabor spread *via* Crete to

Rhodes in the second millennium B.C., and thence in 580 B.C. to Agrigentum and later to the Crimea (*Corp. Inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2103 b ('Prope Sympheropolin Akmedschet), haud procul a montibus Taurorum') a base inscribed Διος Ἀταβύρια Ποσείδος Ποσείδου χαροτήριον. E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 463, 476). Eissfeldt further discusses the character of the god, who dwelt on a mountain and had the bull for his symbol, concluding that he was a mountain- and storm-god comparable with Hadad, Rimmon-Ramman, and Tesub, but also capable of taking an interest in human affairs.

ii. 939 n. 1 Mt Juktas as a recumbent face. My friend Mr N. G. L. Hammond supplies me with a good Greek parallel. He writes (Feb. 25, 1931): 'The mountain identified locally with Dione in repose is called Emértsa (Gk. Εμέρτσα). The Austrian Staff map 1/200,000 (Korfu sheet 38° 40°) wrongly calls it Nemericika. The mountain lies on the Albanian frontier north of the headwaters of the Kalamas (in antiquity Thyamis).'

ii. 941 f. n. o. To the references for the tomb of Zeus add Ptol. Hephaist. ap. Phot. bibl. p. 147 b 37 ff. Bekker ὡς ὁ ἐν Κρήτῃ τάφος λεγόμενος τοῦ Διὸς Ὁλόμυκον τοῦ Κρητὸς ἐστιν, δε πάρα τοῦ Κρόνου λαβὼν τὸν Διὸν ἔτρεφε τε καὶ ἐπαίδευ τὰ θεῖα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ βαλλεῖ (φοῖσιν) ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν τροφά και διδάσκαλον κεραυνῷ, ὅτι δὴ τούς Γῆγατας αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ



Fig. 914.

ἐπιθέσθαι ὑπειθετο. ἀλλὰ βαλὼν καὶ τεκρὸν ἔχων μετεμελεῖτο· μῆτ ἔχων δὲ ἀλλως τὸ πάθος ἐκκλίνει, δίδωσι τὸ ίδιον δύναμι τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ ἀγυρμένου. Epiphanius, anecor. 106 (l. 208 Dindorf) καὶ τί μοι τὰ πλήθη λέγειν τοῦ γενναιού τούτου φθορέως καὶ φθορέων διδάσκαλον; οὐ τὸ μῆνα σὸν δίλγοι εἰστι δῆλος. ἐν Κρήτῃ γὰρ τῷ νησῷ ἐν τῷ λεγούμενῳ Λασίῳ (? cp. Lasithi) εἴναι δεῖρον δακτυλοδειάτεται.

ii. 946 n. o Zeus Εὔδενδρος. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 428 cites *Inscr. Gr.* int. v. 2 no. 1027 fig. (=my fig. 914) a white marble slab inscribed βωμὸς Διὸς Εὐδένδρου, τῶν ἀπὸ Μ[αρ]δρούθεμος μέλιτον στένθεται. See further *id.* 'Zeusaltar aus Paros' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1906 pp. 786–788.

ii. 946 ff. n. o Zeus Φελχάδνος. Attempts to connect Φελχάδνος with Volcanus are still rife: see e.g. A. Nehring in Schrader *Reallex.* ii. 239 n. 1, F. Müller Jan *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 560, Walde–Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 321, Margherita Guarducci 'Velchanos—Volcanus' in *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara Città del Vaticano* 1937 pp. 184–203 pl. 20, 1–4. But such proposals, however specious, are of very doubtful value.

Prof. J. Vürtheim of Leiden informed me (Feb. 13, 1926) that in a paper communicated to the Royal Academy of Amsterdam and published in December 1924 he had independently reached the same conclusion as Dr Atkinson and myself, viz. that Φελχάδνος means 'god of the Willow-tree.' See J. Vürtheim *Europa (Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde Deel 57, Serie A, No. 6)* Amsterdam 1924 p. 6 ff.

C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. o suggests that a large vase (?) or *rhyton* (?) of enamelled gold, shaped like a cock's head, which is figured among the presents of the Kefitiu (Cretans?) in the second register of the tomb-paintings of Rekhmaré (G. A. Hoskins *Travels in Ethiopia* 1835 col. pl. between pp. 330 and 331),

bore to the cult of Zeus *Velchinos* the same relation as the lioness-heads of Knossos, Delphi, and Mykenai (in gold) to that of Rhea. He also cp. a sherd of 1425—1123 B.C. found in the Valley of the Kings by Lord Carnarvon in 1920—21 (*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1923 ix. 1 ff. pl. 20, 1 wrongly described as the earliest known drawing of the domestic cock in Egypt) and a *genius* (?) with a cock's head on a Cretan intaglio from Mt Ide now in the Museum at Candia.

More about cocks in magic and religion *supra* p. 45 n. 2. Add J. Praetorius *Alectryomantia, seu Divinatio Magica cum Gallis Gallinaceis peracta...* Francofurti & Lipsiae 1680 pp. 1—185, C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1924; 1924—1925 xxvi. 93 ff. ('Eros and Cocks'), Günter in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Altertums* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1325—1346 s.vv. 'Hahn,' 'Hahnenbaliken,' 'Hahnenkampf,' 'Hahnenkrähen,' 'Hahnschlägen,' 'Hahnenanzug,' D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1936 pp. 33—44.

ii. 951 n. o with fig. 844 the Stroganoff bust of Zeus. O. Waldhauer in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 58 f. no. 41 pl. 23 cp. a fine bronze head from the Uvarov collection, now in the Historical Museum at Moscow (ib. fig. 14, S. Reinach *Recueil de têtes antiques idéales ou idéalisées* Paris 1903 p. 194 pl. 239).

ii. 960 n. o contact with Mother Earth. W. Kroll 'Unum exuta pedem—ein volkskundlicher Seitensprung' in *Glotta* 1936 xxv. 152—158 questions my view of the Dodonaeian rule and discusses alternatives. His list of relevant usages is interesting, but—so far as I can judge—what he calls the 'Antaiosmotiv' remains the most probable explanation.

ii. 961 n. o. The cult of Hektor at Thebes in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 18. 5) is handled by Miss G. H. Macurdy in the *Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 179 f. But her contentions (*Hektor* a shortened form of *Echëlaos* (cp. II. 5. 473)=*Echelos*, a god of death) are risqué.

ii. 962 n. 2 Zeus at Ephesos. Excavations carried on from September to November 1926 under the direction of J. Keil, M. Theuer, and A. Deissmann discovered on the northern slopes of the *Panaghir Dagh* (Mt Peion) a number of rock-cut votive niches and near them a *tēmenos* of Zeus, *Oreia* (Kybele), and other deities. An altar-shaped rock is inscribed in lettering of c. v B.C. *Zarōs | Πατρός | lepōs*, and a relief-inscription of c. 300 B.C. reads *Zarōs lepōs Πατρός καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος | Αριστώνακτος | τῷ Κυνίδεῳ*. The site yielded no temple, but many inscriptions together with eight complete and three fragmentary Hellenistic reliefs showing the triad Kybele, Attis, and Zeus, or the pair Kybele and Attis, all bearing the lions symbolic of the goddess (J. Keil in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1926 xxiii. Beiblatt pp. 256—261 with figs. 48 rock-altar, 49—51 reliefs, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 I. 580, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xvii. 260). Keil infers from the repeated absence of Zeus on these reliefs 'dass die Kulttrias, Vater, Mutter und Sohn, nicht ursprünglich ist, dass vielmehr die grosse Mutter zunächst nur den jugendlichen Gott zum Begleiter hatte. Wie die griechischen Ephesier diesen jugendlichen Gott benannten bzw. welchem ihrer Götter sie den altanatolischen Paredros der Bergmutter gleichsetzten [Hermes? Apollon?], bleibt noch zu ermitteln.'

ii. 963 n. Διονείρη. The word is used in a secondary sense 'struck by lightning' in Aristophon *larpōe frag. 2* (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 358 Meineke) *ap. Stob. flor.* 6. 27 (ed. Gaisford i. 162) *αἱ τῶν ἐραπῶν γὰρ διονείρησιν οἰκται | γεγύνασσε ἀβαροι τοῖς ἔχονται μῆρα τε*.

ii. 969 n. 4. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1916 xciii. 92 n. o doubts the religious intervention of the Eumolpid Timotheos at Alexandreia and at Pessinous.

ii. 970 n. o Attis and Gallos. A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xlvi. 161 f. quotes *Iskallīs* as the Hittite name of Attis, and connects it with the Hittite verb *igall*, *iskall-* 'to cut.' Hence *igallus* and *iskallis* 'eunuch,' which appears in Greek as γάλλος.

ii. 970 n. o the finger of Attis. This curious belief may belong to the group of primitive notions studied by R. D. Scott *The Thumb of Knowledge* New York 1930 pp. 1—296 (Finn mac Cumhaill, Sigurd, Taliesin, etc.). S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 ii. 203 comments shrewdly: 'Est-ce le caractère sacré attaché, depuis l'époque quaternaire, à la main de l'homme?... A-t-on déjà songé aux statuettes alexandrines d'Harpocrate, l'enfant divin qui se met les doigts dans la bouche?'

ii. 970 n. o Agdistis. T. Zielinski *La Sibylle* Paris 1924 pp. 76—81 distinguishes the Phrygian myth of Agdistis, leading up to the rite of 'autocastration' and subsequent recovery, from its doublet the Greek myth of Attis, leading up to the doctrine of death followed by new life.

ii. 971 n. 2 Θεοὶ ἄγριοι. O. Weinreich in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1913 Abh. v. 15—19 collects all essential references to Θεοὶ ἄγριοι, Θεοὶ

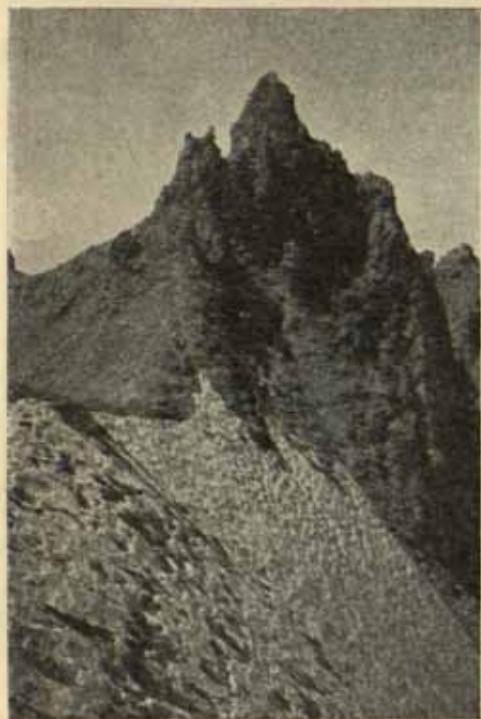


Fig. 915.

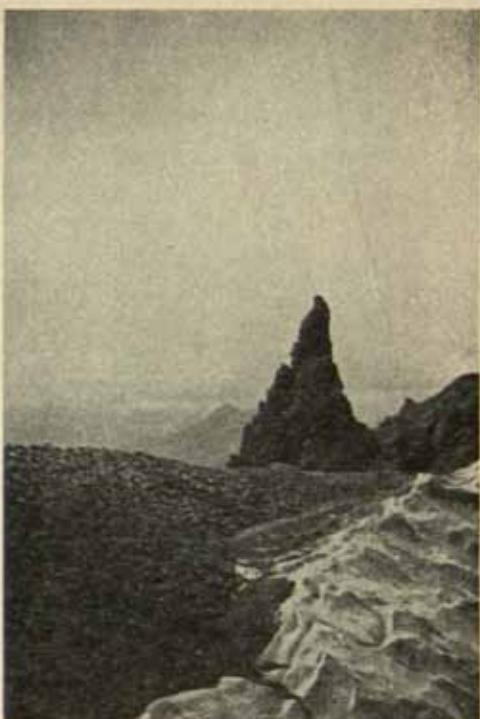
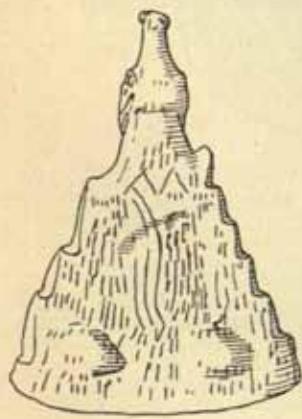


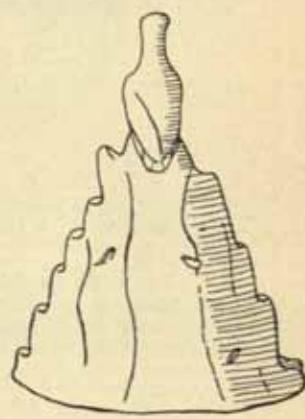
Fig. 916.



*a*



*b*



*c*

Fig. 917.

'Αγρότεροι, Θεοὶ Ἀγρέῖς and considers their significance. He argues that they were primarily 'Hunters'—*Sondergötter* in Usener's sense (*supra* ii. 13 n. 1)—who were secondarily identified with a variety of greater gods. A similar conclusion, as Weinreich observes, had been reached by L. Malten *Kyrene* (*Philologische Untersuchungen* xx) Berlin 1911 p. 10.

ii. 973 n. 1 life-priests of Zeus *Solymētēs*. F. Schehl in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1929 xxiv Beiblatt pp. 95—106 adds another [τὸν] γρύπεμον διὰ βίου Διὸς Σολυμέων | [ιερᾶ] Τεῖβερος Κλαδίσιον Ἀρίπταν from an inscription of 140—145 A.D. found at Termessos.

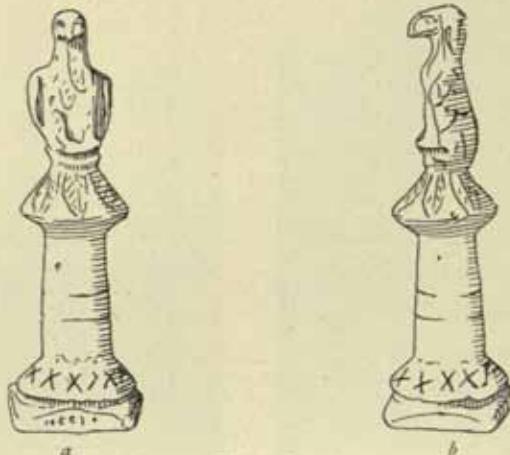


Fig. 918.



Fig. 919.

ii. 974 n. o festival of Zeus *Eleutherios*. Other views in J. N. Svoronos 'ΤΕΡ. ΜΗΣΣΩΝ Η ΤΟ ΚΑΙΗΟΤΟ ΕΞΟΤΚΑ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 181—184.

ii. 977 ff. Mount Argaios. The engineer E. J. Ritter 'Erdjias Dag' in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Österreichischen Alpenvereins Innsbruck* 1931 lxi. 124—148 gives a full account of Mt Argaios (pp. 124—127 (i) 'Vorgeschichte,' 127—133 (ii) 'Der Berg (Lage, Aufbau und Gestalt), 133—137 (iii) 'Ersteigungsgegeschichte,' 137—148 (iv) 'Erliebnisse') with p. 129 'Kartenskizze vom Erdjias Dag,' opposite p. 134 a fine photographic plate of 'Erdjias Dag gesehen von der Seldschukenburg in Kaisserie,' etc., and p. 146 'Zeichnung des Gipfelturmes.' Mr C. M. Sleeman, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of this article, himself climbed the mountain on Aug. 30, 1936 and took a series of excellent photographs, of which I reproduce two—fig. 915 the rocky summit with the upper part of a snow slope on the northern side, and fig. 916 a rock-pinnacle a little beneath and south-east of the summit with the plain of Everek in the distance.

I take this opportunity of publishing two small bronzes illustrative of the cult on Mt Argaios. They were obtained from a Greek refugee formerly resident in Kaisareia and are now in my collection. The one is a tiny model of the mountain with a disproportionately large eagle perched on the top of it (fig. 917: height 2 inches). There is some indication of the *aiguilles* near the summit, also of streams descending from the snows, of a cavern high up in front, of two foothills (? breasts of the mountain-mother), etc. In brief, the coin-type shown *supra* ii. 979 fig. 862 is here rendered in the round. The other little bronze (fig. 918: height 2½ inches) represents an eagle on a pillar, the top of which is shaped like a cone and decorated with six leaves. The waist has a band round it. The base is patterned with crisscross lines and rests on a square plinth. Akin to these diminutive exvotos is a bronze (height 0'15") in the Louvre, assigned to the latter half of the second millennium B.C., which figures an eagle perched proudly on the antlers of a stag (*Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* v. 292 fig. c with text by Mlle Rutten).

The coin-type of Tranquillina as Tyche of Kaisareia wearing Mt Argaios as a head-dress (*supra* ii. 979 fig. 877) can be paralleled by an engraved serpentine of Roman work c. 250 A.D., which has on one side a solar charioteer in his *quadriga*, on the other the veiled head of Kaisareia in profile to the right with Mt Argaios as a crown and the inscription **EVTVXI BOKONTI εὐτύχ(ε) Bokonti(ε)** (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*<sup>2</sup> p. 179 no. 1663 pl. 22). Another rare coin-type of Kaisareia shows Zeus standing with a *kalathos* on his head and Mt Argaios in his left hand (F. Lenormant in Daremberg—*Saglio Dict. Ant.* iii. 1996 fig. 5140 after Miomnet *Dexr. de mtd. ant.* iv. 432 no. 178 Alexander Severus ('Sérapis'), *ib. Suppl.* vii. 742 pl. 13. 4 (= my fig. 919)).

ii. 981 n. 1 Mt Kasion in Syria. O. Eissfeldt *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durch Meer Halle* (Saale) 1932 pp. 1—72 with sketch at beginning and map at end, especially p. 30 ff. ('Zeus Kasios')—reviewed by G. Bertram in *Gnomon* 1933 ix. 554 f., by F. Nötscher in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1933 xl. 140 f., and by A. Wendel in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 1934 xxxvii. 105 f.—holds that the Semitic Baal Zaphon became by *interpretatio Graeca* Zeus Kasios both in Syria and in Egypt, where his rescue of the Israelites was attributed to Jahwe.

ii. 984 n. 4 Mt Kasion in Egypt. A papyrus at Berlin mentions Zeus *Kāsios* in i. ii A.D. (*Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin* Berlin 1903 iii. 142 no. 827, 2 f. (P. 7150) τὸ προσκύνα σον παρὰ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Κάσιῳ, F. Preisigke *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* Berlin 1931 iii. 388).

ii. 987 n. 6 anchor inscribed *Zevs Kāsio(s) Σώζ[ει]*. A 'Campanian' *hydria* from S. Maria di Capua, now at Karlsruhe, represents a scene of departure, in which a young man bids farewell to a woman and is about to step on board his ship. The stern of the vessel has, not only an *ἀφλατός* adorned with light and dark fillets, but also a *στριλάτος* set on the steersman's seat and labelled Ι[Ε]ΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ (Winnefeld *Vasensamml.* Karlsruhe p. 83 f. no. 350, dated by F. von Duhn in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 229 ff. c. 300 B.C., H. Diels 'Das Aphlaston der antiken Schiffe' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 69 fig. 4, L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 180 ff. fig. 12).

ii. 987 n. 1 Zeus *Hynnareüs*. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1931 i. 127 n. 3: 'Wer Hesiod mit *Alytos* das kretische *Tyrrapion* wiedergeben lässt, traut ihm eine verwunderliche Sprachkenntnis zu.'

ii. 1012 n. 1. Similar tales in C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933 p. 414 ('Three Sisters') and pp. 540—553 ('The Story of a Wise Maiden').

ii. 1015 n. 8. The Molones as figured by a Boeotian *fibula* from the Idaean Cave and by a geometric sherd from the Argive Heraion have one body, but two heads, four arms, and four legs (C. Blinkenberg *Fibules grecques et orientales* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* xii. 1) København 1926 p. 163 ff. figs. 197, 198). See also O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 63 f.

ii. 1017 n. 4 Pegasus as lightning-bearer (?). L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl. 155 fig. 63 adduces bronze coins of Termessos with obv. head of Zeus, rev. forepart of bridled horse galloping with winged thunderbolt behind (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. p. 269 f. pl. 41, 10, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 523 no. 1).

ii. 1021 Nyx in the Orphic theogony. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* Cambridge 1935 p. 103 notes Aristot. *met.* 1071 b 26 f. οἱ θεῶν γένεταις and *ib.* 1091 b 4 ff. οἱ πονηραὶ οἱ δραχαι ταῦτα ὅμοιωτ, ἢ βασιλεῖσσι καὶ δραχεῖσι φασίν οἱ τοῦ πρώτου, οἵτις Νέκτα καὶ Οὔπαρος ἢ Χάος ἢ Ποσειδὼν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Δια with Alex. Aphrod. *ad loc.* (p. 821, 10 ff. Hayduck) αἰνίττεται δὲ τὸν Ὀρφέα· καὶ οὗτος γάρ φησιν διτι τὸ

ἀγαθὸν καὶ δριστὸν ὅπερά ἔστι τῶν ἀλλων. ἐτεί γὰρ τὸ βασιλεῖον καὶ κρατοῦ τῆς τῶν ἀπάρτων φύσεώς ἔστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δριστὸν, ὃ δὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς καὶ κράτει, ὃ Ζεὺς ἄρ τὸτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δριστὸν, καὶ ἐτεί πρῶτον μὲν εἰπεῖ 'Ορφέα τὸ Χάος γέγονεν, εἶθ' ὃ 'Ὀκεανός, τρίτον Νέαξ, τέταρτον ὁ Οὐρανός, εἰρ' ἀβανάτους βασιλεὺς θεῶν ὁ Ζεύς, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ σύντος

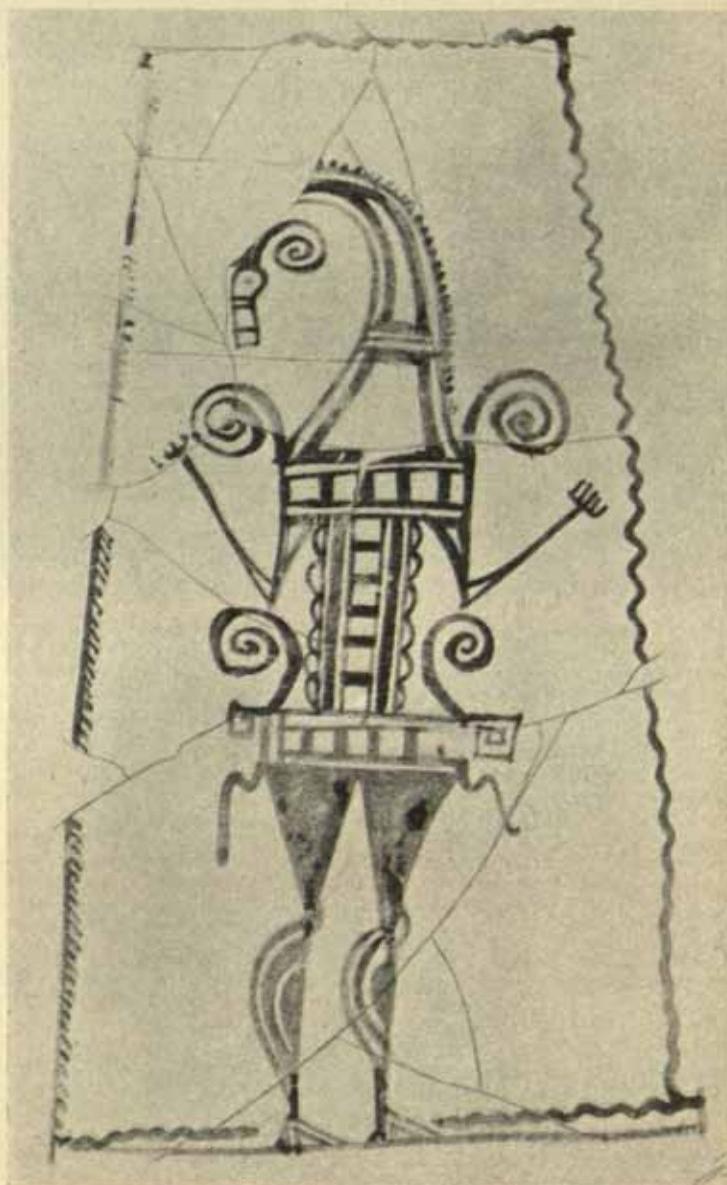


Fig. 920.

*τὸν Δία, ταῦτα δὲ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀριστὸν, ποτέρων ρευμάτες καὶ τοῦ Χάρου καὶ τοῦ Νεκαροῦ καὶ τῆς Νερός καὶ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, οὗτοι τοῦ κόσμου.*

ii. 1024. On the Mandaeans in general see W. Brandt in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 380<sup>a</sup>—393<sup>b</sup>. C. H. Kraeling 'The Origin and Antiquity of the Mandaeans' in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1929 xlix. 195—218 shows (p. 209) that Mandaeen cosmogony 'harks back to the traditions of the Orphic hymns, of Mochos and Sanchuniathon' (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 200).

ii. 1025 *Erikekatos*. A papyrus of c. iii B.C. found at Gurob addresses 'Ιπεκεταύη' in an Orphic context (J. G. Smyly *Greek Papyri from Gurob* Dublin 1921 (Royal Irish Academy. Cunningham Memoirs xii) p. 1 ff. no. 1 pl. 1, *Orph. frag. met.* 31 col. i, 22 Kern [-] -Jeū (Smyly ej. βασιλεὺς or Εὐβασιλεὺς) 'Ιπεκεταύη σωτῆρι με | κ.τ.λ., W. K. C. Guthrie *op. cit.* p. 98).

ii. 1027. On 'Zeus Schöpfer' see J. Amann *Die Zeurede des Ailius Aristeides* Stuttgart 1931 p. 47 ff.

ii. 1033 ff. The Cosmic Egg. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 410 n. 3 (Letts, Finns, Peruvians, etc.), E. Mogk 'Das Ei im Volksbrauch und Volksglauben' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 215—223, A. Olivieri 'L' uovo cosmogenico degli Orfici' in the *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle arti* Napoli 1920 vii. 295—334 (reviewed by F. Kiesow in the *Bullettino di Filologia Classica* 1921 xxvii. 169—173), Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 595—644 ('Ei'), especially p. 596 with nn. 11, 12, 13 ('Weltei' etc.), H. C. Baldry 'Embryological Analogies in Pre-Socratic Cosmogony' in the *Class. Quart.* 1932 xxvi. 27 ff.

ii. 1039 χάος connected with χάσκω. F. Böttzler 'Zu den antiken Chaoskosmogonien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 253—268 discusses the history of the rival ancient etymology from χίεω, σύρχομαι, etc.

ii. 1040 the horse-cult in Hispania Tarraconensis. A. Schulten *Numantia* München 1931 ii. 213 pl. 21 (= my fig. 920) publishes a red Iberian vase (*supra* p. 1090) bearing the black-figured design of a horse-headed god with human hands and feet—possibly the actor in some mumming play—and notes (*op. cit.* i. 248) that the Celtiberians worshipped the Celtic horse-goddess Epona.

Recent studies of the horse-cult include P. Maylam *The Hooden Horse, an East Kent Christmas Custom Canterbury* 1909 pp. 1—124 with pls. A—G, G. Ancey 'Le Cheval de Troie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 378—381, L. Malten 'Das Pferd im Totenglauben' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 179—256 with 42 figs., M. Oldfield Howey *The Horse in Magic and Myth* London 1923 pp. 1—238 with 6 pls. and other figs. (popular), Schrader *Reallex.*<sup>2</sup> ii. 172<sup>b</sup>—175<sup>a</sup>, L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1927 iii. 166—170, 184—186, H. M. Hubbell 'Horse Sacrifice in Antiquity' in *Yale Classical Studies* 1928 i. 179—192, Steller in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1935 vi. 1598—1653 ('Pferd'), 1652—1655 ('Pferdefleisch'), 1655 f. ('Pferdefuss'), 1656—1660 ('Pferdeheilige'), 1660 f. ('Pferdehuf'), 1661—1664 ('Pferdejunge'), 1664—1670 ('Pferdekopf'), 1670 f. ('Pferdemahl'), 1671—1675 ('Pferdeopfer'), 1675 f. ('Pferdeschwanz'), 1679 f. ('Pferdestall'), 1680 f. ('Pferdetag'), 1681—1683 ('Pferdeumritte'), 1683 f. ('Pferdeweihe'), Ohrt *ib.* 1676—1679 ('Pferdesegen'), W. Koppers 'Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen' in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 279—411, R. Bleichsteiner 'Rossweih und Pferderiten im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker' *ib.* 413—495, A. Slawik 'Kultische Geheimblinde der Japaner und Germanen. Pferd' *ib.* 692—699, R. Lantier 'Chevaux-enseignes céltiques' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 236—247 figs. 1—3.

ii. 1044 fig. 893 Helene and Menelaos. See now E. Buschor in Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 307—311 fig. 147 pl. 170, 1. But E. Löwy 'Archäologisch-Philologisches' in *Wiener Studien* 1919 xvii. 59 f. still (cp. *id.* 'Entstehung einer Sagenversion' *ib.* 1912 xxxiv. 282—287) argues with much force that Aristoph. *Lys.* 155 f. δὲ γὰρ Μενέλαος τὰ μᾶλα πα | γυμνᾶται παρανδὼν ἔξιβαλ, οἷῶ, τὸ Σίφος must have had in mind some famous painting by a contemporary Attic artist.

ii. 1046 fig. 896 Eros with thunderbolt and sceptre. Another Roman gem has Eros leaning on a pillar with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 55, ii. 209, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 28, 6 p. 171).

ii. 1048 fig. 906 Eros whipped. Cp. the genre scenes in Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 257 no. 6918 pl. 51 = *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 42, 50, ii. 203 and in the Wilson gems (*supra* p. 39 n. 6) no. 5218, where three schoolboys, not Erotes, form a similar group.

ii. 1050 Erotes on early Christian sarcophagi. See now G. Rodenwaldt 'Der Klinensarkophag von S. Lorenzo' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv. 116—189 with 59 figs. and pls. 5—7.

ii. 1053 fig. 910 Aion. Other effigies of Aion are given by H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 4, 8 and 9, O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xviii Arch. Anz. pp. 595—599 fig. 8 adds an interesting statue at Castel-Gandolfo, which shows him as a four-winged and four-armed god with leonine head, an eye on his chest, small lion-heads on his belly and on either knee. He is flanked by two snakes, which are not twined round him. At his right foot is a hydra and a horned lion; at his left foot is Kerberos. Altogether, an aggregate of symbols worthy of this syncretistic deity (*supra* p. 914 n. o).



Fig. 921

ii. 1054 ff. Zeus *Ktesios*. H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 53—74 deals at length with this curious cult. After stating my conclusions (pp. 64—66), he proceeds to develop a rival hypothesis, which is roughly as follows. He starts with a primary piece of magic: the jar containing *σαρκαρία* is charged with *ορεάδη* and serves as a praedeistic means of ensuring perpetual supplies in the storeroom. In course of time come secondary modifications: water and oil are added, and so the whole becomes *ἀνθροεία* and is taken to imply a 'Sondergott' Ktesios ('Der ursprünglich magische Zwangsritus ist zum Opferritus geworden'). Ktesios under the influence of the 'Hausschlange' is conceived as a snake, and is finally identified with an Olympian deity as Zeus *Ktesios*. Reviews by H. J. Rose in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 iii. 149 and in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvi. 181, by A. Momigliano in the *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1932 viii. 119, by K. Keyssner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 6, 1933 pp. 493—497, by C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1934 xlvi. 377 f. and in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1934 cx. 247—249.

W. Peek in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1934 lxx. 43 f. no. 6 (Aigina: archaic) Διός Πασίω | [ε]τα  
Στρέπο[τ], cp. *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 62 (*supra* i. 520 n. 2) and W. R. Paton—  
E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Crete* Oxford 1891 no. 36, d 37 and 40 τῶν Πασίων.

ii. 1059 Donatus as interp. Serv. On this much-debated point see P. Wessner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 1837—1842, H. J. Thomson 'Servius auctus and Donatus' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 205 f., G. B. Waldrop 'Donatus, the Interpreter of Vergil and Terence' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1927 xxxviii. 75—142.

ii. 1059 ff. burial in the house. H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1930 xxiv. 130 quotes F. von Duhn *Italische Gräberkunde* Heidelberg 1924 i. 36 (Saepinum, *Sepino*) for the only example of an Italian buried in and with his house. In 1930 G. Mylonas found 'Middle Helladic' houses, both rectangular and apsidal, on the southern slope of the *akrópolis* at Eleusis. 'Under the floors of these houses and between the walls were found burials of small children' (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 197. Further details by G. Karo in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xvi Arch. Anz. p. 231 ff.). But the evidence of such practices is abundant and quite conclusive, as will be admitted by anyone who reads the important articles of G. Wilke 'Wohnungsbestattung' in Ebert *Reallex.* xiv. 443—445 and 'Hausgrab' *ib.* v. 215 f.

ii. 1066 Zeus *Ktisis* in Thasos. P. Guillon in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 i. 195—200 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a boundary-stone from Thasos inscribed c. 400 B.C. Διός | Κτησίο  
Ηα[τρώ]λο and cp. another from the same locality and of similar date published by G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 270 no. 10 [Δ]ιός | [Α]γοραίο | Θασίο (summarised by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 617).

ii. 1066 Zeus *Ktētōs* at Mylasa. A. W. Persson in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlii. 398 f. no. 3 a fragmentary inscription mentioning 8 f. [τὸν δέδει τοῦ δεῖτος, λε][πά] Διός  
Κτητού.

ii. 1068 the jars of Zeus. A Pompeian painting from a house in the *Strada della Fortuna* published by H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 19 ff. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1868 xxvi. 33—35 pl. 4 (=my fig. 921) and reproduced by Reinach *Rtp. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 9 no. 4 ('Jupiter consulte le sort') shows the god seated with one of the Fates holding lots (?) and Nike bearing a palm-branch behind him. He has a long sceptre in his left hand and extends the right, with the lot that he has drawn or is about to draw, over a jar set on the ground at his feet. This painting deteriorated so fast on exposure to the air that a month after its discovery a thunderbolt, originally painted beside the jar in front of the god's right foot, had completely vanished. Heydemann would connect the whole scene with a picture of Herakles and the snakes painted vertically beneath it on the same wall.

A relief dating from s. iii B.C. and found at Athens in the sanctuary of Artemis *Kalliste* represents a man and his wife invoking the goddess, who with a large torch held in both hands stands behind her altar and in front of two big jars set on the ground (A. Philadelphus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 158 no. 1 pl. 8. P. Roussel *ib.* pp. 164—169 'Remarques sur le bas-relief de Kallistè' traces the significance of the jars and cites the Homeric parallel. E. H. Heffner summarises both papers in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 360).

ii. 1069 f. Zeus *Agamēmnon*. I. Harrie 'Zeus Agamemnon in Sparta' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 359—369 explains this cult as a case of Hellenistic divinisation ('die Apotheose wird nicht als der Kult einer wirklichen Gottheit betrachtet, es haftet ihr ein Beigeschmack von serviler Schmeichelei an; diese Spartiani, die den Agamemnon zum Götterkönig ausrufen, atmen alexandrinische Hofflucht') and seeks to account for its attribution to Sparta by assuming a learned revival of the early lyrical version which connected Agamemnon with Lakedaimon and Amyklai (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 724).

ii. 1070 ff. Zeus *Amphidraos*. B. Leonardos 'Αυφιαρεῖον' in the 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1917 pp. 239—242, 'Αυφιάρετος' *ib.* 1918 pp. 110—113, 1919 pp. 99—102, 1921 pp. 101—111, 1923 pp. 166—169 reports on his excavations at the Amphiareion near Oropos over a series of seven successive years. *Id.* 'Αυφιαρεῖον ἐπιγραφαι' in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1885 pp. 93 ff., 153 ff., 1886 p. 53 ff., 1889 p. 1 ff., 1891 p. 71 ff., 1892 p. 33 ff., in the 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1917 pp. 39 ff., 231 ff., 1918 p. 73 ff., 1919 p. 54 ff., 1923 p. 36 ff., 1925—1926 p. 9 ff. collects 160 inscriptions from the site.

ii. 1072 Zeus *amphithalēs*. A. Oepke 'Αυφιθαλεῖον im griechischen und hellenistischen Kult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 42—56 deals *in primis* with the young acolytes in the Bacchic inscription found near Torre Nova (A. Vogliano in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 215 ff., F. Cumont *ib.* p. 232 ff., with abstract by C. Alexander *ib.* p. 264 ff.)

and stresses the importance of *pueri ingenui patrini et matrini* in a variety of ancient cults, mystic and otherwise.

ii. 1073 ff. *Zeus Trophonios*. F. Peeters 'À propos de l'oracle de Trophonios. i. Les onctions d'huile et le bain dans l'Hercyna' in *Le Musée Belge* 1929 xxxiii. 27—32 (the anointing with oil before the bath (Paus. 9. 39. 5—7) was not a religious rite, but a practical precaution against cold).

ii. 1075 Demeter *Eriñys*. A. H. Krappe 'ΕΡΙΝΤΣ' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1932 lxxxii. 305—320 ('die Eriñys sind die rossgestaltigen Zwillingstöchter des Herrn der Erden-tiefe und einer alten Fruchtbarkeitsgottheit, einer frühhellenistischen "Mutter Erde," beide gleichfalls rossgestaltig.... Nach einer gleichfalls alten Parallelüberlieferung ist nur eines der Zwillingskinder weiblichen Geschlechts; das andere ist ein Hengst...').

ii. 1077 f. *Zeus Asklepios*. Cp. Galen. περὶ ἀστομικῶν ἐγχειρίσεων 1. 2 (ii. 224 f. Kühn) ἔγω δέ ἐν τῷ πατρίδι κατ' ἑκάπον ἐτι διέτρεψον τὸν χρόνον, ὅποι Σατύρου παῖδεμένος, ἦτοι ἡδη τέταρτον ἐπιδημοῦντι τῷ Περγάμῳ μετὰ Κοινοτονίου Ρουφίδον, κατασκευάζοντος ἡμῖν τὸν νεώτερον τοῦ Διός Ἀσκληπιοῦ (where Kühn prints the erroneous translation 'divi Aesculapii templum').

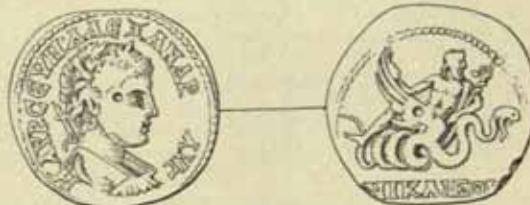


Fig. 922.

ii. 1082 metopes from the temple of Asklepios. But K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 83 f. infers from their lack of an upper border, from their exact height, and from other indications that these are votive reliefs, not metopes at all.

ii. 1082 ff. *Asklepios* and the Snake. An echo of Asklepios' snake at Epidaurus may be heard in the legend of St Hilarion (Oct. 21), who at Epidaurum or Epidaurus (*Ragusa vecchia*) in southern Dalmatia burnt a huge snake, of the sort called *boa* because they can swallow an ox (S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 xii. 516 f.). The story is told by Hieron. v. S. Hilar. eremit. 39 (xxiii. 50 B—C Migne).

On *Alexandros or the Sham Seer* see also A. D. Nock 'Alexander of Abonuteichos' in the *Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 160—162.

Comparable with the coin-types of Glykon is the snake that appears on bronze pieces issued by Caracalla at Pautalia in Thrace. This monster rises erect on quadruple coils with the tail of a fish and a radiate *nimbus* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc., p. 144 f. nos. 30—32, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 195 no. 4525 pl. 170, 2) or wreath (*ib.* ii. 196 no. 4526) round his head. A specimen issued by Geta gives him a lion's head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 146 no. 46). Other bronze coins of Pautalia struck by Caracalla show Asklepios with his serpent-staff borne through the air by a winged and bearded snake (*ib.* p. 145 no. 34 fig.). And the same type occurs, under Severus Alexander, at Nikaea in Bithynia (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 474 no. 597 (wrongly described as holding a mask in his right hand) pl. 82, 24. Fig. 922 is from a coin of mine).

ii. 1087. One more effort to find a satisfactory etymology for *Asklepios* is that of D. Detscev, who in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 1925 iii. 131—164 derives the name from a Thracian stem \*dai- 'snake' and -klatib-, *kalatib-* cognate with the Thracian place-name *κλητι-δάσα* (connected with \*glapi and \*apio 'to bend'). On which showing *Asklepios* might mean 'he who moves with serpent coils.' Further summary of these very rash speculations is supplied by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 207 f.

ii. 1089 ff. *Telesphorus*. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 ii. 161 ff. no. 276 fig. 117, A publishes a Thracian statuette of Asklepios, with Telesphorus beside him, now in the Museum at Plovdiv. Other examples of the hooded type are fairly numerous: they occur e.g. in bronze at Amiens (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 13 no. 2), Avignon (ii. 470 no. 5), Djemila (ii. 470 no. 6), Florence (v. 223 no. 6), Nona in Dalmatia (iii. 22 no. 4 f.), Paris

(ii. 470 no. 4), Trèves (iv. 293 no. 3), Troyes (ii. 470 no. 2), in marble at Mantinea (ii. 469 no. 11), Munich (vi. 110 no. 1), in stone at Nîmes (vi. 110 no. 2), and even in amber at Oedenburg (iv. 293 no. 6). The type is further discussed by J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 315 ff., H. Herter *De Priapo* Giessen 1932 p. 193 ('Priapus agricolarum potius exemplo hoc vestimenti genere uti videtur'), R. Egger 'Genius Cucullatus' in the *Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift* 1932 xix. 311–323 (two altars inscribed *Genio Cucullato* in a small Celtic temple at Wabelsdorf in Carinthia: this deity, worshipped throughout the Romano-Celtic area, was introduced into Greece by the Galatians from Asia Minor, and under the Greek name Telesphorus travelled far and wide during the early centuries of our era), K. Kerényi 'Telesphorus' in *Egyptemes Philologiai Kozelebyi* Budapest 1933 lvii. 7–11 (the cult of Telesphorus was essentially Graeco-Roman), F. J. de Waele in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 446 n. 2 (two figurines from Corinth 'may represent a similar small divinity, a predecessor of Telesphorus, as Euamerion...in Titane (Paus. II, 11, 7)'), F. M. Heichelheim 'Genii Cucullati' in *Archaeologia Adiana* Fourth Series xii. 187–194 ('among the Celts of the Danube region, Gaul, and Britain, native deities who wore the *cucullus* were assimilated not only to the Roman *genius* and the eastern Telesphorus...but also to the Cabiri....A survival of the *genii cucullati* in the similar representations of dwarfs, hobgoblins, and the like, in the post-Roman period...does not seem unlikely').

ii. 1089 *Grabphalli*. Paus. 8. 34. 2 (near Megalopolis) γῆς χῶμα... ἐπίθυμα ἔχον λίθους πεποιημένα δάκτυλος, καὶ δὴ καὶ θρασα τῷ χώματι ἔστι Δακτύλος μήμα is interpreted by C. Belger in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 14, 1892 p. 640 as a *phallus*. But see the facts collected by Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 254-257.

ii. 1090 Zeus *Hórius*. On Zeus "Opos see also H. J. W. Tillyard in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 65, S. Eitrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* Kristiania 1920 iii. 33, and E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 648. It must be borne in mind that Zeus "Opos was not merely the Greek rendering of Jupiter *Terminus* or *Terminalis*, but also a genuine Hellenic deity, the natural protector of boundaries. Plat. *legg.* 842 Εἴδος ὄποιον μὲν πρώτος τόμος ὅδε εἰρήσθω· μῆκεντα γῆν ὅρα μηδεὶς κ.τ.λ. implies the sanction of long-standing usage. The calendar of the Attic *tetrapolis* found at Koukounari, which dates from the earlier part of i. iv B.C., prescribes for Skirophorion the sacrifice of a sheep to Zeus "Opos (R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 209 ff. col. 1, 11 = J. de Pradt *Leges Graecorum Sacrae Lipsiae* 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 46 ff. no. 26, A 11 [τάδε ὁ ἄρχων θεό?]. οἱ οὐρίοις αἱ Διὶ τοῖς οὐρίοις). And the northern boundary of the Thracian Chersonesos was marked by an inscribed altar of the same god ([Dem.] *de Halonnes*. 39. 5. κατὰς Χερρονήσου οἱ δρός εἰσιν, οὐκ Ἀγορά, ἀλλὰ βουβός τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Όριον, οἱ ἔστι μεταξὺ Πτελεοῦ καὶ Λευκῆς Ἀκτῆς, ὃ ἡ διορεχὴ ἔμελλε Χερρονήσου ἔστειθαι, ὃς γέ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἔστι τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Όριον δῆλος. ἔστι τοῦτο τὸν διεθερστόν θεόφη περικαλλές βωμόν | Λευκῆ καὶ Πτελεού μέσσοις δροῖς θέμενοι | ἐνναέραι, χώρης σημῆνιον | ἀμυορίης δὲ | αὐτὸς ἀναξ μακάρων ἔστι μέσος Κροῖσος | (J. H. Vince translates "Zeus is Warden of our No Man's Land," F. Blass had c. μοιρήτη σημῆνιος ἀμυορίητη τε on the strength of Od. 20. 75 f.). Hence Schöll—Studemund *aneed.* i. 265 Επίθετα Διός... 71 ὄροι, ib. i. 266 Επίθετα Διός... 66 ὄροι. Cp. a dedication of the Abderites to Hadrian as Τραϊανῶ Αὔραμῶ | Σεβαστῶ Ζερῆ Εφορίω (G. Bakalakis in Θράκης 1937 viii. 29 = *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 285 no. 179).

ii. 1091 ff. *Zeus Meilichios*. Short studies of this cult in H. Sjövall *Zeus im alt-griechischen Hausskult* Lund 1931 pp. 75—84 ('Zeus Philios und Zeus Meilichios') and M. P. Nilsson 'Die Götter des Symposions', (*E Symbolis Philologicis O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatis seorsum expressum*) Upsalae 1932 pp. 224—227. G. Blum 'Meilixos' in *Le Musée Belge* 1913 xvii. 313—320 held that the appellative meant "maître des abeilles," c'est-à-dire des âmes (A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 I. 423 n. 4): *cp. Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 10.

ii. 1095 κόρπει. M. Guarducci "Axones" e "kyrbais" in the *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia* 1929-1931 vii. 101-107 distinguishes & gives, three or, more probably, four tables of wood set at an angle to each other and revolving on a common axle, from κόρπει, prismatic or pyramidal blocks of stone tapering towards the top but not made to move: both forms of monument were inscribed *boustrophedon*. She publishes the limestone fragment of a law-κόρπει from *Prinias* (Rhizenia?) and compares with it the inscribed tapering stone from Deros (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr.* gr. no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> 527) and a similar inscription on a block of red trachyte from Chios (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Nordienische Steine* (Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1909 Philhist. Classe ii. 64 ff. pl. 2 no. 25), E. Schwyzer *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora* Lipsiae 1923 p. 337 f. no. 687, M. N. Tod *A selection of Greek*

*historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C.* Oxford 1933 p. 1 ff. no. 1). See now M. Guarducci in *Inscr. Cret.* I. 84 ff. Dreros no. 1, 297 f. Rhizenia? no. 7. Note also the pillar of Poseidon, made of brass and inscribed with the laws, in the island of Atlantis (Plat. *Kritias* 119 c ff.). L. B. Holland 'Axones' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 302 (unpublished).

ii. 1109 n. 2 the altar of Zeus *Litalos* on coins of Nikaia. On these coins see now C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1926 lvii. 556 (report of a paper read to the Cambridge Philological Society, Nov. 25, 1926).

ii. 1101 Zeus *Xenios*. J. Vürtheim *Aischylos' Schutzflehende* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 6—8 ('Zeus Xenios'), O. Weinreich s.v. 'Xenios' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 522—525 (a careful and comprehensive collection of data).

ii. 1102 n. 4 *Arantides*. H. Krahe 'Zu makedonisch APANTISIN · EPIINTSI' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 393—395 regards the name as Illyrian.

ii. 1103. F. N. Pryce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1936 lvi. 77 f. pl. 5 publishes a small Attic bell-krater, said to have been found at Corinth and now in the collection of Mr E. Armytage, which appears to show Theseus waiting at the altar of Zeus *Meilichios* to be purified of blood-guiltiness, cp. Bakchyl. 17. 46 ff.

ii. 1103 n. 7 Zeus *Sykarios*. H. Vorwahl 'Zum Ursprung des "Feigenblatts"' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 319 f. rightly concludes: 'So ergibt die philologische Untersuchung eine Bestätigung der psychoanalytischen Bemerkung, dass das Feigenblatt nicht das Symbol der Keuschheit, sondern der bewusst gewordenen Sexualität sei.'

ii. 1105 Zeus *Meilichios* enthroned. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 I. 424 n. 3 cites a votive relief in the Museum at Corfu (inv. no. 352), which represents Zeus seated to the right on a rock with a sceptre in his left hand, a phiale in his right. On either side of him two snakes advance, raising their heads. Before him are traces of a small female votary with uplifted arm. The relief is inscribed in letters of I. iii or earlier Ηγηώ Διο Μειλίχιον.

ii. 1114 Zeus *Meilichios* associated with Helios. S. G. Paraskeuaides in the *Αρχ. Εφ.* 1932 δρχ. χρον. p. 12 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a grey marble slab from Mytilene bearing a manumission of c. 200 B.C. Τείμα Εόκτυμηνα | ἀφετε ἀκεύθετας | Πέλεας ὅπε Δια και | Αλιος, αντεληγότες | μοι γενουέτας, | ἐτελε σε τὸν βίον ἔγινην. || Τείμα Εόκτυμηνα | ἀφετε ἀκεύθετας | ἀκεύθετας | ὅπε Δια και Αλιος. He quotes other manumissions ὅπε Δια Γῆρας Ήλιος (Dittenberger *Syll. Inscr. Gr.* 3 no. 1212 with n. 2, *sopra* ii. 729 n. o) and ὅπε Δια Ήλιος (K. A. Rhomaios in the *Αρχ. Δελτ.* 1924—1925 ix παράρτ. 5 Thermos).

ii. 1115 Zeus *Meilichios* at Sounion. In the fortress outside the temple at Sounion G. P. Oikonomos in 1924 found 'a votive stele to Zeus Meilichios, with two snakes displayed symmetrically' (A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 374, cp. G. Welber in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl Arch. Anz. p. 314).

ii. 1124 n. o a goblet inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Such γραμματικά ἑπτάμετρα have been listed and discussed by C. Picard 'A propos de deux coupes du Vatican et d'un fragment du Musée Kircher' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Ecole Française de Rome) 1910 xxx. 99—116 pls. 2 and 3 and *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 II. 174—178 ('ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΑ ΕΚΠΙΩΜΑΤΑ'). He enumerates sixteen specimens, of which no. 7 is a stamnos from Fasano with a painted inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 226 no. F 548), no. 15 a kylix of black Attic ware from Pantikapaion incised [διο]φωτις Διος Σωτήρος (B. Pharmakowsky in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 209 f.), no. 16 fig. 5 a fragment of a black-glazed kantharos from the Peiraeus lettered in orange-red paint [ΔΙΟΣ] ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. See further C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 105—107.

ii. 1131 the soul of the divine king escaped as a bird. A. H. Krappe in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 184 cites an Iranian tale from F. Spiegel *Erdnische Alterthumskunde* Leipzig 1873 ii. 43: 'So hören wir (Yt. 19, 34) dass sich die königliche Majestät in Gestalt eines Vogels von Yima entfernte, als derselbe anfang lügnerische Worte zu sprechen; immerhin wird man gedacht haben dass die Majestät auf ein anderes Glied der königlichen Familie überging.'

ii. 1132 n. 4 the sceptre of Zeus. Cp. Hes. cat. frag. 123 Kinkel, 103 Rzach, ap. Plat. *Min.* 320 D (Minos) δι βασιλεύτας ἔσκε καταθητάς βασιλέων | καὶ πλειστῶς ἔναστε περιστίκων ἀνθρώπων | Ζηνὸς ἔχων σκῆπτρον· τῷ καὶ πολέων βασιλέων.

ii. 1132 n. 6. On sceptre-worship see also M. Cary—A. D. Nock 'Magic spears' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 123 n. 5.

ii. 1135 the central slab from the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (pl. xliv). One or two fresh facts and fancies must be recorded. W. R. Lethaby 'The Central Part of the

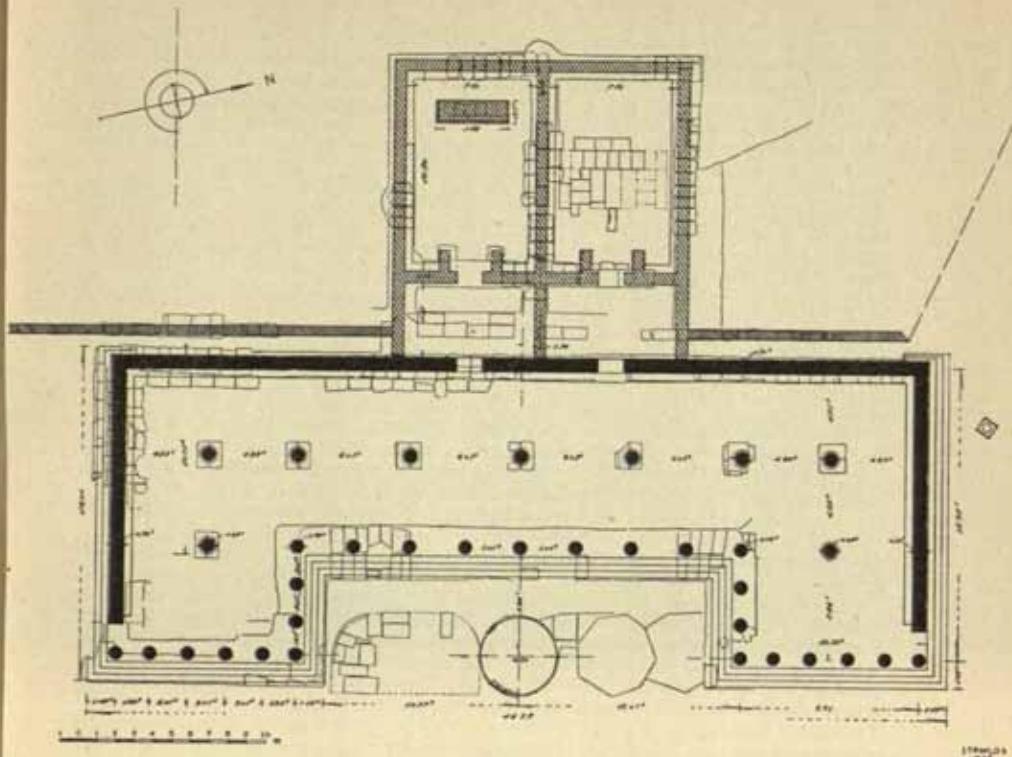


Fig. 923.

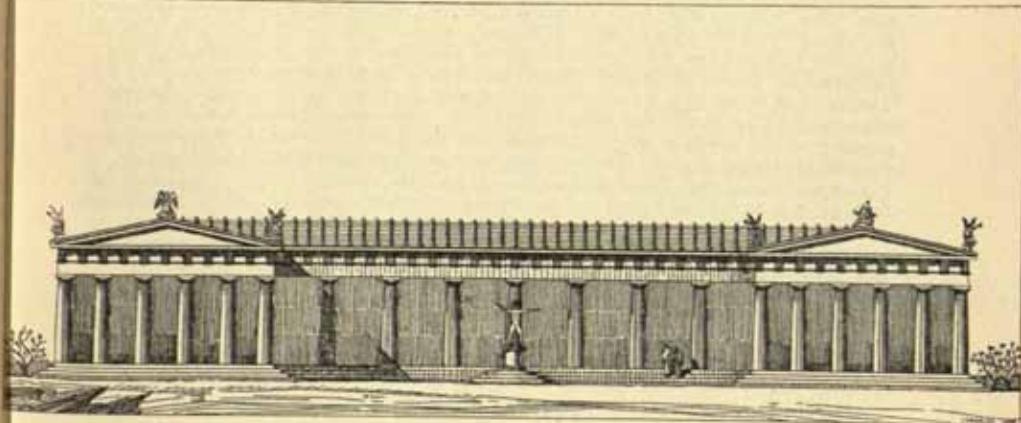


Fig. 924.

'Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 7—13 figs. 1—6 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 555 f.) observes that exquisite sepia-drawings made in all probability by William Pars in 1765—6 and now in the Elgin Collection at the British Museum bring out sundry details no longer distinct (heads of Athena and Hephaistos, etc.). 'The central group is divided off from the rest of the frieze right and left by intervals of space down through which, on either hand, a slightly scored line may be traced. It is probable, I think, that these lines defined a difference of colour in the background which showed that the central action was on a different plane from the rest, that is, in the interior of the Temple.'

Lily Ross Taylor 'Seats and Peplos on the Parthenon Frieze' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 121 and *ead.* 'A Sellisterium on the Parthenon Frieze' in *Quantulumcunque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* London 1937 pp. 253—264 figs. 1—7 suggests that the *péplos* was intended, not as clothing for the *χωραν* of Athena, but as drapery to be placed over the chair of one of the gods.

ii. 1135 n. 4. N. Valmin 'Die Zeus-Stoa in der Agora von Athen' in the *K. Humanistika Vetenskapsamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse* 1933—1934 i (*Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1933—1934 i) Lund 1934 pp. 1—7 with fig. 1 ('Skizzenplan') rightly located the *Stoa Basileios* and identified it with the *Stoa* of 'Zeus Soter-Eleutherios.' O. Walter 'Zeus- und Königshalle der Athener Agora' in the *Jahresh. d. aest. arch. Inst.* 1936 xxx Beiblatt pp. 95—100 maintains that the *Stoa Basileios* (c. 500 B.C.) was distinct from the *Stoa* of *Zeus Eleuthérios* (shortly before 400 B.C.). But that is not the view taken by the American excavators of the *Agora* (*Hesperia* 1937 vi. 225 f.). Thanks to their highly successful researches it is now possible to assert with some confidence that the *Stoa Basileios* was identical with the *Stoa* of *Zeus Eleuthérios*, and to get some idea of its history and appearance. See the definitive account of the building contributed by H. A. Thompson to *Hesperia* 1937 vi. 5—77 ('Stoa of Zeus Eleuthérios') with pl. 1 groundplan, actual state, pl. 2 groundplan, restored, and 39 figs. By the courtesy of Mr Thompson I am able to reproduce both the restored plan (pl. 2 = my fig. 923) and the restored elevation (fig. 34 = my fig. 924) of this important structure. It seems probable that certain earlier remains found beneath the *Stoa* (rectangular base of *θύραι* with neighbouring altar) belonged to a sanctuary of *Zeus Soter* or *Eleuthérios* (schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 1175 *ἐπειδὴς Δία Σωτῆρα τιμῶσιν, τέβη καὶ Σωτῆρος Διὸς ἔστιν ιερόν· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῖον καὶ Ἐλευθέριον φασι*), who owed his second title to the deliverance from Persia that he had wrought (Harpocr. s.v. 'Ἐλευθέριος Ζεὺς-Τιτερεῖος' (frag. 25 p. 279 a 32 ff. Sauppe) "τῷ μὲν τοινῦ Διῷ, ὁ ἀδέρφης δικαιοτά, ἡ ἐπωνυμία γέγονε τῷ Ἐλευθέριος προσαγορεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἐξελευθέρου τὸν στοάν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν τελεῖον αὐτοῦ." ὁ δὲ Διδυμός φησιν ἀπαράγει τὸν βῆτορα· ἐλεύθη γάρ Ἐλευθέρος διὰ τὸ τῶν Μνησίων ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὅτι δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν Σωτῆρ, δομάζεται δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθέριος, ὅπλοι καὶ Μετανθόρος, ερ. et. mag. p. 329, 44 ff.). The pre-Persic statue of the god presumably perished in the sack of 480/479 B.C. and was later replaced by another statue bearing the appellation *Eleuthérios*. When the *Stoa* was designed, c. 430 B.C., room was left in front of it for the famous figure on a large circular base. The building, which was virtually completed by 409/8 B.C. (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 115, 7 f. [πρόθετη τε[τρά]στη Στοάς τε[τρά]στη Βασιλείας]), was a Doric colonnade with a *façade* of seven columns and two wings of six by four columns—an arrangement perhaps suggested by that of Mnesikles' Propylaea. On the back-wall were paintings of the Twelve Gods (Paus. 1. 3. 3); on 'the wall beyond,' probably the south wall, paintings of Theseus and Demokratia and Demos (Paus. ib.); also, presumably on the north wall, a painting of the battle fought at Mantinea by the Athenians sent to help the Lacedaemonians (Paus. 1. 3. 4). The paintings were by Euphranor (Val. Max. 8. 11. ext. 5, Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 129, Plout. *de gior. Ath.* 2, Loukian. *imago* 7, Paus. 1. 3. 4, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 145, 10 ff.). The tiled roof had two *akroteria* in terra cotta, which represented Theseus hurling Skiron into the sea and Hemera carrying Kephalos (Paus. 1. 3. 1), perhaps a relic of the official quarters assigned to the *basileis* before the Persian invasion (see, however, the suggestions of C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 95 f.). An annex of two large rooms was built behind the *Stoa* in 1. 1 A.D. to secure greater privacy for the court of the *basileis* and for occasional meetings of the council of the Areopagites (cp. Dem. in *Aristot.* 1. 23).

ii. 1137 n. o the *basileus* about to wear Athena's *péplos* (?). Cp. Diod. 1. 14 (each of the gods honoured Herakles with special gifts) 'Αθηνᾶ μὲν τέπλω, Ήφαιστος δὲ ρωτάω καὶ θύρακι. For interchange of clothing see further W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 216 ff.

ii. 1143. K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxvii Arch. Anz. p. 76 no. 25 records the acquisition by the Berlin Antiquarium (inv. no. 30021,

photo 3440) of a small bronze snake (0'187<sup>m</sup> long) with raised head and inlaid pupils. Its back is inscribed in archaic lettering ΙΑΡΟΣΕΜΙΤΟΜΕΛΛΙΝΙΟΤΙΤΙΕΛΑΝΑΙ (ιαρὸς ἐψ τὸ Μελλιχίο τὸ Πελάσαι). This was purchased at Paris in 1911 as coming from the Peloponnese, and A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 I. 424 n. 4 states that in 1916 he saw near the find-spot (Pellana in Achaea) a second small bronze snake, but uninscribed, which was said to have been found at the same time.

ii. 1146 n. o pyramidal tombs for horses at Agrigentum. C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell found at Saqqara two mummies of horses, dating from the reign of Ramses II (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1926 p. 205 f.). But on Greek pyramidal structures see now the important paper of L. E. Lord in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 78—84.

ii. 1150 tomb-ceiling as mimic sky. Sir A. J. Evans in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 26, 1931 p. 485 ff. publishes a temple-tomb close to the palace at Knossos. The rock-cut sepulchral chamber had a central pillar, and 'the rock ceiling—squares of which were visible between the beams—had been tinted with the brilliant Egyptian blue, or *kyanai*, so that the dead beneath the vault might not be without the illusion of the sky above.' See further *id. The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 975 and context.

ii. 1151 Zeus *Meilichios* at Thespiai, etc. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 I. 422 f. no. 43 cites a fragmentary inscription from Thespiai Δεξιδάς | Πτέρων | ιαρὲν | Δι[τ] Μιλιχίο | κῆ Μιλιχίη | κ.τ.λ. and no. 44 another from the same place Θρασύμαχοι Θέων λαπέν | Δι Μιλιχίη. *Id. ib.* p. 423 n. 2 refers to A. D. Keramopoulos in the *Arch. Δελτ.* 1917 iii. 422 n. o no. 2 (Lebadeia) a marble *stellion* (height 0'23<sup>m</sup>) bearing an *omphalos* (height c. 0'05<sup>m</sup>) and beneath it the inscription [Σ]ωκίας | Δαιμονον | Μιλιχίο with a snake creeping up towards it: Keramopoulos observes that Δαιμονον Μιλιχίο may well be the 'Άγαθὸς Δαιμόνος'. Plassart p. 423 n. 3 adds A. Jardé—M. Laurent in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 324 ff. no. 15 (Anthedon) a marble *stèle* (height 0'40<sup>m</sup>) with a snake [Α]πολλόνιο[ς] | [Κ]λασθοδό[τον] | [Δι]ε[ι] (or [Ζην]ε[ι?]) Μιλ[ι]χί[ο] found above the door of the church of *Hagios Athanasios*, which appears to stand on the site of the sanctuary of Zeus *Millichios*.

ii. 1153 n. 1. See further P. Kretschmer 'Oidipus und Melampus' in *Glotta* 1923 xii. 59—61, E. Fränkel in *Gnomon* 1928 iv. 447, H. Petersson in M. P. Nilsson *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* Cambridge 1932 p. 105 n. 11, L. W. Daly in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2104 f.

ii. 1155 Zeus *Meilichios* in Thessaly. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 145 (Thebae Phthiotides) a white stone inscribed Δι Μειλιχίων | Κρανίον | Απο[λ]α[τ]η[ρ] | φύθ[η][κ]ε[ρ].

ii. 1156 Akrisios. A. H. Krappe in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 157 treats Akrisios as 'le vieux dieu Cronos lui-même' and compares Akrisios' expulsion of the infant Perseus (influencing the legend of Astyages and Kyros the Persian) with Kronos' expulsion of the infant Zeus, concluding that a folk-tale motif may be traced in both myths and even in the quasi-historical legend. L. Bieler in *Wiener Studien* 1931 xlix. 120—123 ('Der Tod des Akrisios') regards 'Ακρίσιος' as Illyrian, *Tevrauīdās* as 'vor-griechisch-pelasgisch.' H. Krahe 'Sprachwissenschaftliches zur Sage von der Flucht des Akrisios' *ib.* 1933 li. 141—143 argues that both 'Ακρίσιος' and *Tevrauīdās* are names of Illyrian origin.

ii. 1156 Zeus *Millichios* in Samos. E. Preuner in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1924 xlii. 42 no. 9 a votive inscription from *Tigani Klēas Meγdakou* | Δι Μιλιχίων.

ii. 1156 Zeus *Meilichios* in Nisyros. W. Peek in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1932 lvii. 57 f. no. 8 an inscription of Roman date from Rhodes (G. Jacopi in *Clara Rhodos* 1932 ii. 213 f. no. 52) Καλλικράτης λερῆ πατρὸς γεγάντου Θέων | Ζηνὸς Μειλιχίου εὐλήτη Νείσυρος δεῖσιν and Ζεῦ μ[ε]δέσιων Νείσυρον, ἀπόμνων σῶζε Θέωνα | Καλλικράτοις, δε στέφατ, ἔπει τεῦτος ἐτέχθη. The two distichs are engraved within two wreaths on a *tabula ansata* of white marble. R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 765 adds *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 95 and 96.

ii. 1157 Zeus *Meilichios* in Kypros. T. B. Mitford in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1937 lvii. 29 no. 2 a boundary-stone at Amathous ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΥ in large lettering with ΩΝ (quid?) in smaller lettering to the left of the second line.

ii. 1157 n. o Zeus *Apotriplaios*. E. A. Gardner—F. Ll. Griffith *Naukratis* London 1888 ii. 13, 61, 68 no. 14 pl. 22 λεπός Δ[ε]στ[α] Απ[ο]τριπλαιον] on a stone found in the *tēmenos* of Hera.

For the sale of priesthoods at Erythrai see L. Robert in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 472.

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Kyrene. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1930 lxxv, 257 f. ('Lesefrüchte' no. 280) cites rock-cut inscriptions at and near Kyrene to show that the dead were associated in cult with the Eumenides and with Zeus *Meilichios* (after S. Ferri *Contributi di Cirene alla storia della religione greca* (Collezione Γραφή. 2) Roma 1923) pl. 10.

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Selinous. K. Lehmann-Hartleben in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 179 fig. 36 briefly reports the discovery by E. Gabrici of a sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios* at Selinous. This small *tēmenos* occupied the north-east angle of the large site sacred to Demeter *Malophoros*, just as the *tēmenos* of Hekate *Proptylaia* occupied the south-east angle. For a full account of it see E. Gabrici's official publication in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1928 xxxii, 91—107 figs. 53—64

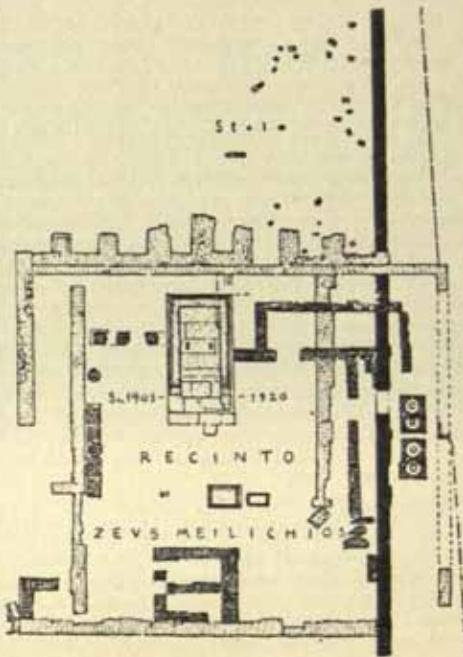


Fig. 925.

('Edicola ed altari di Meilichios e della Pasikrateia (?'), 174—181 ('Stele figurate del recinto di Meilichios'), 381—383 (inscriptions), 403—405 (cult). The precinct (pl. 2, part of which = my fig. 925) included a little temple, the base of which measured only 5'20" by 2'97"—a mere casket for the statue or statues within. Two Doric columns stood opposite the *antae*; but their entablature was of a simplified Ionic order (fig. 58 = my fig. 926). In front of the temple were two oblong altars, one large, one small; and it was originally flanked by a pair of porticoes, each with five columns. Behind the west wall of the precinct were found numerous *stelai*, mostly small piers square in section, or pyramidal, or cylindrical, and nearly all without inscription. The few inscribed blocks were archaic in character: p. 381 f. no. 3 pl. 97, 4 τὸ Διὸς τῷ Μελίχῳ ἐμι | πρότα Εὔμενίδος τῷ Ηεδίαρχο ('I, the first-fruits of Eumenides son of Pediarchos, belong to Zeus *Meilichios'. Wilamowitz in *Hermes* 1930 lxxv, 258 c). πρὸ τῷ(το) Εύμενίδος(ν), p. 382 no. 4 pl. 97, 1 = my fig. 927 Λυκίσθο (perhaps Γλυκίσθο) ἐμι Μελίχιος, p. 382 f. no. 5 pl. 97, 2 Μελίχιος | τῷ(το) Κλευλάρ, p. 384 no. 9 pl. 97, 3 τῷ Μελίχιο - -Ιαροφ-Ιτ. Other finds on the site were a double altar of simpler type (fig. 62), and several small wells (figs. 63—66) for the storage of lustral water, etc. Offerings made to the god were vases and objects of minor worth, which were burnt along with the animal sacrifice and buried in the ashes: over them was erected a *stèle*, often surmounted by a pair of busts, male and female (pls. 27, 1—4, 28, 1—6, 29, 1—8, of which 27, 3 f. = my figs. 928 f.). Gabrici concludes*

that the whole cult had a chthonian character, *Zeus Meilichios* and *Pasikrateia* (?) being the Selinuntine equivalents of Hades and Persephone.

ii. 1158 *Zeus Meilichios* at Pompeii. For a description of his temple in *Reg. viii.* 7 (8). 25 see A. Man—A. Ippel *Führer durch Pompeji* Leipzig 1928 p. 162 f. R. C. Carrington in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 132 pl. 10 figures the wall of it and dates it early in 1. i B.C.

ii. 1159 n. r. On the names Δάρμος, Δέρος, and the like see H. Krahe *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1925 p. 86 and R. Vulpé 'Gli Illiri dell' Italia imperiale romana' in the *Ephemeris Dacoromanus* (Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma) 1925 iii. 131, 145 n. 1, 217. And on the Lares, E. Tabeling *Mater Larum Zum Wesen der Larenreligion* Frankfurt am Main 1932 pp. 1—104.

ii. 1160 ff. *Zeus Philios*. See H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 75—84 ('Zeus Philios und Zeus Meilichios'), M. P. Nilsson 'Die Götter des Symposiums' (E. Symbolis Philologicis O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatis seorsum expressum) *Upsaliae* 1932 pp. 218—224.

ii. 1161 ff. *Zeus Philios* at Athens. Gabriel Welter 'Eine Weiung an Zeus Philios' in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1925 I. 165 f. publishes an inscription of the early fourth century B.C., found in a Byzantine wall above the *odélon* of Herodes Attikos at Athens and probably

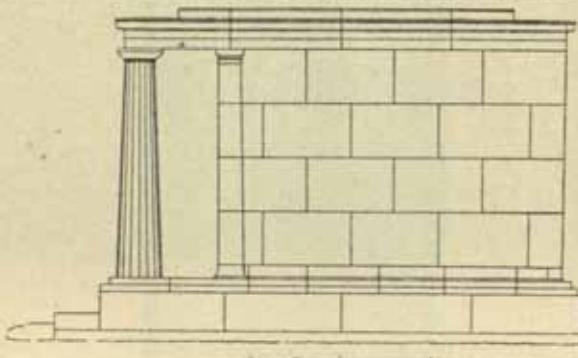


Fig. 926.

derived from the adjoining Asklepieion: Λιστεράτη [Α]γυειλέστος | ἐκ Κο[λ]ωνοῦ Δ[ε]ξιφίλια | [δέ]ψε[θ]η[κε].

ii. 1163 n. 6. H. J. Rose 'The Bride of Hades' in *Classical Philology* 1925 xx. 238—243 (the idea underlying Soph. *Ant.* 815 and other Greek passages is that the earth receives increased fertility from the potential, unused fertility of the chaste).

ii. 1167 love in relation to Zeus. Dion Chrys. *or.* 4 p. 71 Dindorf δύοισι δὲ καὶ φύλαισι οὐκ δῆλον τὸ ταῦτα βούλεονται καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, οὐδόντας τινὰ οὖσαν... διὰ οὐν τῷ Διὶ φίλοις οὐ καὶ δύοσι πρὸς ἑκάντος, ἀτοῦ διότου ἀδίκου τινὸς ἐπιθυμήσει πράγματος η πανηρὸν τι καὶ αἰσχρὸν διανοηθήσεται; On this subject of personal intimacy with Zeus see further the able articles of F. Dirlimeier on 'ΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΑ—ΦΙΑΟΘΕΙΑ' in *Philologus* 1935 xc. 57—77 and 176—193.

ii. 1167 f. Diotima's τέλεα καὶ ἐποτικά. A. M. Desrousseaux 'Plutarque, Mor. 382d' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1933 xlvi. 210—213 (*Plout. de Is. et Os.* 78 δὲ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐποτικῶν τούτο τὸ μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας καλούσιν, ω (Desrousseaux corr. φιλ., quod praestat, ἐν φ) οἱ τὰ δοξαστὰ καὶ μικτά καὶ παντοδαπά ταῦτα παραμειψάντες τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὸ πρότον ἑκάντος καὶ ἀπλούντας καὶ, θεύοντες ἄπλως (so Reiske for ἄπλωται) τῇ περὶ αὐτῷ καθαράς ἀληθείας, οἷον ἐν τελέτῃ (so Reiske for ἐπετελῇ) τέλος, ἔχειν φιλοσοφίαν ποιῶνται—from which it is clear that Aristotle was following the very words of his master in *symp.* 210 A).

ii. 1176 n. 4 *Zeus Ephelstios*. See now H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 p. 115 f.

ii. 1177 n. 2. Cp. Aristot. *eis* 'Ερμηνεια 16 ff. Edmonds, 14 f. Diehl ap. Athen. 696 D, Diog. Laert. 5. 8, Stob. flor. 1. 12 (ed. Gaisford i. 5) τούτης δοδέμονος ἔργοις | ἀθάνατόν τε μητρὸν αὐθήσουσι (so Wilamowitz for αὐθήσουσι) Μούσαι, | Μημοσύνας θύγατρες, | Διός Ζεύσιον σέβας αἴξουσι φύλαις τε γέρας βεβαιού.



Fig. 927.



Fig. 928.



Fig. 929.

ii. 1179 ff. Trajan and Zeus *Philios* at Pergamon. W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol.* Troisième Série 1935 lxi. 177—188 adduces a series of official Pergamene inscriptions (nine decrees and two letters) to show that the complete deification of Augustus was reached through three successive phases: (1) from 27 B.C. to 3 B.C. he was ἀὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ νιός Σεβαστός, and his highpriest ὁ ἀρχιερέως θεᾶς Ρώμης αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ νιός Σεβαστοῦ; (2) from 3 B.C. to 14 A.D. Augustus was ἀὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ νιός Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερέως μέγιστος καὶ πατήρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύνταγματος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, and his highpriest ὁ ἀρχιερέως θεᾶς Ρώμης καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ νιός Σεβαστοῦ ἀρχιερέως μέγιστος καὶ πατήρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύνταγματος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους; (3) from 15 A.D. onwards (after his death on Aug. 19, 14 A.D. and his consecration by the Senate on Sept. 17, 14 A.D.) Augustus became θεὸς Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ Ζεὺς Πατρός αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερέως μέγιστος, πατήρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύνταγματος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, and his highpriest ὁ ἀρχιερέως θεᾶς Ρώμης καὶ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος Διὸς Πατρόφου αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἀρχιερέως μέγιστος, πατήρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύνταγματος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους. Thus Augustus while alive was treated as (1) a hero and (2) a demi-god, when dead was raised to the rank of (3) a god and identified with Zeus Πατρός. The documents relevant to this third stage are (a) Sir C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchida* London 1861—1863 ii. 2. 695—698 no. 6 pl. 87, G. Hirschfeld in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1893 iv. 1. 63—65 no. 894; (b) J. Keil 'Zur Geschichte der Hymnen in der Provinz Asia' in the *Jahrehe. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 101—107 (Ödemish near Hypaipa); (c) *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* ii. no. 3187 (Smyrna). Cf. also (d) a marble pedestal from Aphrodisias, which must have carried a statue of Zeus with the features of Augustus, inscribed Διὸς Πατρόφου | [Σεβαστὸς] Καίσαρος (W. Kubitschek—W. Reichel in the *Anz. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien Phil.-hist. Classe* 1893 p. 103 no. 13); and (e) a dedication from Dorylaeion [θεῶν Σεβαστῶν Καίσαρος θεοῖς] εἰς τῷ Διὶ Πατρόφῳ, πατρὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύνταγματος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, ε.τ.λ. (I. Meliopoulos in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1897 xxii. 480 f., Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. Inscr. sel.* no. 479). Mr Buckler concludes his very noteworthy article on Augustus at Pergamon by a further suggestion: 'En y acceptant l'épithète divine, Trajan imitait le plus illustre de ses prédecesseurs; n'aurait-il pas choisi celle de Zeus *Philios*, symbole de sa bienveillance, afin de marquer le contraste avec les antiques splendeurs du Zeus *Patroös*?'

ii. 1187 n. o fig. 990 Zeus *Nêmeios* at Alexandreia. His wreath is probably of oak-leaves, not *stilinon*. Oak-wreath and *aigis* are characteristic of Zeus on Alexandrine cameos (*supra* p. 537 f.).

P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. Αρχ. 1918 p. 192 f. fig. 39 publishes a dedication (no. 11) from Epidaurus: 'Ηραὶ Ἀργείαι | Διὶ Νευεῖψ | πατρίδ[ε]σι θεοῖς ὁ ιεροδάτης | Διογέτης | ιεραπολέτης τοῦ | Σωτῆρος τῷ | ΡΟΔ. ἔτος (= 297 A.D., cp. *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i nos. 1001 and 1002).

ii. 1187 n. 4. D. M. Robinson at Olynthus found Bottiaeae pottery of quasi-Aegean character (A. W. Lawrence on Hdt. 8. 127. See G. E. Mylonas in D. M. Robinson *Excavations at Olynthus* Baltimore 1933 v. 60—63 (Group iii, second half of 2. vi to beginning of 3. v B.C.)).

ii. 1191 Olympic contests at Daphne. A bronze statuette (height 6 inches) now in the British Museum shows a naked youth carrying a board (?) inscribed in relief ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ | ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ | ΔΑΦΝΗΙ (Sir E. J. Forsdyke in *The British Museum Quarterly* 1929—1930 iv. 70f. pl. 44, d)—presumably a record of success in these sports.

ii. 1194 emperors wearing the *aigis*. J. Arneth *Monumenta des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinettes in Wien* Wien 1849 p. 31 f. pl. 18, 2 an onyx engraved with Julian(?) as a beardless Zeus. He wears an *aigis* and holds a sceptre in his raised right hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered left. At his left side is a trophy with seated prisoner; at his right side, an eagle. The legs of Zeus, the field, and the back of the whole gem are covered with 'Gnostic' inscriptions.

ii. 1197 n. 3. To the bibliography of Antiocheia add E. S. Bouchier *A short History of Antioch 300 B.C.—A.D. 1268* Oxford 1921 pp. 1—324.

ii. 1213 'Jupiter-columns.' M. P. Nilsson 'Zur Deutung der Juppitergigantensäulen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 181—184 argues from the wheel etc. that the god in question was a Celtic deity (Taranis?).

ii. 1213 the Column of Mayence. On Quilling's views see also L. Deubner in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 310 f.

ii. 1216 the *omphalós* found by F. Courby at Delphoi. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 85 n. 1 states that in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 (not 1920) i. 172 he did not regard Courby's *omphalós* as 'faux,' but holds that the inscription on it

('archaïque?') raises many doubts—see P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1915 xxviii. 457, *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1925 ii. 49 n. 1. C. Picard in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1930 xlvi. 136 still hesitates ('L'omphalos n° 19 n'a pas encore ses lettres de créance bien établies').

ii. 1218 the witch-cult in western Europe. Cp. Miss M. A. Murray *The God of the Witches* London (1933) pp. 1—214 (reviewed by H. Coote Lake in *Folk-Lore* 1934 xlvi. 277 f.) and *e contra* C. L'Estrange Ewen *Some Witchcraft Criticisms* (London) 1938 (printed for the author) pp. 1—6.

ii. 1219 the Milky Way conceived as a tree. U. Holmberg in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian), 82 cites the 'song of the Great Oak'—Finnish account of the Milky Way 'regarded by some Arctic tribes as being the trunk of a great tree, along which those killed in battle wander.'

ii. 1220 the axe from Mallia. J. Charbonneau in the *Mon. Piat* 1925—1926 xxviii. 6 ff. pl. 2 and figs. 3, 4, 6 publishes this axe as ending in the forepart of a panther, not a lioness. So also C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 70 n. 1, 78 n. 3, and P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 fig. 6.

ii. 1221 fig. 1015 relief of lictors' axes. For similar reliefs see Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 19 f. Scala i nos. 1 and 2 pl. 9, *ib.* p. 157 Sala degli Orti Mecenaziani no. 6 b pl. 59.

ii. 1221 the 'Tomb of the Lictor' at Vetulonia. See now H. Mühlstein *Die Kunst der Etrusker* Berlin 1929 p. 85 n. o and p. 228 f., who in fig. 149 publishes a good photograph (Alinari 45 853) of the 'Eisernes Rutenbeil <Labrys> aus Vetulonia <Tomba del Littore> Mus. archeologico Florenz' and refers it to *c. vii B.C.*

ii. 1221 carvings in amber. Other examples (human and simian figures from Vetulonia) in D. R. MacIver *Villanovaans and Early Etruscans* Oxford 1924 p. 107 fig. 25.

ii. 1222 fig. 1017 the earliest representation of Zeus (?). S. Benton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1934—1935 xxxv. 85, 98 pl. 21, 1—3 provides three excellent photographs of this little bronze, but calls it cautiously 'the Dodona thrower,' 'the Dodona figure.'

M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 80 suggests that a terra-cotta head and a stone axe found in the Mycenaean sanctuary at Asine 'are the earliest representations of Zeus, the Greek god of thunder.' See further O. Frödin in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 25, 1926 p. 548 fig. (2) and Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. xx—xxii pl. 4. The head ( $0^{\circ}105^{\text{m}}$  high) showed traces of white on the face, but had eyes, lips, and hair painted red. With it were found five smaller female figures in terra cotta and sundry vases, including a two-handled bowl of the 'Granary Class' (A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1921—1922, 1922—1923 xxv. 40 f. ('The Granary Class of L. H. III. Pottery')) and a composite vessel of three cups conjoined.

ii. 1228 Zeus *Telesiourgós* at Miletos. K. Latte 'Ζεύς Τελεσιοργός' in *Philologus* 1930 lxxxv. 225—227 notes that in both inscriptions this is the god to whom sacrifice is made by a new priest at his ordination. Hence, he thinks, we obtain light on Hesych. *τελεσιέργος ταιάνα* 'τὸν ἐπιτελεστικὸν τῷν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελεσμένον λεπ̄ων', where the manuscript reading *τελεσιγήρων* was wrongly altered by T. Hemsterhuys into *τελεσιέρων*—a blunder perpetuated by M. Schmidt in both his editions. Sir H. Stuart Jones, however, in the new Liddell and Scott p. 1770 (following E. Diehl *Supplementum Lyricum* Bonn 1917 p. 66) says 'prob. a gloss on *τελεστίερων ταιάνα* in Pi. Pae. 7. 2.' Unfortunately the text in Pindar is very insecure. O. Schroeder *Supplementum Pindaricum* Berolini 1923 p. 3 records Wilamowitz' *cj. τελεσιού[τη] θεοῦ* cp. schol. *Ἑρεσι*.

ii. 1229 relief of Agdistis and Attis. A Hellenistic relief (height  $0^{\circ}61^{\text{m}}$ ), found in the Peiraeus and now in the Berlin Antiquarium, shows Agdistis as a draped goddess, with a *týmpanon* in her left hand, presenting a flower to a youthful Attis, who sits before her clad in the costume of Asia Minor (*Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum*<sup>2</sup> Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 106 no. 1612).

iii. 35 n. 10. Cp. Nikephoros Basilakes *prógymn.* 7. 10 (l. 489, 5 f. Walz) *ἀνθεῖσις σινῆτε τὰς νεφέλας ὁ Ζεύς*.

iii. 57 n. 2. J. D. Beazley *Der berliner Maler* Berlin-Wilmersdorf 1930 p. 21 no. 202 pl. 13, 3 fragments of a red-figured *hydria* at Athens (G 251) 'Triballos?' a barbarian in panther-skin (?) with *phallós* on staff, forehead, and nose! Perhaps cp. E. de Chanot 'Géryon' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1880 vi. 136—138 pl. 22 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 26 no. 7, if not also Babelon-Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 482 f. no. 1175. To the literary allusions add Iuv. 6. O 26, and see W. B. McDaniel in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 35 n. 1.

iii. 63 n. 3. See now E. Kapp 'Παυθέτραπος' in *Philologus* 1939 N.F. xxxviii. 259—261 (defends Παυθ- against Παυθ-).

iii. 85 n. o (2) fig. 28. This sarcophagus, now at Zagreb, is better published by G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xlvi. 229 ff. fig. 2.

iii. 165 the sanctity of dew. J. Roscoe *The Northern Bantu* Cambridge 1915 p. 28: Among the Banyoro is a clan called 'The Basita, whose principal totem is the Milch Cow which has been with a bull, and their second Dew upon the Grass. The members of this clan avoid for several days drinking milk from a cow which has been with a bull, and also refrain from walking in grass while dew rests on it.'

iii. 245 f. The *eploion*, as its name implies, was a sacrifice subsequent to, or additional to, that of a cow for Athena, and must not be viewed as a preliminary rite.

iii. 292 sea-bathing as a rain-charm. Miss M. A. Murray has kindly sent me a note (July 17, 1938) 'about ceremonial bathing (by the whole population), on a set day in the spring, in the sea. It is done at Gaza by Bedu and fellahin alike, men, women, children & animals. I think it may be connected with the cult of Atargatis.' May we not rather suppose that this is only another case of communal rain-charm?

iii. 298 the formula *koūx, ómpax*. I would venture to compare a spell to stop nose-bleeding by a whispered *máx, pdx, rípx* (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 233 no. 40 and p. 306 μ'. Περὶ μάτηρ ὅροι τρέχει, λέγε εἰς τὸ μέπος ἔκειρο ὅροι τρέχει, κρυφλεῖς εἰς τὸ αὐτῆς μόξ, πάξ, πίπεξ, καὶ θέλαι παύσῃ—an extract from a medical treatise contained in an eighteenth-century MS. possibly written by a physician named Constantine Riziotti).

iii. 322 n. o *Zépiai óðawp*. Cp. the sacred and curative character of Ascension Day rain-water. A. R. Wright—T. E. Lones *British Calendar Customs* (England i) London 1936 p. 141 f. cite examples from five counties, of which one will serve: 'A Warwickshire cook of a relative of mine was seen last Ascension Day, May 1, standing out of doors, basin in hand, to catch the rain that was falling. In explanation she said that Holy Thursday rain was holy water, and came straight from heaven. The reason that she preserved it was that it was good for weak or sore eyes' (Cuthbert Bede in *Notes and Queries* Sixth Series 1883 vii. 367).

iii. 336 n. 5. Sieve-superstitions are collected with a wealth of detail by Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Abergläubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1936 vii. 1662—1686 ('Sieb'), 1686—1701 ('Siebdrehen, Sieblaufen, Siebtreiben').

iii. 341 n. 3. On the pentagram see further Col. Allotte de La Fuye 'Le Pentagramme phthagoricien, sa diffusion, son emploi dans le syllabaire cunéiforme' in *Babylonica* 1934 xiv. 1—56 figs. 1—10.

iii. 345 n. 1. With regard to Egyptian receptacles for viscera Mr Sidney Smith informs me (Nov. 17, 1934) (1) that limestone pots with plain lids go back to the late Old Kingdom (Dyrs. v—vi), (2) that jars with lids in the shape of the deceased's head are typical of the Middle Kingdom and occur down to Dyn. xviii, and (3) that 'the four children of Horus' belong to the New Kingdom from the late xviii<sup>th</sup> Dyn. onwards.

iii. 348 the 'Canopi' of Osiris. See now F. W. Freiherr von Bissing *Ägyptische Kultbilder der Ptolemaier- und Römerzeit* (*Der Alte Orient* xxxiv. 1/2) Leipzig 1936 pp. 28—34 'Das Kultbild von Kanopos' pl. 4, 10 a and 10 b (an Osiris of Kanopos in marble, from Egypt); pl. 4, 11 a (an Osiris of Kanopos in bronze, from Egypt, resting on an 'Opertafel'); pl. 5, 11 b (an Osiris of Kanopos, owned by the Queen of the Netherlands); pl. 8, 18 (a Kanopos with spiral fluting, in the Vatican).

iii. 348 Nile-water. The sanctity of Nile-water is discussed by F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1936 v. 3. 153—187 ('Nilwasser und Taufwasser').

iii. 349. Theonoe was not the wife, but the unsuccessful lover, of Kanobos (n. 8).

iii. 358 n. 6. G. A. Megas in *Hermes* 1933 lxviii. 415 ff. argues that the story of the Danaides was a folktale later localised at Argos. He cites (after B. Chalatianz in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1909 xix. 362) an Armenian parallel, heard at Etchmiatsin in 1899, which however so closely resembles the Greek myth that I should rather assume classical influence, direct or indirect.

iii. 426 the Danaides and the fertility-charm. C. F. A. Schaeffer in his Schweich Lecture of Jan. 27, 1937 ('Fertility cult and cult of the dead at Ugarit. Devices for libations in the Mycenaean tombs. The jar of the Danaids') compared the *τιθαντερπνύμενοι* of the Danaides with the libation-funnels at Ras Shamra. *Id.* 'Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Septième campagne (printemps 1935)' in *Syria* 1936 xvii. 105—148 refers to the period 'Minoen ou Helladie récent III' (x. xiv—xiii B.C.) several sepulchral deposits (p. 112 f. with fig. 4) 'caractérisés par la présence d'un grand entonnoir à libation percé d'ouvertures enfoncées verticalement dans la terre avec, à sa base, une accumulation de vases. Parmi eux des rhytons attestent bien le caractère votif de ces dispositifs (fig.

et 4). Comme nous l'avions déjà dit<sup>(2)</sup> (Cf. Rapport de la troisième campagne, *Syria*, 1932, p. 12), ils ont dû servir au rite magique, ayant probablement pour but de favoriser la fécondité de la terre et dont l'une des tablettes de Ras Shamra semble donner la formule<sup>(3)</sup> (II L.c., *Syria*, 1932, p. 12).'

iii. 429 the *manalis lapis*. F. Bömer 'Der sogenannte lapis manalis' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1936 xxxii. 270—281 discusses previous interpretations of this 'Regenstein,' rejecting both the derivation from *manare* and that from *Manes*. He starts afresh from the authoritative statements of Varro (*supra* p. 435 n. 2) and contends that *aquae manale* meant a 'Handkrug für Wasser,' being derived from *midus* (cp. *id.* 'Lat. aquae manale' in *Glotta* 1937 xxvi. 1—7); that *manalis lapis*—originally termed *midale sacrum*—was a sacred water-pot, probably a hollow stone of pot-like formation used for ritual purposes (so O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Leipzig 1885 ii. 154 n. 1); and that later this *manalis lapis* was confused with the *lapis Mānalis* or 'stone of the *Manes*' Festus' *ostium Orci* (*supra* p. 432 n. 4). Bömer sums up: 'Das Instrument des römischen Regenauwers war ein *manale sacrum*, ein heiliges Wassergefäß; der wirkliche *lapis manalis*, der Stein der Manen, steht mit dem Regen in keiner Verbindung. Einen *lapis manalis* als Regenstein, an den man bisher glaubte, hat es nie gegeben. Er ist eine etymologische Konstruktion der Antiquare.'

iii. 434 f. the *manales petras*. T. F. G. Dexter *The Sacred Stone Perranporth* (1929) p. 27 no. 51 cites from Morris' *Celtic Researches* a 'Maen Glaw' or 'Rain Stone,' "which they rolled about when they wanted rain," and compares the *Lapis Manalis* at Rome.

iii. 475 f. the birth of Montezuma. Cp. E. S. Hartland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 i. 11 'A pearl fell into the bosom of a girl and she swallowed it, as the Chinese tell, with the result that a boy was born (according to one version, from her breast) who afterwards became the great emperor Yu.'

iii. 538 n. o pl. xliv. F. Lenormant 'Jupiter Aegiochus, camée sur chrysoprase' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1875 i. 95—99 pl. 13 published a very large cameo from the Northwick collection (then owned by Feuardent), a chrysoprase in the Asia Minor style of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Its subject is a facing Zeus, almost exactly like that of my malachite relief, but coarser in effect and without acorns on the oak-wreath.

iii. 564 ff. 'ox-driving.' F. Cumont 'St. George and Mithra "The Cattle-Thief"' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1937 xxvii. 63—71 notes that at the monastery of Ilori in Mingrelia, as late as c. 1850 A.D., 'every year on the Festival of St. George, to whom the church of the monastery was dedicated, an ox mysteriously entered the building ready for sacrifice.' Cumont argues that St George has here replaced Mithras the *bov-xλόπος θεός* (Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18).

iii. 573 Zeus Polieus and altar. (Mrs) J. P. Shear in *Hesperia* 1936 v. 316 with fig. 22, 6—8 says: 'Is it not possible to connect this type [my figs. 399—402] with the greatest of the Athenian festivals of Zeus, the Diasia, which was of a propitiatory character?' *Ead. ib.* p. 301 with fig. 11, 1—2 [my fig. 548] would recognise the altar of Zeus Polias [*sic!*] and associate it with the Dipoleia. She gives the same explanation of the *bucranium-type* (her pl. 5, 1—29).

iii. 580 n. o with fig. 404. See now C. Watzinger in *Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 343 ff. fig. 163 and pl. 175.

iii. 593 Diemos, priest of Zeus Polieus, first to slay an ox. But Synkell. *chron.* 153 B (i. 289 Dindorf) says of Kekrops οὐρος πρῶτος βοῦν ἰθύασε καὶ Ζῆρα προσηγέρευεται, οὐ τιμεῖ.

iii. 612 n. o. On the *Ballήγρος* see also S. Weinstock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 856.

iii. 623 n. 1 with fig. 423. The design on these glass plaques is drawn (rather unsuccessfully) to a larger scale by W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 98 f. fig. 12.

iii. 634 n. 2. E. C. Yorke in the *Class. Quart.* 1936 xxx. 153 f. maintains that the *Prometheus Bound*, 'if Aeschylus was its author,' must have been the latest of his extant plays, to be dated between 458 and 456 B.C. Prof. D. S. Robertson in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1938 ixix. 387 reviews recent opinions and argues from the 'Sophoclean features' of the play for 'the latest possible date.' He even suggests that 'Aeschylus left the *Prometheus* trilogy incomplete' and that some of the odes may have been 'supplied by one of his sons, Euphorion and Euion, or by his nephew Philocles, all tragic poets.'

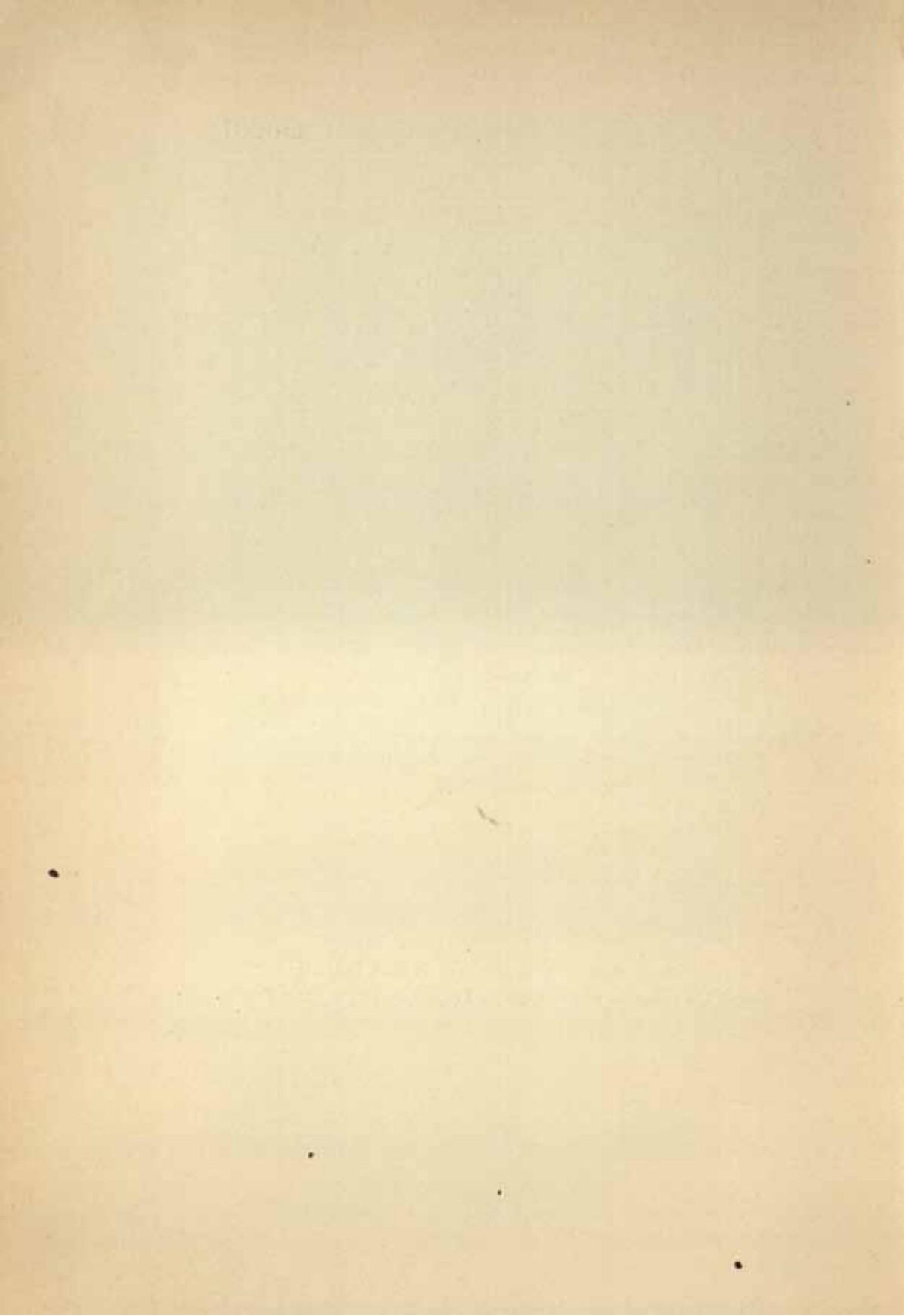
iii. 655 n. o with figs. 464—469. My conjecture that the head on these coins represents Zeus *Ölbios* can, I find, claim the support of A. Reinach, who in the *Revue*

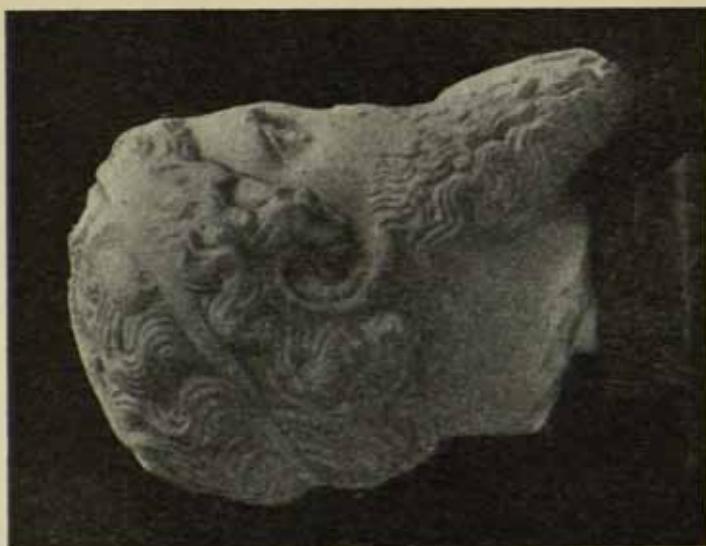
Plate LXXXII



Bronze statuette of Zeus *Olympios* from Bulgaria,  
now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society at Stara Zagora.

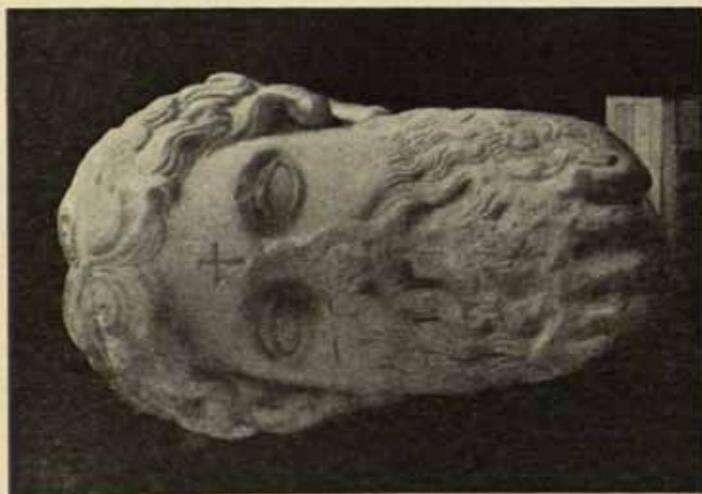
*See page 1196.*





*b*

Fig. 930.



*a*

*épigraphique* 1913 i. 172 no. 461 anent an inscription from Lampsakos dedicated Θεῷ Ολβίῳ observed: 'A la lumière de cette inscription il y aurait lieu de se demander si ce n'est pas Zeus Olbios à cornes de taureau qu'il faut voir sur les monnaies à tête cornue qu'on qualifie de Zeus Ammon, Pan ou Priape corniger.' Johanna Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2430.

iii. 767 ff. guardian snakes in pediment. Cp. J. Johnson 'Apotropaic serpents in Minturnae temple decoration' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xlvi. 306.

iii. 813 n. 3 the cult of Athena on the Nike-bastion. P. Lemerle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxi. 443 with figs. 4—7 reports that N. Balanos now recognises at least two successive sanctuaries below the level of the classical temple. One, the less ancient, is connected with the altar found by G. Welter (fig. 6). The other, the more ancient, included a hollowed block on which idols were lying (fig. 7) and an altar of Athena *Nike* mentioned in an archaic inscription [Michel *Réouvr. d'Inscr. gr.* no. 671, a 11 f., Dittenberger *Syll. Inscr. Gr.* no. 63, a 11 f. xai Βούρων Αθηνών ('Adiectivum indicat fuisse quidem iam ante aram, sed non lapideam')]. *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 24, 14 f.]

iii. 832 n. 2. Dr H. Frankfort's paper on 'The Burney Relief' has now appeared in the *Archiv für Orientforschung* 1938 xii. 128—135 accompanied by three fresh photographic illustrations. This paper, of which he most kindly sent me an offprint, conclusively vindicates the genuineness of the relief, refers it on stylistic grounds to the Larsa period, and inclines to identify the female figure as Lilith or some other 'inhabitant of the Land of Death.' Her domed crown with four horns marks her as divine. Her so-called 'ring and staff' are either 'a measuring rod and line,' as on the *stèle* of Ur-Nammu, or 'on our relief they might well be a continuous coiled piece of rope,' such measuring instruments serving as symbols of justice.

iii. 845 the earliest *Gorgoneion*. F. Chapouthier 'À travers trois gemmes prismatiques (époque Minoenne [? M. M. 1])' in the *Mélanges G. Glotz* Paris 1932 i. 183—201 publishes a three-sided seal-stone in greyish steatite from Mallia, of which one side represents a facing *Gorgoneion* with bristling hair, large ears and eyes, wide cheeks but small mouth, and pointed chin (photographic pl. and fig. 2=J. Charbonneau in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1933 xlvi. 76 fig. 3). The face is flanked by two small branches.

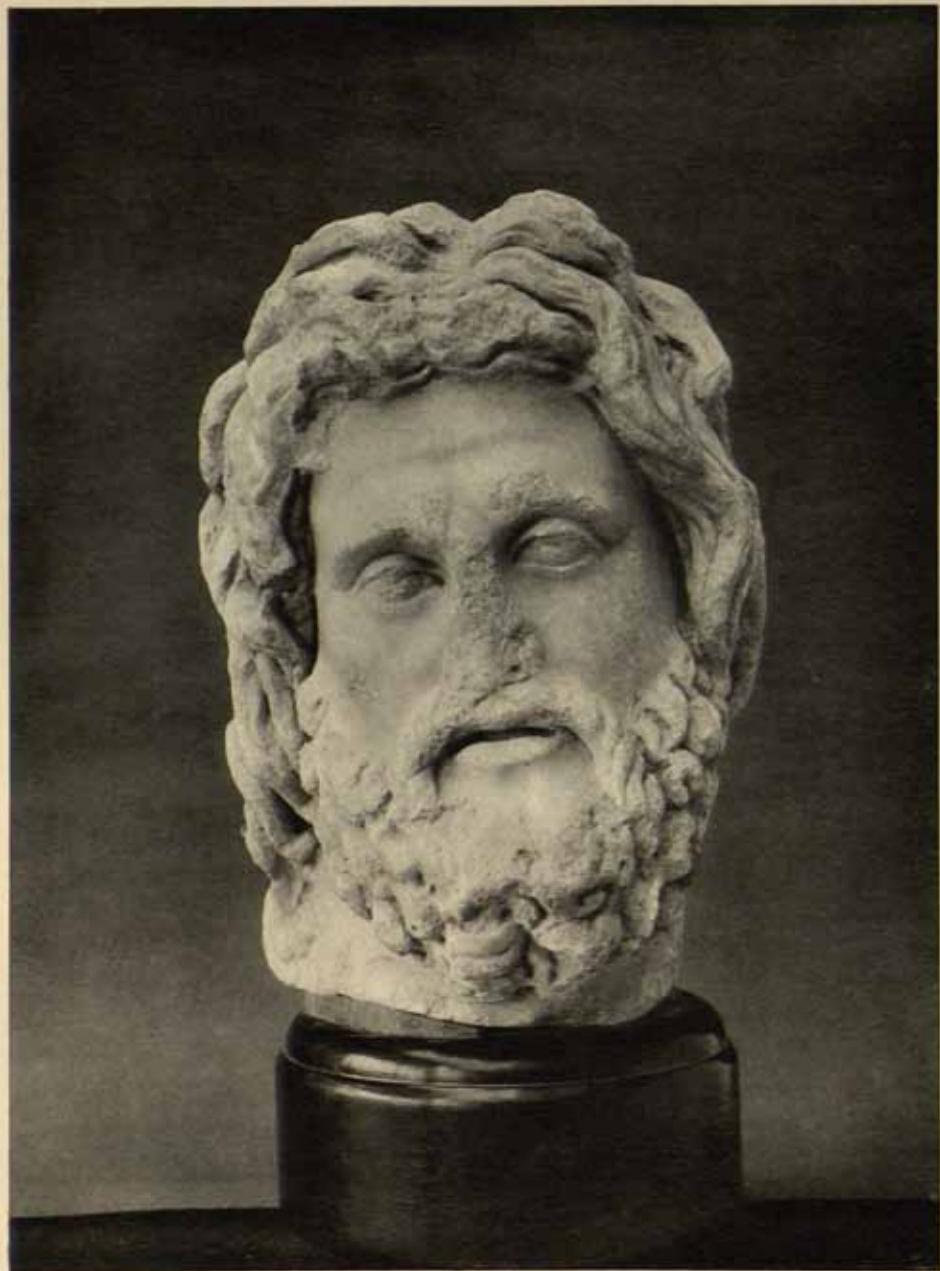
iii. 927 Akmon. On Doias the 'Twin'-brother of Akmon see Norbert Jokl in Ebert *Reallex. x.* 144 and 147 (after A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1907 xli. 347).

iii. 938 the temple of Zeus at Olympia struck by lightning (Paus. 5. 11. 9). C. Picard 'Zeus, Aristophane et Socrate' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1938 ii. 60—63 finds an allusion to this incident in Aristoph. *nub.* 401 f. 'Prodige favorable et pieuse intention du ciel, disaient les bons esprits! Ti μαθὼν; eût répliqué le Socrate d'Aristophane, introducteur de dieux nouveaux et destructeur de la tradition religieuse.' This is much better than, with V. Coulon in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1937 i. 453 f., to assume a like happening in the sanctuary of Zeus *Soter* and Athena *Sôteira* at the Peiraeus (Lykourg. in *Leocr.* 17, alib.—see Severin Solders *Die auswärtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* Lund 1931 p. 1). Picard takes the opportunity of listing all the Zeus-cults in or near Athens—a useful record.

iii. 964 copies of the Pheidias Zeus (?). Mr R. M. Cook in a letter from Athens dated Aug. 16, 1935 drew my attention to a small bronze figure of Zeus *Olympios* recently discovered in Bulgaria, and very kindly enclosed the photograph reproduced in my pl. lxxxix. He comments: 'It is a bronze statuette, found last March casually at Smoro, a village a little north-east of Stara Zagora. The overall height is about 25 cm.; the height of the figure alone, 18 cm. All of the base is, I believe, original. It is not yet published, though photos of it (from the same negative as this) have appeared in a local paper & in one of the Sofia dailies. It is now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society, at Stara Zagora: the director is Mr. C. Raikov.'

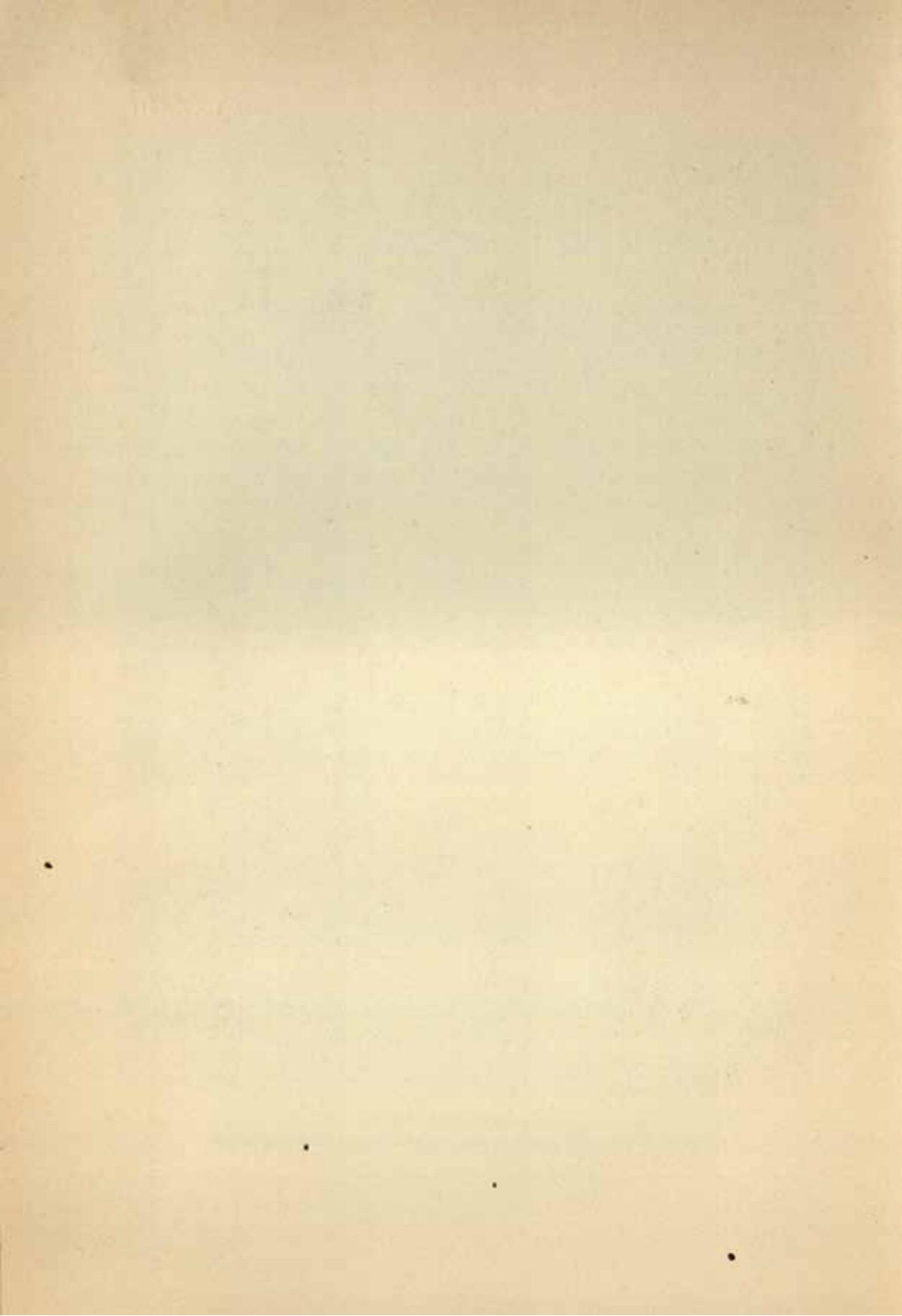
iii. 973 Christ in the likeness of Zeus. In the Christian appropriation of pagan statuary two methods were followed, which it might be convenient to distinguish as the outward and the inward. The one imposed some external sign of the new religion. The other sought to appreciate the internal qualities of the old. The first adapted. The second adopted. And naturally the former, as the easier process, was more frequent than the latter. The facts are fairly obvious, and I shall content myself with a single example of each.

H. Bulle in the *Einzelaunahmen* nos. 1436 and 1437 (=my fig. 930, a and b) Text v. 93 publishes a bearded head of Pentelic marble (height 0·23 m.), which came from the neighbourhood of Athens and is now at Karlsruhe, and comments: 'Gehörte ohne Zweifel zu einer Herme.... Wohl originale Arbeit aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrh.



Marble head from Jerash :  
a third century Zeus(?), which perhaps served as a fifth-century Christ.

*See page 1197.*



v. Chr.' Bulle ignores the incised cross, which is simply omitted also in the small sketch given by the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 5 no. 11. But A. J. B. Wace in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xvi. 65 says with more circumspection: 'Cases are known...where a cross was scratched on a work of art in early Christian times to sanctify what would otherwise have been ungodly.'

J. Garstang in *The Illustrated London News* for July 31, 1926 pp. 193—197 devotes a whole article to the interesting head found by H. Horsfield on the east side of the 'Street of Columns' at *Jerash* (*Gerasa*). For a detailed study of the site see the reports of J. W. Crowfoot 'The Church of S. Theodore at *Jerash*' in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1929* London pp. 17—36, *id.* 'The Churches of *Gerasa*, 1928, 1929' *ib. Quarterly Statement for 1930* London pp. 32—42, *id.* 'Recent Work round the Fountain Court at *Jerash*' *ib. Quarterly Statement for 1931* London pp. 143—154, *id.* *Churches at *Jerash* A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to *Jerash*, 1928—1930 (British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Supplementary Papers, iii)* London 1931 pp. 1—48 with 13 pls. and a plan. Garstang *loc. cit.* says: 'Between the doorway of the Basilica and that of the circular church, nearer to the former, and in the cloister into which both doors open, the head was found lying upon débris about a foot from the floor, and covered with more débris mixed with architectural remains.... Such, briefly, is the evidence which attests that the head was in use contemporaneously with the Christian buildings of the area in which it was found.' Garstang well suggests 'that the head was originally chosen from among the earlier pagan sculptures of the place, or imported specially, as responding to a Christian conception.' He agrees 'that it belongs to the latter half of the second century A.D.' but adds somewhat inconsistently: 'One thing seems clear—that it was fashioned by a great artist who, working upon the established and familiar models of pagan Zeus or Asklepios, glorified them in the realisation of an ideal. Did such a genius exist in the fourth or fifth century at *Jerash*? And was that ideal the Suffering of Christ?' Accordingly the fine full-face view prefixed to his article is labelled: 'The earliest representation of Christ?...a remarkable sculptured Christ-like head (probably of the latter half of the 2nd century A.D.) found in a 5th-century Christian church at *Jerash*.' I confess that Garstang's enthusiasm leaves me a little breathless. I had the opportunity of examining the original head soon after its arrival in London (pl. lxxxiii is from the official photographs) and judged it, on stylistic grounds, to be a third-century head of Zeus. I did not think that its pathos was so pronounced as to justify us in calling it an ideal of Suffering. Indeed, the vertical furrows between the eyes, as distinct from the horizontal furrow across the forehead, were suggestive of concentrated thought rather than intense pain. I held, therefore, and still hold, that the *Jerash* head came from a third-century statue portraying Zeus, perhaps in his character of Providence (*supra* p. 946), a statue which may conceivably have served the fifth-century Gerasenes as an embodiment of Christ.

## CORRIGENDA

- i. 13. For 'bliss' read 'bless.'
- i. 117 n. o. For 'p. 444' read 'p. 517.'
- i. 134 n. 4. For 'Lydia' read 'Ionia.'
- i. 175 n. 2. For 'Maas' read 'Maass.'
- i. 216 n. 3. For 'Athen. 84 c ff.' read 'Athen. 456 c ff.'
- i. 220. For 'bēkchos' read 'bēkchos,' and so elsewhere (i. 221, 425, 442, 648, 649, 673).
- i. 236 n. 10. For 'Liban. or. ii' read 'Liban. or. 11.'
- i. 245. For 'daughter of Helios' read 'granddaughter of Helios.'
- i. 272. For 'man' read 'men.'
- i. 302 n. 5. Delete comma after 'Μυκήνης.'
- i. 330. For 'Saltzmann' read 'Salzmann.'
- i. 335 n. 7. For '104' and '105' read '267' and '268.'
- i. 375. For 'Libye?' read 'Libye?'
- i. 398 n. 4. For 'p. 92' read 'p. 31.'
- i. 474. After 'rōastika-patterns' insert 'and.'
- i. 513 n. 5. For 'fig. 113' read 'fig. 387.'
- i. 546 n. 4. For '471 n. 4.' read '471 f.'
- i. 571 n. 2. For '§ 10 (a)' read '§ 10 (b).'
- i. 591 n. 3. For 'In this' read 'In the.'
- i. 604 n. 10. For 'mother-god' read 'mother-goddess.'
- i. 646 n. 3. For 'Zār' read 'Zdr.'
- i. 660 n. 2. For 'Strab. 476' read 'Strab. 475.'
- i. 675. For 'Kuster' read 'Küster.'
- i. 717 n. 2. For 'E. Cumont' read 'F. Cumont.'
- i. 732 n. 1. For 'n. 2' read 'n. 1.'
- i. 768 n. o. For 'in Alterthum' read 'im Alterthum.'
- i. 776. For 'millenium' read 'millennium.'
- i. 800. For 'Zeus Πελιαῖος' read 'Zeus Πελικαῖος.'
- i. 824. For 'Kynados' read 'Kounados.'
- i. 827 s.v. Makedonia. For 'Zeus 126 ff.' read 'Zeus 100 ff.'
- i. 837 s.v. Phrygia. For 'Zeus Ἡλίας 393<sub>2</sub>' read 'Zeus Ἡλίας 399<sub>2</sub>'
- i. 842 s.v. Seimios. For '533 f.' read '553 f.'
- i. 855 s.v. Zeus nursed by. For 'by goat 112<sub>2</sub> 112<sub>3</sub>' and '720<sub>4</sub>' read 'by goat 112<sub>3</sub>' and '720<sub>3</sub>'
- i. 856 s.v. Zeus Attributes. For 'blue mantle 33<sub>1</sub>' read 'blue mantle 33.'
- i. 867 s.v. Fick, A. For '690<sub>4</sub>' read '690<sub>5</sub>'
- i. 867 s.v. Fire. For 'Zeus 702<sub>4</sub>' read 'Zeus 702<sub>1</sub>'
- i. 870 s.v. Heydemann, H. For '698<sub>1</sub>' read '698<sub>4</sub>'
- i. 870 s.v. Hill, G. F. For '356<sub>2</sub>' read '356<sub>4</sub>' and for '602<sub>4</sub>' read '602<sub>5</sub>'
- i. 875 s.v. Nilsson, M. P. For '669<sub>2</sub>' read '669<sub>6</sub>'
- i. 879 s.v. Rolland, E. For '357<sub>2</sub>' read '257<sub>2</sub>'
- i. 882. For 'Svoronos, J. H. (cont.)' read 'Svoronos, J. N. (cont.).'
- ii. 864. For 'informs' read 'informs.'
- ii. 1093 n. 1. For 'recques' read 'grecques.'
- ii. 1096 n. 4. For 'μοισθέντων' read 'δόμοισθέντων.'
- ii. 1113 n. o. For 'δρουάζονται' read 'δρουάζονται.'

- ii. 1323 s.v. Syria. The last entry 'Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in folk-tale from 1004 ff.' should have been s.v. Syra.
- ii. 1361 s.v. Eitrem, S. For '1042<sub>II</sub>' read '1142<sub>II</sub>'
- iii. 57 n. 2. For 'ὅμιθογονίας β' read 'ὅμιθογονίας β.'
- iii. 79. For 'Man said' read 'Men said.'
- iii. 104 n. 1. For 'n. 3' read 'n. 4.'
- iii. 360 n. 4. For 'vi. 2089' read 'iv. 2089.'
- iii. 400 n. 2. For 'Gábrici' read 'Gábrici,' and so on p. xxi of vol. ii.
- iii. 416 n. o. For 'Tetz.' read 'Tzetz.'
- iii. 518 n. 3. For 'être à' read 'être là.'
- iii. 775. For '(fig. )' read '(fig. 569.)'
- iii. 976. For 'Brugman' read 'Brugmann,' and so on p. 977.
- iii. 981. For 'pl. Ixix' read 'pl. lxx.'



Fig. 931.

Zeus *Trdios*  
on a bronze coin of Hiera-  
polis in Phrygia  
(Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen*  
p. 214 f. no. 693 pl. 12, 22).  
*Supra* ii. 571 n. 6.

# INDEX I

## PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

The contents of each item are arranged, as far as possible, under the following heads: *Cults Epithets Festivals Oracles Rites Priests Worshippers Personations Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Associations Comparisons Relations Supersedure.*

In the Genealogies f. = father, m. = mother, s. = son, d. = daughter, b. = brother, st. = sister, gf. = grandfather, gm. = grandmother, gs. = grandson, gd. = granddaughter, h. = husband, w. = wife.

The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

### Abaddir

*Cults*: Manliana 937<sub>0</sub> Poeni 937<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithet*: Sanctus 937<sub>0</sub>  
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Abaris, controls wind 106

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### Abydos

*Cult*: meteorite 886  
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Acerbas 646<sub>0</sub>

### Achaeans

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Acheron 98<sub>0m</sub>

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### Achilles

*Cult*: Olbia 654<sub>0</sub>

*Epithet*: Ποντίαρχος 654<sub>0</sub>

*Myth*: Penthesileia 956

*Type*: passage to Islands of the Blest  
135

— shield of 596 f. when dead  
demands bride 395 (?)

Achilleus, s. of Thetis 1043 See Achilles

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### Adad

*Cults*: Heliopolis in Syria 1095  
Nabataioi 1097 Palmyra 1093

*Attribute*: golden thunderbolt 1095

*Types*: seated between two bulls with  
thunderbolt 1097 standing on bull  
with thunderbolt 831 standing on  
bull with double three-pronged  
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*Identified with* Zeus 945

*Compared with* Ramman, Tešub, and  
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Adonia 1118

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Adraa, coins of 907

Adrasteia

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*Myth*: served by Kelmis, Damna-  
menens, and Akmon 922<sub>5</sub>

Adrasteia, a Cretan Nymph 931<sub>3</sub>

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Zeus 107

Agallis 596 f.

Agamedes

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Agamemnon

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and Amyklai 1181 later divinised as  
Zeus Agamēmnon 1181 stone ship  
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Agapius, St 1102

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Agathos Daimon

*Type*: δραίη λεράχωμορφος 343<sub>1</sub>

*Identified with* Daimon Miliehios (?)  
1187

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Agdistis

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*Myth*: pomegranate springs from his  
severed member 815<sub>0</sub>

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- Agdistis (*cont.*)  
     *Type*: draped goddess with *tympanon*  
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- Agdos, Mt  
     *Myth*: Agdistis 236
- Agenor 161<sub>1</sub>
- Aglauros  
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     *Myths*: Erichthonios 185 f. 248<sub>6</sub> 764 f.  
         voluntary death for her country  
         242<sub>6</sub>  
     *Genealogy*: Agraulos or Agraulis d. of  
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         283<sub>9</sub> m. of the Kekropides 242 m. of  
         Keryx by Hermes 602 f.  
     *Functions*: dew 237 603 944 earth-  
         goddess 242 944 water-nymph  
         237<sub>2</sub> (?)  
     *Etymology*: 237<sub>2</sub>  
     *Associated with* Demeter Καιρορόφετ  
         242
- Aglibol  
     *Cult*: Palmyra 1158 f.  
     *Type*: in military dress with crescent  
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     *Associated with* Bel and Iaribol 1158 f.
- Agni  
     *Genealogy*: f. of Ekata, Dvita, Trita  
         544 f.
- Agnostos Theos  
     *Cult*: Athens 1162
- Agon Capitolinus 1141
- Agorakritos 707 f. (?)
- Agra  
     *Cults*: Artemis Ἄγρωρά 725 Eileithyia  
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- Agraulides 659<sub>9</sub> (?) 660<sub>6</sub> (?)
- Agraulos See Aglauros
- Agraulos See Aglauros
- Agreus  
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     *Cults*: Zeus Ἀγραβόριος 525 Zeus  
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- Aia 236<sub>9</sub>
- Aiaia  
     *Etymology*: 1073 (?)
- Aiakidai 650<sub>9</sub>
- Aikakos  
     *Genealogy*: forefather of Aeginetans  
         and Pergamenes 1164  
     *Function*: judge of dead 402  
     *Type*: head on coins of Aigina (?) 1164
- Aias  
     *Epithet*: τελαινών 650<sub>9</sub>  
     *Function*: faded god (?) 650<sub>9</sub>  
     *Etymology*: 651<sub>9</sub>
- Aias, s. of Oileus  
     *Myths*: Kassandra 867 956 struck by  
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- Aidonous 6
- Aigaion 139<sub>2</sub> (?)
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- Aigeira  
     *Cult*: Zeus 1107 f.  
         — coins of 1107 colossal head of  
         Zeus from 1107 f.
- Aigeus  
     *Myths*: leaves sword beneath rock at  
         Troizen 484<sub>11</sub> suicide 240,  
     *Type*: witnesses birth of Erichthonios  
         186
- Aigikoreis 1083
- Aigina  
     *Cults*: Zeus 650<sub>9</sub> Zeus Ἑλλάδιος 1164 f.  
     *Festivals*: Amphiphorites ('Αμφορίτης  
         ἀγών) 603<sub>12</sub> Delphinia 603<sub>12</sub> Hydro-  
         phoria 603<sub>12</sub>  
     *Myth*: contest of Poseidon with Zeus  
         751<sub>1</sub>  
         — coins of 1164 (?)
- Aigina, d. of Asopos 1121 f.
- Aigion  
     *Cult*: Eileithyia 663<sub>2</sub>
- Aigipan 620<sub>9</sub> (?)
- Aigis, a monster slain by Athena 839
- Aigos Potamos, coins of 886<sub>2</sub> meteor of  
         885 f.
- Aigypatos  
     *Genealogy*: s. of Belos and twin-b. of  
         Danaos 355 f. of fifty sons 355
- Aimilius Paulius impressed by the statue  
         of Zeus at Olympia 960
- Aineias  
     *Myth*: rescued from Diomedes by  
         Apollon 103  
         — phantom of 103
- Ainos in Thrace  
     *Cult*: Hermes Ηερφέραιος 1137  
     *Myth*: Epeios' statue of Hermes caught  
         by fishermen in net 1137
- Aiolie 106 140
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- Aiolos  
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     *Genealogy*: f. of Aethlios 107 f. of  
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     *Identified with* Aiolos Hippotades 109  
         ff. 944
- Aiolos Hippotades  
     *Myth*: 106 ff. 975  
     *Genealogy*: six sons and six daughters  
         106 107<sub>3</sub>  
     *Functions*: a dead chieftain 107 944 'a

Aiolos Hippotades (*cont.*)

sort of Zeus' 107 (?) cp. 944 keeper  
or king of the winds 106 f. 944

*Etymology:* 107<sub>2</sub>

*Identified with* Aiolos eponym of  
Aeolians 109 ff. 944

*Compared with* Amakleides (Amal-  
keides), Protokles, Protokreon 122<sub>2</sub>

Aiolos, Islands of, called Plotai 987

Aion

*Cult:* Alexandreia 918

*Epithet:* Αἰών Αἰώνων 913<sub>4</sub>

*Rite:* birth from Kore 913

*Function:* syncretistic deity combining  
Chaldaean, Persian, Phoenician,  
Egyptian, and Gnostic elements  
914<sub>0</sub>

*Attributes:* horned lion 1180 Hydra  
1180 Kerberos 1180 two snakes 1180

*Types:* leonine head, four wings, four  
arms, eye on chest, lion-heads on  
belly and both knees, etc. 1180  
naked child marked with five golden  
crosses 913 916 f. phoenix with  
radiate nimbus 913<sub>4</sub> standing in  
zodiacal ring carried by Atlas 1128  
syncretistic 1180

*Identified with* Adonis 913<sub>4</sub> Osiris 913<sub>4</sub>  
— philoos laudation of 913<sub>4</sub>

Aion, s. of Baaut and Kolpias 914<sub>0</sub>

Aisa

*Genealogy:* d. of Nyx 718<sub>1</sub>

*Function:* spinner 716

*Associated with* Poros 747<sub>1</sub>

Aischylos, date of *P.v.* by 634<sub>2</sub> 1194 makes  
Athena both winged and wingless  
in same play 810 f. on the succession  
of Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus 739 on  
the possible overthrow of Zeus 740 f.  
on Zeus and the problem of evil  
974

Aither

*Cults:* Amaseia 879 Orphists 879

*Epithets:* Αλεξανδράς 879 Διός Αιθήρ  
454<sub>1</sub> pater 453<sub>2</sub> pater omnipotens  
452<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy:* f. of Nephelai 70 879

*Function:* rain 452<sub>3</sub>

Aithra 485<sub>0</sub> 485<sub>12</sub>

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*Cults:* Hadran 177<sub>0</sub> Hephaistos 177<sub>0</sub>

*Myths:* Briareus 3<sub>0</sub> Enkelados 3<sub>0</sub>  
Typhoeus 3<sub>0</sub>

Aix, d. of Helios

*Myth:* hidden by Ge in a Cretan cave,  
where—tended by Amaltheia—she  
nurture infant Zeus with her milk  
839<sub>0</sub> 840<sub>0</sub>

*Compared with* Minotaur in Labyrinth  
840<sub>0</sub>

Akakkallis 414<sub>0</sub>

Akamanties

*Cults:* Kyrene 115 Marathon 115

*Functions:* the dead 116 (?) winds  
116(?)

## Akanthos in Egypt

*Cult:* Osiris 338

*Rite:* priests empty Nile-water daily  
into holed *pithos* 338 f. 354 372<sub>5</sub>

Akephalos Theos 1127

Akeso 1083

Akhmim 884<sub>0</sub> See Chemmis

Ak Kiliße

*Cult:* (Zeus) Ηδησης 1140 (?)

Akmon

*Genealogy:* twin-b. of Doias 1196 of  
Ouranos 927

*Function:* servant of mountain-  
mother 922

*Etymology:* 925

*Identified with* Kronos 927<sub>5</sub> Ouranos  
927<sub>4</sub>

Akmoneia

*Cult:* Zeus 794

— coins of 794 1070

Akragas See Agrigentum

Akraiphia

*Cult:* Zeus Κεφαλός 1162 1165

Akrisios

*Myths:* imprisons Danaë in bronze  
chamber 364 455 expulsion of infant  
Perseus 1187 sends Danaë and  
Perseus adrift in a chest 455 killed  
by *diskos* of Perseus 1187

*Genealogy:* f. of Danaë 364 f. of Danaë  
by Eurydike d. of Lakedaimon  
455

*Identified with* Kronos (?) 1187

Aktaion

*Type:* Polygnotos 1067

Aktaion, f. of Aglauros 242<sub>1</sub>

Aktaios, f. of Agraulos 55<sub>0</sub> 242

Akte 260

Alban Mt

*Cult:* Iupiter *Latialis* 492

Alcumena 517 See also Alkmene

Aleos 823

Alexander the Great

*Personates* Zeus 540<sub>0</sub>

*Types:* leonine 957<sub>0</sub> Lysippos 957<sub>0</sub>  
thick neck, upward glance, leonine  
hair 540<sub>0</sub> wearing *aegis* as *clamys*  
540<sub>1</sub>

In relation to Zeus Άμμον 1076 f.  
(bibliography)

— coins of 236 consults oracular trees  
of Sun and Moon in Prasiake 420<sub>0</sub>  
hurl spear at Troad 754<sub>0</sub> reverts to  
pre-Pheidias type of seated Zeus  
1155 f. sacrifices to Liber *Pater*  
in Thrace 1118

Alexandria

*Cults:* Aion 913 Demeter 990 ff.  
Isis 346 Kore 913 Osiris 346 ff.

Serapis 553<sub>2</sub> Zeus Νέπετος 1191

*Rites:* birth of Aion 913 ἡ τεῦ καλάθος  
πρόσθος 990

— coins of 346 ff. 904<sub>5</sub> 913<sub>4</sub> 991 f.  
1045 1111 f. 1191 Koreion at 913

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 Amaltheia the nymph  
*Myth*: entrusts infant Zeus to her goat 839<sub>2</sub>  
*Genealogy*: m. of Dionysos by Ammon 126<sub>1</sub> (?)  
 Amaseia  
*Cult*: Aither 'Αλεξανδρίας 879  
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 Amastris = Amasra  
*Cults*: Augustus 1163 Ge (?) Kypria 1140 Theos Aniketos 'Αερβασεύς 1140 Theos Hypsistos 'Εργάσιος 'Ηλιος 1163 Zeus Στρατηγός 148 — coins of 794 'Vogelfels' near 1162 f.  
 Amathous in Kypros  
*Cults*: Iupiter *Hospes* (Zeus Ζέριος) 653<sub>2</sub> Zeus Melikhios 1187  
*Rite*: human sacrifice to Iupiter *Hospes* (Zeus Ζέριος) 653<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: Cerastae 653<sub>2</sub>  
 — scarab from 807  
 Amathus, s. of Aërias 646<sub>2</sub>  
 Ambrosis the nymph, attacked by Lykourgos, is transformed into vine 1111 f. gives bowl to Ganymedes (?) 982  
 Ambrosiai Petrai 978 ff.  
 Ämen  
*Cults*: Napata 882<sub>2</sub>; Thebes in Egypt 882<sub>2</sub>  
*Function*: sky-god 882<sub>2</sub>  
*Types*: aniconic 882<sub>2</sub> enthroned bundle representing dead man in sitting posture 1077 meteorite (?) 882<sub>2</sub> *omphalos* 882<sub>2</sub>  
*Identified with Ba'al-hammân* 1076  
*Compared with Jehovah* 884<sub>2</sub>  
 Ämen-Râ  
*Function*: sun 885<sub>2</sub>
- Ämen-Râ (*cont.*)  
*Identified with Zeus* 882<sub>2</sub>, 945  
*In relation to Min* 885<sub>2</sub>, the other ram-gods Heryshef, Khnum, and the Lord of Mendes 885<sub>2</sub>  
 Ammon  
*Cult*: Oxyrynechos 1076  
*Myth*: hides Dionysos 126<sub>4</sub> (?)  
*Genealogy*: f. of Dionysos by Amaltheia 126<sub>4</sub> (?)  
*Identified with Zeus* 945  
 Ammonion 882<sub>2</sub> 1076 See Oasis of Siwah  
 Amnissos, Artemis bathes in 1032<sub>2</sub>  
 — Eleithyia, d. of Hera, born in cave at mouth of 1032<sub>2</sub> Nymphs of 1032<sub>2</sub>  
 Amon 882<sub>2</sub> 1076 See Ämen  
 Amphiareion near Oropos, excavations at 1181  
 Amphion 54  
 Amphion and Zethos (bibliography) 1185  
 Amphiphorites ('Αμφορίτης ἀγάρων) 603<sub>12</sub>  
 Amphipolis, coins of 856<sub>2</sub>  
 Amphitrite  
*Epithet*: Πορειδωνία 1047<sub>11</sub>  
*Etymology*: 124 f.  
*Associated with Poseidon* 681 958  
 Amphitryon  
*Myth*: Alkmene 506 ff.  
*Genealogy*: f. of Iphikles by Alkmene 506  
*Etymology*: 506  
 — cup of 507 507<sub>2</sub> *thalamos* of, built by Trophonios and Agamedes 507<sub>2</sub>  
 tripods dedicated by 507<sub>2</sub>  
 Amún 882<sub>2</sub>, 884<sub>2</sub>, 885<sub>2</sub> 'See Ämen'  
 Amyklai  
*Cult*: Apollon 1109 f.  
 — throne of Apollon at 220 631<sub>4</sub>, 1109 f.  
 Amyklia, relief from 1109 *stèle* from 1008  
 Amykos 145<sub>2</sub>, 177<sub>2</sub>  
 Amymone  
*Myths*: Satyr 356 Poseidon 361 369  
*Function*: fountain-nymph 357  
 Amyndridai 771<sub>4</sub>  
 Anagyrous See Vari  
 Anahita  
*Cult*: Persia 916<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 916<sub>1</sub>  
 Anaitis 1134 See also Anahita  
 Anaktes  
*Cult*: Athens 120  
*Priests*: *Anaktoteliastai* 1068  
 Ananke, spindle of 1116  
 Anaphe  
*Cult*: Apollon 'Αργειάδας 570<sub>2</sub>  
*Festivals*: Argelaina 570<sub>2</sub>; Taurophone(i)a 570<sub>2</sub>; Thoudaisia 570<sub>2</sub>  
 Anaxagoras 418<sub>2</sub>, 454 481<sub>2</sub>, 586  
 Anaximandros 949<sub>2</sub>  
 Androgeos  
*Cults*: Athens 157 Phaleron 158  
*Epithets*: Εἰρηγόης 157 f. κατὰ τρόμαν 158<sub>2</sub>  
*Genealogy*: 158<sub>2</sub>

Andros, Isaic hymn from 986

Anemoi

*Cult:* Tarentum 105 f.

See also Venti

Anemokoitai 104

Anesidora 202<sub>0</sub>

Annakos 527 f.

Anogeia, folk-tale from 1070

Anoubis

*Cults:* Delos 154 f. Egypt 48<sub>0</sub>

— oath by (?) 48<sub>0</sub>

Antaios challenges strangers to wrestling-bout 177<sub>0</sub> keeps in touch with mother-earth 1174 grave of, at Tingis 372<sub>0</sub> 440<sub>0</sub> myth of, influenced by that of Kyknos 440<sub>0</sub> (?)

Anthedon

*Cult:* Zeus Μίλιχος 1187

Anthesteria 430<sub>0</sub>

Anthousa 71<sub>4</sub>

Antimacheia

*Cult:* Zeus Τέριος 562

Antiocheia on the Orontes

*Cult:* Zeus Σωτήρ 22

*Rite:* altarch of Olympian games personates Zeus 562<sub>0</sub>

— bibliography of 1191 chalice from 972

Antiochos i of Kommagene

*Epithets:* Θεός Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανῆς 951

*Personates* Zeus Ωρομάδης 951 (?)

Antiope

*Myth:* consorts with Zeus 467 469 615<sub>3</sub>

*Type:* pendant to Danaë 469

Antipas, St 1102

Antiphilos, the painter 627<sub>0</sub>

Antisthenes 595

Antoninus Pius

*Personates* Zeus 1130

Aonia 531

Aos 512 See also Heos (Eos)

Apameia in Phrygia

*Cult:* Poseidon 22

*Festival:* Kibotoi 530 (?)

— coins of 293, 528 f. 530 named Kibotos 530

Apeliotes 130

Apelles 297

Apessa, Mt

*Cults:* Zeus Απεσσίος 1165 Zeus

Αφέσσιος 1165

Aphrodismos in Karia

*Cult:* Zeus Ηραρχός (= Augustus) 1191

— coins of 1148

Aphrodissias in Kilikia, coins of 763<sub>2</sub> (?)

Aphrodite

*Cults:* Argos 320<sub>4</sub> Askalon 154 Athens 170<sub>0</sub> 171<sub>0</sub> 722 725 f. 726 Athmonia or Athmonon 55<sub>0</sub> Mt Eryx 172 f. Gaza 553 Ioulis 269<sub>1</sub> Cape Kolias 172 Megalopolis 567<sub>0</sub> Paphos 238<sub>1</sub> 1112 1134 Samos 66<sub>2</sub> Saracens 915<sub>2</sub> Sparta 722<sub>3</sub> Thessaly 271 (?)

*Epithets:* ἀναδυομένη 297 ἐρ Ελα 66<sub>2</sub> ἐρ Καλάμοις 66<sub>2</sub> ἐρ Κύπρος 165 168

Aphrodite (cont.)

169<sub>0</sub> 171 174<sub>0</sub> 722 726 Ερέχθιος 722<sub>3</sub>

Ἐρυξίρη 175<sub>2</sub> καλή 1073 Κτήσιολλα

269<sub>1</sub> Μαχαίριτη 567<sub>0</sub> Ούρανια 55<sub>3</sub> 152<sub>0</sub>

153 f. 171<sub>0</sub> 722 Παρία 899<sub>5</sub> 1134

Χαζάρη (Χανάρη) 915<sub>2</sub> 915<sub>3</sub> 917<sub>7</sub>

*Rite:* sacrifice of heifer 171<sub>0</sub>

*Priestesses:* ιεράδονοι 177<sub>0</sub>

*Personated* by woman on ladder (?) 1118

*Myths:* springs from seed of Ouranos

274 springs from seed of Zeus 274

is borne by dolphin to Kypros 274

plants pomegranate in Kypros 817<sub>0</sub>

sleeps with Hephaistos 175<sub>2</sub> transforms

Melos the Delian into μηλέα

and Pelias into πέλεα 817<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy:* eldest of the Moirai 171<sub>0</sub>

m. of Eryx by Boutas or by Poseidon

176<sub>0</sub>

*Functions:* mountain-mother 177<sub>0</sub>

unites Sky with Earth 453 morning

dew 172 vegetation 175<sub>2</sub>

*Etymology:* 274<sub>4</sub> 275<sub>0</sub> 276<sub>0</sub>

*Attributes:* bnd 1060 dove 175<sub>2</sub> 638<sub>0</sub>

1057 doves 1112 flower 1060 mirror

94<sub>0</sub>

*Types:* acrolithic χάρανος 567<sub>0</sub> Alka-

menes 171<sub>0</sub> (?) 722<sub>3</sub> Capuan 173<sub>0</sub>

Cnidian 970 cone 650<sub>3</sub> crouching

561 Damophon 567<sub>0</sub> Doidalses 471

draped and veiled 681 draped and

flanked by two hovering Erotes 1018

draped and flanked by two winged

female figures (Nikai?) 1016 ff.

drawn by sparrows 831 drawn by

swans 831 Frējus 171<sub>0</sub> 178<sub>0</sub> (?) herm

171<sub>0</sub> 722 holding pomegranate 818<sub>0</sub> (?)

in archaic reliefs of the Twelve

Gods 1055 ff. leaning on archaic

effigy of herself 171<sub>0</sub> leaning on

pillar with tree in background 171<sub>0</sub>

Melian 171<sub>0</sub> nude 834 nude goddess

flanked by two Sirens 1016 nude

goddess pressing her breast with

dove or doves flying about her 1016

Pheidias 698 698<sub>0</sub> riding on goat

831 rising from sea 957 f. semi-

draped 698<sub>0</sub> standing with dove on

finger 638<sub>0</sub> with Eros at her shoulder

1022 with uplifted sandal 1020

stepping on to boat 137<sub>4</sub>

*Identified with* Astarte 177<sub>0</sub> (?)

*Associated with* Ares 681 Eros 170<sub>0</sub>

700 (?) 704 725 f. 746 Eryx 176<sub>0</sub>

Poseidon 675<sub>2</sub> 699 f.

*Compared with* φεγχ 747<sub>2</sub>

*In relation to* Astarte 275<sub>0(2)</sub> 276<sub>0</sub> coot

52<sub>1</sub> dove 275<sub>0(1)</sub> (?) Moirai 722

— meadow of 1064<sub>4</sub>

Aphros, forefather of Aphrodi

*Genealogy:* f. of Aphrodite by Astynome

276<sub>1</sub> s. of Kronos by Philyra 276<sub>1</sub>

Apidanos 366

Apis

*Types:* bovine bust with solar disk

- Apis (cont.)**  
 between horns and lunar crescent  
 round neck 1082 double bust (with  
 Isis) 1132
- Apollo**  
*Cult:* Rome 436.  
*Epithet:* *pastoralis* 268.  
*Type:* in Pompeian paintings of Twelve  
 Gods 1062<sub>(11)</sub>.  
 See also Apollon
- Apollodorus** the mythographer 1103 f.
- Apollon**  
*Cults:* Amyklai 1109 f. Anaphe 570<sub>2</sub>  
 Athens 725 Bulla Regia 825<sub>2</sub> Chemmis  
 983 Delos 119 984 f. Dreros 1087  
 Ephesos 1174 Gaza 553 Gryneion  
 100 Hybla 1029 Hyperboreoi 106<sub>1</sub>  
 Karthais 269<sub>2</sub> Kaulonia 830 Klarios  
 100 Korkyra 1120 Leukas 137<sub>4</sub>  
 Miletos 174<sub>2</sub> Peiraeus 1083 Selinous  
 614<sub>3</sub> Tenedos 1146 Thebes in  
 Boiotia 507<sub>2</sub> 880 Thespiai 1070 Vари  
 261 265<sub>6</sub>  
*Epithets:* Ἀγρεός 267 Ἀγνεός 1120  
 Ασηλάτας 570<sub>2</sub> Γαλάζιος (?) 880<sub>1</sub>  
 Δελφίνιος 1087 Ερυθρός (?) Ερύ-  
 φυλλός) 321<sub>0</sub> Ερωτ 261 Τεμφών 507<sub>5</sub>  
 880 Κάρπεος 996 Καρπέος 1078  
 Λατέως 1047<sub>11</sub> Λευκόπη 137<sub>4</sub> Λέκτος  
 355<sub>4</sub> Ναυάριος 1006 (?) Νόμος 265<sub>2</sub> 267  
 δάλπιοργός 630<sub>2</sub> δάλπιος 630<sub>2</sub> Ηεθαῖος (?)  
 1120 Ηέθιος 725 Σενάκεος 418<sub>6</sub> (?)  
 Φύλων (=Φύλήσιος) 474<sub>0</sub> Χαλδίος 880  
*Oracles:* Delphoi 100<sub>1</sub> Gryneion 100  
 Klarios 100  
*Rite:* sacrifice of asses 106<sub>1</sub>  
*Priestess:* the Pythia 100 (?) 1122  
*Myths:* is born in Delos 984 f. is hidden  
 by Leto in Chemmis 983 f. borrows  
*aigis* of Zeus 314<sub>3</sub> wears *aigis* 866  
 wraps *aigis* round Hektor 866  
 rescues Aineias from Diomedes 103  
 steals Delphic tripod 799<sub>1</sub> visits  
 Lesbian oracle of Orpheus 99 ff.  
 woos Thetis 742 Branchos 474<sub>0</sub>  
 Kroisos 519 f.  
*Genealogy:* a. of Zeus by Leto, and b.  
 of Artemis 744<sub>(18)</sub> a. of Dionysos by  
 Isis, and b. of Artemis 984 f. of  
 Kydon by Akakallia d. of Minos  
 414<sub>0</sub> f. of Miletos by Akakallia d. of  
 Minos 414<sub>6</sub>  
*Functions:* hail 880 sun 120<sub>6</sub> 726<sub>6</sub>  
 welfare 630<sub>5</sub>  
*Etymology:* 1135 (?) 1136  
*Attributes:* apple (?) 1136 bay-branch  
 99 bay-wreath 99 bow and arrow  
 675 hawk 1073 *kithára* and *pléktron*  
 688 684 swan 757<sub>6</sub>  
*Types:* square pillar inscribed KAPN-  
 EIOΣ 996 first wooden statue 119  
 holding double axe 1146 nude,  
 archaic, advancing to right with  
 filleted bay-branch and strung bow  
 1164 with Charites in right hand
- Apollon (cont.)**  
 1124 with hawk on head 46 Kassel  
 1155 Pheidias (?) 1155 *kitharoidés*  
 707 ff. 725 contest with Marsyas  
 659<sub>0</sub> 710 slaying Niobids 955 riding  
 on swan 831 1136 in car drawn by  
 swans 830 f. in archaic reliefs of  
 the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.  
*Identified with* Aristaios 267 f. Horos  
 984  
*Associated with* Artemis 707 958 Zeus  
 Βροτώ 1160 f. Zeus Πατρός 1174  
*Compared with* meteor 885  
*Supersedes* Dionysos 1125  
 — provenance of 1135 1137  
**Apollonia ad Rhindacum**, coins of 856<sub>0</sub>  
**Apolloniatai** 155  
**Apollonios** of Tyana greets Pheidias'  
 statue of Zeus at Olympia 961  
**Apulia**  
*Myth:* Daunus 364  
**Apulia 880**  
**Apulum**  
*Cult:* Iupiter Optimus *Bassimarus* 1140  
 Iupiter Optimus Maximus *Bassim-  
 marus* 1140  
**Aquae Albulae** 1013  
**Aquae Cutilliae**, floating island in 1012 f.  
 sacred to Victory (sc. Vacuna) 1012  
**Aquae Salsulæ**, floating island in 1015  
**Aquae Sulis**  
*Cult:* Luna 863<sub>11</sub> Sol 863<sub>11</sub> Sulis 858 ff.  
 — bronze head from 862 large pedi-  
 mental relief from 862 ff. smaller  
 pedimental reliefs from 863<sub>11</sub> some-  
 times called Aquae Solis 863  
**Aquileia** in Venetia, mosaic from 627<sub>(2)</sub>  
**Aquilo** 107 162<sub>5</sub>  
**Arabia**  
*Cult:* Arsu 1163 Hobal 334<sub>1</sub> Manāf  
 1163 Morning Star 915<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth:* Kalila and Dimna 405<sub>0</sub>  
**Arnechova** 835<sub>1</sub>  
**Arados**  
*Cult:* Dagon' 126<sub>4</sub>  
 — coins of 159<sub>0</sub>  
**Arantides**  
*Cult:* Illyrioī (?) 1184  
**Ararat**, Mt 530<sub>7</sub> 531<sub>0</sub>  
**Aratos**, the exordium of 947 953 f. 974  
 quoted by St Paul 954  
**Arcadian League**, coins of 715<sub>0</sub>  
**Arcadians** called ποσθληροι 315<sub>0</sub>  
 — claim to have seen Zeus shake the  
*aigis* 314  
**Archelaos** of Priene 37 1070  
**Archilochos** on rights and wrongs of  
 animals 949  
**Ardea** 365  
**Arelate**, stag-mummers at 1067  
**Ares**  
*Cults:* Makedonia 282<sub>4</sub> Papremis 344<sub>3</sub>  
*Epithet:* Θαιλλος (?) or Θαιλος 282<sub>4</sub>  
*Genealogy:* a. of Zeus 344<sub>3</sub> b. of Zeus  
 by Hera, and b. of Hebe and

## Ares (cont.)

*Eileithyia* 744<sub>17</sub> h. of Agraulos  
283<sub>2</sub>

*Functions*: originally more than war-god 283<sub>2</sub> (?) fire in air 235<sub>7</sub>

*Attribute*: hound 683

*Type*: in archaic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.

*Associated with Aphrodite* 681

Arethousa 515<sub>1</sub>

Argaios, Mt, as object of worship 1068 ascent of 1176 image of, as head-dress 1177 image of, in hand of Zeus 1177 small bronze eagle on pillar representing (?) 1177 small bronze eagle on stag representing (?) 1177 small bronze model of 1177

## Arge 1172

Argo 778<sub>1</sub> 779<sub>6</sub> 975

Argonauts, found Amphiphorites (*Αμφορίτης ἀγάνω*) at Aigina 603<sub>12</sub> historical element in myth of 360<sub>2</sub> sent past Planktai by Hera 975 warned of Kyaneai by Phineus 976

## Argos

*Cults*: Aphrodite 320<sub>4</sub> Athena Όχυρερε 785<sub>1</sub> Athena Σάλπιγξ 729<sub>5</sub> Demeter Πελαστήρις 417<sub>6</sub> Hellotis 1092 Hera 65 566<sub>2</sub> 1043 ff. 1085 Hera Βασιλέια 66 Hera Ελειθυα 725<sub>4</sub> Zeus Ερετός 455 Zeus Μηχαρεῖς 142<sub>6</sub> 566<sub>2</sub> Zeus Ολύπος 631 Zeus Τέτιος 563

*Epithets*: ἄνθροπος 361<sub>17</sub> 368 οὐρα... χθόνια 361 πολυδύπιος 361 368

*Festival*: Hysteria 320<sub>4</sub>

*Rites*: ἵερος γάμος 1044 ff. initiation 1046 Λεχίρραι 1044 women present veil to Hera 1046

*Myths*: Akrisios 364 Danaos and the Danaides 355 ff. irrigation by Danaos or the Danaides 361 f. Io 631 ff. Kleobis and Biton 1044 Polyneikes 563 Poseidon contends with Hera 751<sub>1</sub> Tyrsenos discovers trumpet 729<sub>3</sub>

— early kings of 67<sub>2</sub> after the peace of Nikias 62 f. Amymonian Waters at 361 archaic bronze vessel at 566<sub>2</sub> bones of Tantalos at 417<sub>6</sub> (?) bronze chamber of Danae at 455 coins of 355, 471 Hellotis at 1092 Heraion at 633<sub>6</sub> tomb of Pelasgos at 566<sub>2</sub> relief of Selene from 1085 f.

## Argos, watcher of Io

*Attribute*: bull's hide 837

*Types*: with eye on his chest 631<sub>4</sub> covered with eyes 633<sub>6</sub> wearing ox-hide cape 634<sub>1</sub> wearing panther-skin 638<sub>6</sub>

## Ariatha 1090

## Aristaios

*Cults*: Arkadia 268 Keos 267 f.

*Myths*: builds altar to Zeus *Ikmaios* 266 sacrifices to Seirios 266 saves Keos from drought 266 Sardinia 270

## Aristaios (cont.)

*Genealogy*: s. of Apollon by Kyrene and f. of Aktaios 266 f. of Charmos and Kalikarpas 270

*Functions*: culture-hero 266 f. king embodying sky-god 269

*Type*: Zeus-like head 270 f.

*Identified with Apollo Agreis and Nómios* 267 f. *Zeus* 270 *Zeus Aristaios* 267 f.

Aristoteles, false reading for Aristokles (?) 1043<sub>4</sub>

Aristotle 482 f.

## Arkadia

*Cults*: Aristaios 268 Zeus Δάκαιος 525

*Rite*: priest of Zeus Δάκαιος makes rain by stirring the spring Hagnos with oak-branch 315

Arkalochori Cave near Lyktos, perhaps the famous cave of Zeus and Rhea 1143 treasure from 1143

Arkesilaos, the sculptor 1022

Arkesine, coins of 820<sub>2</sub>

## Armenia

*Cult*: Astlik 293<sub>2</sub>

*Festival*: Vartevar 293

*Rite*: pigeons set free 293

Armenios 946

Arnouphis 325 f. 332

Arrhephoria 165 ff. 179 188 236 240 f. 602

Arrhetophoria 165; (?) 166<sub>6</sub>

Arsu 1163

Artemidos, St 269

Artemis

*Cults*: Agra 725 Athens 1181 Bithynia

992 f. Boiotia 990 Ephesos 896<sub>2</sub> 968

Gygaia Limne 989 Ioulis 269

Messene 66<sub>2</sub> Olympia 1009 Palaipolis in Korkyra 844<sub>12</sub> Patmos 986

Sardeis 1082 Sparta 1009 1030

*Epithets*: Αγροτέρα 725 Αλλειονία 671<sub>2</sub>

Αμαραντία 55<sub>2</sub> Αράρετ 899<sub>23B</sub> Αριστη

268<sub>2</sub> γυνάρχος 104 διοτροφής 34<sub>2</sub> (?)

Ελεάτη 66<sub>2</sub> Ελευθέρα 899<sub>21B</sub> Εροδία

279<sub>4</sub> Εφεσία 324<sub>2</sub> 899<sub>2</sub> 900 1133

1134 Θροσία 1083 Καλλιστη 268<sub>6</sub>

1124 1181 Κελοπηγή 989 Κορδέκα 1009

Λιγυόδεσμα 1030 f. 1031<sub>5</sub> Μουνυχία

233<sub>1</sub> Ορθία 1009 1030 1031<sub>5</sub> 1134

Παγασέτης 1083 Παρθένος 986 Παρμία

986 Περίει 565<sub>1</sub> Συλλακίτης 413<sub>9</sub>

Ταυροπόλειος 624<sub>6</sub> 636<sub>6</sub>

*Rites*: ἀρκετώσατα 1083 νέβρεια (?) 1083

παρθένεια 1008 sacrifice of she-goat in girl's clothing to Artemis Μερυχία 233<sub>1</sub>

*Priestesses*: νέβροι (?) 1083

*Myth*: is born in Delos 985

*Genealogy*: d. of Zeus by Leto, and st. of Apollon 744<sub>17</sub> d. of Dionysos by Isis, and st. of Apollon 984

*Functions*: childbirth 985 moon 726<sub>6</sub>

*Attributes*: bow 638<sub>6</sub> 725 fawn 640<sub>6</sub> fish

990 two jars 1181 torch 1181 wheel-torch 638<sub>6</sub>

## Artemis (cont.)

- Types:* cult-statue with veil 899<sub>5(2)</sub>  
 Endoios 968 hastening to greet the new-born Athena (?) 710 f. 'Columns' 710 f. riding horned doe 831 slaying Niobids 955 standing with wheel-torch and bow 638<sub>6</sub> in archaic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.  
*Identified with* Bendis 189<sub>1</sub> 233<sub>1</sub>  
 Boubastis 984 Diktyenna 189<sub>1</sub> Oupis 189<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Apollon 707 958  
*In relation to* stags 1134  
*Superseded by* St John the Evangelist 986  
 — birthday of 178<sub>6</sub> fawns of 1064<sub>1</sub>  
 two images of, on coin of Aspendos 899<sub>5(1)</sub>  
 Artemision, bronze statue fished up from sea off 1151 ff.  
 Ascension Day 1193  
 Asia  
*Etymology:* 1107  
 Asies, nephew or brother of Atys 1107  
 Asine, 'Mycenaean' finds at 1192  
 Asia  
*Cult:* Euyuk 1106 f.  
 Askalon  
*Cult:* Aphrodite Οέρασια 154  
 Asklepios  
*Cults:* Aliphera 126<sub>5</sub> Athens 775  
 Epidauros 1182 Inōni in Phrygia 1146 Nikai in Bithynia 1182 Patalin 1182 Sparta 1050<sub>4</sub>  
*Epithet:* Ἀγύρα 1030<sub>4</sub>  
*Metamorphosed into* snake 1182  
*Etymology:* 1182 (?)  
*Type:* holding serpent-staff and borne through air by winged and bearded snake 1182  
 Aspalis 283<sub>4</sub>  
 Aspasia  
*Epithet:* Τέπαρες (?) or Τεπαρροδαιμων (?) 66<sub>4</sub>  
*Personates* Hera 32<sub>5</sub> 66<sub>4</sub>  
 Aspendos, coin of 899<sub>5(1)</sub>  
 Aspis *tr.* Ἀργεια 356<sub>5</sub>  
 Assteas 511<sub>6</sub>  
 Assyria, demons of, influence Etruscan conception of Charon 1143  
 Assyrioi (= Syrioi)  
*Cult:* dove 1103  
 Astaroth, *kteis* of (?) 918<sub>3</sub>  
 Astarte  
*Cults:* Delos 152<sub>6</sub> 153 f. Sidon 1023  
 Tyre 892 f.  
*Epithet:* Παλαιστίνη 152<sub>6</sub> 153 f.  
*Myth:* finds fallen star 892 917  
*Functions:* moon 892<sub>4</sub> the planet Venus 892<sub>4</sub>  
*Type:* nude goddess 834  
*Identified with* Aphrodite 177<sub>6</sub> (?)  
*In relation to* Aphrodite 275<sub>6(2)</sub> 276<sub>6</sub>  
 — *kteis* of (?) 918<sub>3</sub>  
 Asteria, name of Delos 984 f.

## Asterie, Titaness

- Myth:* Zeus 984 f.  
*Metamorphosed into* quail 985 stone 985  
 Asterion 619, 628<sub>9</sub>  
 Asteropos 1067  
 Astlik 293<sub>2</sub>  
 Atabyrion, Mt, in Rhodes  
*Cult:* Zeus Ἄραβόπορος 1172  
 — excavations on 1172 See also Atabyros, Mt  
 Atabyros, Mt, in Rhodes, geology of 986  
 See also Atabyrion, Mt  
 Atargatis  
*Cults:* Heliopolis in Syria 1095  
 Nabataioi 1097 Palmyra 1093  
*Attribute:* lions (?) 1096  
*Types:* bust with fish-scales (?) on face and chest 1097 bust with two fishes as head-dress 1097  
 Athamas  
*Myth:* Nephele 73 f.  
 Athanasia 60<sub>5(3)</sub>  
 Athanasios, St 1187  
 Athens  
*Cults:* Aliphera 126<sub>5</sub> Argos 729<sub>5</sub> 785<sub>1</sub>  
 Athene 749 f. 827<sub>6</sub> 859<sub>1</sub> Aussee 128<sub>1</sub>  
 Boiotia 608 820<sub>1</sub> Corinth 1092  
 Crete 126<sub>4</sub> (?) Ellis 224 f. Emesa 888  
 Hephaestia in Lemnos 216<sub>1</sub> Ilion 283<sub>4</sub>  
 Korone 782 Kos 566<sub>2</sub> Mt Kynthos 1172 Lakonike 776 Libye 128<sub>1</sub> 839  
 Marathon 1092 Megalopolis 567<sub>6</sub>  
 Megara 782 f. Olympia 967 Oxyrhynchite nome 190<sub>6</sub> Peiraeus 659<sub>6</sub> 1196 Pelasgians 226 Pella 869  
 Pergamon 794 872 Plataiai 773<sub>6</sub>  
 Rhodes 355 Salamis in Kypros 653<sub>6</sub>  
 Sparta 11<sub>1</sub> 661 Syracuse 850<sub>6</sub>  
 Tanagra 567<sub>6</sub> Tegen 1141 Thespiae 1066 Thessaly 608 871<sub>1</sub> Troy 193<sub>6</sub>  
*Epithets:* ἀγλασίτης 776<sub>1</sub> ἀγλαρός 240<sub>6</sub>  
 246 Αθέναι 608<sub>4</sub> 782 f. 795 αἰλούρωφε  
 776<sub>1</sub> Ἀλέα 1141 Ἀλκιδηνος (not Αλκίς) 869 Ἀρεία 773<sub>6</sub> Ἀρχήτερις 827<sub>6</sub> Βαλενίκη 60<sub>5(4)</sub> Βία 608<sub>3</sub> Βοιωτία 608 Βούδεια 608 γλαυκώπις 193<sub>6</sub> (?) 201<sub>3</sub> 781 834 844 Γοργοεπίστος 836 (See Panagia Epithet) Γοργώπιτης 189<sub>1</sub> γοργώπιτης 844 δράκων 776<sub>1</sub> δύραμις τοῦ Διού 873<sub>6</sub> Ἐγκέλαδος 55<sub>6</sub> Ελλώτης 1092 Ἐργάνη 191<sub>8</sub> 795 967 εὐώδις 763<sub>4</sub> (?) Ζωστερία 567<sub>6</sub> Ηφαίστια 216 218 1047<sub>11</sub> θύγατερ Διὸς αἰγιώχοις 866<sub>2</sub> Ιττία 13<sub>6</sub> Ιταρία 820<sub>1</sub> 871<sub>1</sub> Κόρη 608<sub>4</sub> κούρη Διὸς αἰγιώχοις 866<sub>7</sub> Κυνίδη 1172 Λιρίδη 855 Μαχαρίς 566<sub>2</sub> Μαχαρίτης 567<sub>6</sub> Μήτηρ 225<sub>1</sub> 749 835 Μόρος 762 Νίκη 811 813 1196 Νυκηφόρος 794 δύρματος πάρητη 737<sub>8</sub> Οἰνάρηθ 184<sub>3</sub> (?) Ομολογία (at Thebes in Boiotia) 608<sub>3</sub> Οξυδερκής 785<sub>1</sub> Παλλάδη 201<sub>2</sub> 573 748<sub>3</sub> Πανδρόσος 246 Παρεία 776 Παρθένος 573 749 823 1155 Πολέμη 213 244 573<sub>4</sub> 614 721 749 758 772<sub>4</sub> 813 Πολυούχος 771

## Athena (cont.)

Πορεία 727<sub>3</sub> Πρόσωπα 727<sub>3</sub> Σάλπιγξ  
729<sub>3</sub> Σώματα 659<sub>0</sub> 1196 Τρητογένεσια  
123<sub>8</sub> 719<sub>1</sub> 726 Τρητογένεσις 123<sub>8</sub>  
Τριτωνίς 126<sub>0</sub> 726 Τύγια 614<sub>5</sub> 775  
859<sub>1</sub> φιλέσθεος 776<sub>1</sub> Χαλκικός 11<sub>1</sub>  
661

*Festivals:* Athenaias 212<sub>1</sub>. Chalkeia  
211 ff. Panathenaias 720 Plynteria  
224<sub>3</sub> 749 Tritomenis 719<sub>4</sub>

*Rites:* annual fight of maidens among  
Ausees 128<sub>1</sub>; annual washing of  
Argive image in Inachos 224<sub>3</sub> 749  
bull-hanging at Ilion 283<sub>4</sub> λέπος  
γύμνος 224<sub>3</sub> liturgy of Pallas' snake  
775 περιλός woven at Chalkeia 212  
priestess with *aigis* visits newly  
married couple 225<sub>2</sub>; sacrifice of ox  
782<sub>4</sub>; sacrifice of ram 782<sub>4</sub>; sacrifice  
of sow 225<sub>1</sub>

*Priestesses:* Ἀρρηφόροις 165 ff. 212 Auge  
823 drawn from Bourygai 609

*Personated by* fairest virgin of Ausees  
128<sub>1</sub> priestess 225<sub>2</sub>

*Myths:* birth from head of Zeus 477  
657 ff. 737 744 birth at Athens 720  
birth in Crete from cloud cleft by  
Zeus 727 birth beside river Triton  
125 743<sub>0</sub> is woed by Hephaistos  
218 ff. 236 274 734 slays the monster  
Aigis and uses its skin as breastplate  
839 slays the Gorgon and wears its  
skin 844 flays Pallas the Giant, who  
had attempted to violate her, and wears  
his skin and wings 842 adorns  
woman 201 at Ikonion makes images  
of clay 528 brings Kekrops to Megara  
783 809 f. (?) entrusts Erichthonios  
to the Kekropides 238 ff. carries  
Lykabettos 238 plants olive-tree at  
Athens 750 f. contest with Gorgon  
about beauty 850<sub>0</sub> contest with  
Poseidon about Athens 750 ff. contest  
with Poseidon about Trozen 751<sub>1</sub>  
gives *péplos* to Herakles 1186 helps  
Herakles in rape of Delphic tripod  
799<sub>1</sub> helps Herakles against Hydra  
797 cuts spear for Peleus 209<sub>2</sub>  
superintends building of Argo 778<sub>1</sub>  
779<sub>0</sub> nurses Bakchos or Iakehos  
225<sub>1</sub> would bestow immortality on  
Tydeus 60<sub>5,6</sub>

*Genealogy:* d. of Bronteas 60<sub>5,6</sub> d. of  
Pallas the Giant by Titanis d. of  
Okeanos 842 d. of Poseidon by lake  
Tritonis 216 d. of Poseidon by lake  
Tritonis, later adopted by Zeus 128<sub>1</sub>

*Functions:* goddess of the Akropolis at  
Athens 189 837 originally Pelasgian  
mountain-mother in Asia Minor 236  
736 831 originally mother-goddess,  
later virgin 737 749 originally wife  
of Hephaistos 200 223 736 867  
mountain-mother 224 246 729<sub>2</sub> 748  
831 866 earth-goddess 200<sub>0</sub> 246

## Athena (cont.)

pottery 191<sub>8</sub> arts and crafts 201  
women's handiwork 795 nurse of  
children 225<sub>1</sub>; wisdom 726 727<sub>3</sub> 728  
aithér 726<sub>8</sub> 727 728 clouds 729 dawn  
728 (?) morning twilight 728 (?)  
earthquake 3<sub>0</sub> keeper of the thunder-  
bolt 867 second self of Zeus 872 f.  
sneeze of Zeus 662<sub>1</sub> (?) 732 (?)

*Etymology:* 60<sub>5,6</sub> 191<sub>8</sub> 726 727 727<sub>3</sub>  
728 839<sub>2</sub> (?)

*Attributes:* *aigis* 837 ff. 866 f. chariot  
drawn by four winged horses 807  
double axe 190<sub>6</sub> *Gorgoneion* 837 ff.  
Gorgon-shield 39 helmet 811 ff.  
winged helmet 820<sub>2</sub> olive-tree 190  
749 ff. owl 190 558 776 ff. pillar 190  
763<sub>2</sub> pomegranate 811 ff. snakes  
189 f. 764 ff.

*Types:* primitive pre-warlike 189<sub>1</sub>  
advancing to left with thunderbolt  
and Gorgon-shield 868 f. 871 f.  
advancing to right with thunderbolt  
and Gorgon-shield 869 advancing  
to right with spear and shield 869 ff.  
advancing with uplifted lance 573  
Albani 837<sub>9</sub> 857 archaic 225<sub>1</sub> 837<sub>9</sub>  
868 ff. in archaic reliefs of the  
Twelve Gods 1055 ff. bearing dead  
warrior across sea 809 f. bearing  
infant on her arm 218 806 bearing  
snake in basket 218 Bronze Athena  
by Pheidias 225<sub>1</sub> 862 Cassel 837<sub>8</sub>  
858 clay vessel as fetish and symbol  
191<sub>8</sub> cock with human face wearing  
skin of cock's head as helmet 804  
cult-statue in Erechtheion 574<sub>9</sub> cult-  
statue in Peisistratid Hekatompedon  
574<sub>6</sub> Elgin statuette 880 emergent  
from head of Zeus 662 f. 668 ff.  
exhibiting olive-plant 755 762 f.  
fighting on Ionic column 1006  
fulminant 793<sub>2</sub> 868 ff. grouped with  
Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion  
213 ff. gull 783 hastening to right in  
full armour 659 694 ff. hawk 781  
holding corn-ears 607 holding crow  
782 782<sub>3</sub> holding double axe 867<sub>3</sub>  
holding helmet in hand 686 687  
human-headed bird wearing helmet  
801 in chariot drawn by two owls  
830 in chariot drawn by two snakes  
769 f. 831 kite or shearwater 781  
Lancorónski relief 830 Lansdowne  
relief 779<sub>0</sub> 'Leonia' 211 216<sub>1</sub> 858  
Lenormant 773<sub>6</sub> letting owl fly 830  
nude (?) 868<sub>2</sub> ornithomorphic pass-  
ing into anthropomorphic 794 or-  
nithomorphic, semi-ornithomorphic,  
anthropomorphic in combination  
799 799<sub>1</sub> ὄφετερθος 225<sub>1</sub> owl  
781 784 ff. 837 owl as spinner 795 owl  
with human helmeted head 801 ff.  
'Palladion' 573<sub>4</sub> 609 1006 *Parthénos*  
211 868<sub>3</sub> 933 *Parthénos* with olive

Athena (*cont.*)

instead of pillar 783<sub>2</sub> Pheidias 933  
(See also Bronze Athena, Lansdowne relief, 'Lemnia', Lenormant, *Parthénos*, Varvakeion) pigeon 781 pursued by Hephaistos 220 f. rising from head of Zeus 612 669 673 ff. 688 seated and weaponless 574 seated beside Hephaistos 205 seated beside olive 763<sub>2</sub> seated beside Zeus 1049, seated with *phidie*, helmet, spear, and snake 614 seated with pomegranate in right hand and helmet in left 811 ff. setting foot on chariot 807 snake 776(?) 837(?) standing before Zeus 663 686 ff. standing beside olive 763<sub>2</sub> standing on knees of Zeus 663 681 ff. standing to left with owl in right hand and spear in left 827 standing to right with owl in left hand and *phidie* in right 827 standing to right with owl in right hand and spear in left 830 standing with lance at rest 573 swallow 782 Varvakeion 773, 837<sub>2</sub> 858 vulture 781 wearing helmet with features of Sokrates, Silenos, etc. 804 winged 88<sub>2</sub> 225, 785 804 ff. winged and advancing to right with brandished thunderbolt and outstretched *aigis* 820 871 winged and armed on Graeco-Roman gems 822 winged and flying to left with helmet, spear, and shield 821 winged and standing *en face* between two owls 823 winged and standing to left carries Nike on right hand and holds shield and spear with left 820 f. winged and standing to left crowns the king's name with raised right hand and holds shield with lowered left 820 winged and wingless on same vase 809 811 with cock on helmet 46<sub>4</sub> with glaucous eyes 216 with owl on head 46

*Identified with Basileia* 60<sub>5,6</sub> Gorgon 189<sub>1</sub>

*Assimilated to Aphrodite* 225<sub>1</sub>

*Associated with Hephaistos* 200 ff. 736 Herakles 958 Zeus 872 f. Zeus Maxareis 566<sub>2</sub> 567<sub>2</sub>

*Compared with Cretan snake-goddess* 189 f. 225 f. meteor 885

*In relation to Erechtheus* 190 758 Gorgon 836 Nike 811 olive-tree 763 f. owl 781 784<sub>1</sub> 789 791 snake 770

*Superseded* Demeter 607 f. Ge 188

*Superseded by Panagia Γεργυεπήκοος* 189<sub>1</sub>

— birthday of 719 f. five Athenas 842<sub>4</sub> honoured by Peisistratos and his successors 188<sub>3</sub> motherhood of, passes into maidenhood 224

Athene, early name of Athens 224 748

## Athena 969

## Athens

*Cults:* Agnoston Theos 1162 Anaktes 120 Androgeos 157 Aphrodite 725 f. Aphrodite ἡ Κύπρισσα 165 168 726 Aphrodite Οὐρανία 171<sub>2</sub> 722 Apollon Ηλίος 725 Artemis Καλλιστην 1181 Asklepios 775 Athena Ἀρχήγετις 827 Athena Νίκη 811 ff. 1196 Athena Πολιάριδη 244 573<sub>4</sub> 614 721 749 758 Athena Τύχεια 775 859<sub>1</sub> Basileia or Basileia 60<sub>5,6</sub> Blaute 177, Eros and Aphrodite 170<sub>2</sub> Demeter 990 f. Demeter Χλόη 177 Dionyssos 604<sub>2</sub> Dionyssos Ελευθερία 574 Eleithyia 588, Eros 725 f. Eumenides 189<sub>1</sub> Ge Θεία 168 Ge Καρποφόρος 242 601<sub>2</sub> Ge Κορυφοφόρος 177<sub>1</sub> 244 Ge Ολυμπία 169<sub>2</sub> Hephaistos 211 ff. 226 f. 721 Hera 66<sub>2</sub> 725 Hermes 725 Hermes Χθόνιος 604<sub>2</sub> Heros ὁ ἐπί βλαστρύ 177<sub>1</sub> Isis 588; Kekrops 771 Kronos and Rhea 169<sub>2</sub> Men 308 f. Meter 67<sub>2</sub> Moirai 721 Nike Αὔγετος 811 Nymphs 308 f. Pan 308 f. Panagia Γεργυεπήκοος 189<sub>1</sub> 588 Pandrosos 243 f. Poseidon 721 Poseidon Πανόκροτος 11<sub>2</sub> Poseidon Ελάτη 9, Sarapis 588, Tritopatores 113 ff. Zeus 1196 Zeus Ελευθέριος 212<sub>2</sub> 1186 Zeus Ερακτειος 243 749 Zeus Ήραιος 1047 Zeus Κάρμος 569<sub>2</sub> Zeus Μουραγέτης 721<sub>4</sub> Zeus Όλυμπιος 804<sub>2</sub> Zeus Πάιδεων 212<sub>2</sub> Zeus Πολιάριδη 317 570 ff. 720 f. Zeus Σειρήν 576<sub>2</sub> 1184 Zeus Τύχετος 939<sub>4</sub> Zeus Φίλος 1189

*Festivals:* Anthesteria 430<sub>2</sub> Arrhephoria 165 ff. Balletys 612<sub>2</sub> 1194 Bouphonia (See *Rites: βουφόνια*) Choes 1105 Chytroi 604<sub>2</sub> Deipnophoria 241<sub>2</sub> 246<sub>2</sub> Diasia 1194 Diisoteria 575<sub>2</sub> Dipolieia 317 574 ff. 656 f. Genesis 1105 Haloia 815<sub>2</sub> 1105 Hephaistia 213 Hieros Gamos 1047 Hydrophoria 603 f. Niketeria 754<sub>2</sub> Oschophoria 241<sub>2</sub> Theogamia 1047 Thesmophoria 815<sub>2</sub> 1030 f.

*Rites:* δρόσος Βουφίγματος 606 βουφόνια 570 576 ff. 873 bridal bath from Kallirrhoe (Enneakrounos) 370 ff. bull-carrying 1091 communion of worshippers devouring sacred flesh 606 ἐπὶ σῶματος φέρεσθαι καλάθιον (r.l. καλάθω) εἰς τιμὴν τῆς Δημητρος 990 f. pitchers placed over tombs of the unmarried 372 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Ήραιος 1047 women celebrating Thesmophoria called μελισσαῖς 1083 women celebrating Thesmophoria lie on bed of willows 103

*Priestesses:* Ερρηφόροι 166 261 Λουτρίδες 749

*Myths:* birth of Athena 720 Bouzyges

- Athens (*cont.*)  
 606 ff. contest of Poseidon with Athena 750 ff.  
*In relation to Megara* 783,  
 — Aglantrion at 169<sub>0</sub> 242 f. Asklepieion at 775 1189 Boulypon at 597 bronze double axe with incised man, water-fowl, horse, and wheel found near 1145 f. Christianised Parthenon at 588<sub>1</sub> sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite at 170<sub>0</sub> coins of 187<sub>2</sub> 254 f. 485<sub>12</sub> 569<sub>2</sub> 570 ff. 694 695<sub>1</sub> 713 725; 754 f. 755 f. 775 779<sub>2</sub> 788 f. 794 801 (?) 812 827 830 855<sub>1</sub> 871 897 f. 1194 court ἐψιλία Ηαλλαδίφια at 609 Διός φύφος at 600<sub>14</sub> Dioterion at 576<sub>1</sub> Enneakrounos at 370<sub>5</sub> Erechtheion at 213 574<sub>0</sub> 721 725 737 749 f. 758 f. 867 Hekatompedon at 574<sub>0</sub> 768 f. Hephaisteion at 213 ff. 223 701 Kallirrhoe at 370<sub>3</sub> Kekropion at 771 Nike-balustrade at 706<sub>2</sub> 819 Nike-bastion at 813 1196 Nike-temple (eastern frieze) at 581<sub>0</sub> 755<sub>2</sub> olives as life-trees of 187<sub>2</sub> 760 olive-tree on the Akropolis at 187<sub>2</sub> 749 ff. Olympieion at 725 Pandroseion at 243 260 749 f. Parthenon at (See Parthenon) Propylaea at 775 1186 Python at 725 sepulchral *stelai* etc. from 373 380 382 386 snakes in painted πόροι from pediment at 767 ff. *Stoà Basileios* at 216 1185 1186 (description and history) *Stoà Basileios* identified with *Stoà* of Zeus *Eleuthérios* at 1186 stratification of cults on Akropolis at 736 'Theseion' at 223<sub>4</sub> 'Tower of the Winds' at 129 f. town-arms of 785 ff.
- Athmonia or Athmonon  
*Cult:* (Aphrodite) Οὐρανία 55<sub>5</sub>
- Athos, Mt  
*Epithets:* Ἀγιος Ὅρος 748<sub>3</sub> δαιμόνιος (voc.) 748<sub>3</sub>  
*Personified as a giant* 748<sub>4</sub>  
 — *Macrobius* dwell on 748<sub>3</sub> shadow of, touches Lemnian cow 1102
- Atlantis  
*Cult:* Poseidon 283<sub>4</sub> 1184  
*Rite:* bull sacrificed to Poseidon on pillar 283<sub>4</sub>  
 — brass pillar inscribed with laws in 1184
- Atlas  
*Epithet:* δλούφων 1103  
*Myths:* Herakles 956 at Polos 417<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy:* s. of Ouranos by Ge 887  
*Function:* supports sky 1064  
*Etymology:* 417<sub>0</sub>  
*Types:* bearing πόλεις 417<sub>0</sub> bearing Aion in zodiacal ring 1128  
 — pillars of 1115
- Atreus  
*Myth:* golden lamb 1080
- Atropos 717
- Attes 874 See also Attis
- Attike  
*Cults:* Zeus 1196 Zeus Τέτρος 319, 563
- Attis  
*Cults:* Ephesos 1174 Peiraeus 1192  
*Epithets:* Τητ (Τητή) 874<sub>11</sub> χλωρόποτος ῥάρχος ἀμυθεῖς 300(1)  
*Function:* rain 874
- Etymology: 952  
*Attribute:* pomegranates 815<sub>0</sub>  
*Types:* recumbent 1128 triumphant 1127 f.  
*Associated with* Agdistis 1192 Kybele 1174 Kybele and Zeus 1174
- In relation to Christianity 952 Kybele 952  
 — as doublet of Agdistis 1174 as pig (?) 874<sub>15</sub>
- Atys  
*Cult:* Smyrna 22  
*Genealogy:* uncle or brother of Asies 1107
- Ange 823 823<sub>3</sub>
- Augustus  
*Cults:* Amastris 1163 Aphrodisias in Karia 1191 Dorylaeum 1191 Per-gamon 1191  
*Epithet:* ὁ ἰταρπάνος θεὸς Σεβαστός = divus Augustus 1163  
*Priests:* ἀρχιεπίσκοποι 1163 1191 *perpetuus sacerdos* 1163  
*Personates* Zeus Παρρήσιος 1125 1191 — complete deification of, reached through three stages (hero, demigod, god) 1191
- Anius, head of, dug up on Capitol 441
- Aura 225<sub>1</sub>
- Auramazda 1112
- Aurelian, solar monotheism of 945 cp. 907
- Aurora 73
- Aurva 95<sub>2</sub>(1)
- Ausees  
*Cult:* Athena 128<sub>1</sub>
- Autarintai 502<sub>2</sub>
- Auxesia 612<sub>0</sub>
- Avenches See Aventicum
- Aventicum, bronze statuette from 827
- Axieros 1070 1128 f.
- Axiokersa 1070 1128
- Axiokersos 1070 1128 f.
- Baal (Baal, Bel)  
*Cults:* Palmyra 1158 Ras Shamra 1156  
*Function:* cosmic power 1159  
*Type:* brandishes club in right hand and holds stylised thunderbolt in left 1156  
*Associated with* Iaribol and Aglibol 1158 f.
- Ba'albek See Heliopolis in Syria
- Ba'al-hammān  
*Identified with* Amon 1076 Zeus 945
- Ba'al-samin  
*Identified with* Zeus 945 1095  
 — solar eagle of 982

- Baal Zaphon  
*Identified with Zeus Kástor in Syria and Egypt* 1177
- Babylonia  
*Cults*: 'Breakers of Heaven and Earth' 483 'the fettered god' 483 484; Ishum 889  
*Myth*: tree of life and tree of the gate of heaven 1136
- Bacis, the bull of Hermonthis, bibliography of 1082 See also Bakha, Bouchis
- Baganda, kings of, have lion as totem 957<sub>2</sub>
- Baitylas, s. of Ouranos by Ge 887 891
- Bakchos  
*Cult*: Halikarnassos 558  
*Epithet*: Οὐρανίος 558 560<sub>2</sub>  
*Function*: rain 558  
*Etymology*: 953<sub>2</sub>
- Bakha, the bull of Hermonthis 953<sub>2</sub> See also Bacis, Bouchis
- Baki(s)  
*Cult*: Lydia 1082  
*Identified with Dionysos* 1082
- Baktriane, coins of 532 ff. 540 871 f.
- Balletys 612<sub>2</sub> 1194
- Balor 933<sub>2</sub>
- Barbara, St 472<sub>3</sub>
- Baros See Embaros
- Basile 66<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Basile or Basileia  
*Cult*: Athens 60<sub>5(1)</sub>  
*Function*: 'Queen' of Heaven, or of Underworld (?) 60<sub>5(1)</sub>  
 Basileia as Athanasia (?) 60<sub>5(1)</sub> as Athena (?) 60<sub>5(1)</sub> as Basile (?) 60<sub>5(1)</sub> as bride of Pisthetairos 57 ff. as Hera Basileia 61 as an imaginary goddess recalling the Basilissa and Hera 60<sub>5(1)</sub> as Kore (?) 60<sub>5(1)</sub> as Meter (?) 67<sub>2</sub> as Orphic Dike (?) 950<sub>4</sub> as d. of Ouranos by Titaia (Ge) and st. of Rhea (Pandora), who brought up the Titans, was called Megale Meter, and became by her b. Hyperion the m. of Helios and Selene (?) 60<sub>5(1)</sub> as personification of Royalty (?) 60<sub>5(1)</sub> as d. of Zeus (?) 60<sub>5(1)</sub>
- Basques  
*Rites*: corrida 1090 Toro de Fuego 1090
- Bath See Aquae Sulis
- Bathykles 220 f.
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*Myths*: birth of Apollon 984 f. birth of Artemis 985 Hyperoche and Laodike 1172 Opis and Arge 1172  
*Etymology*: 985 (?)  
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*Priest*: Φαιδωνής 967<sub>1</sub>  
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*Personated by priestess* 301<sub>2</sub>(3)  
*Myths*: consorts with Zeus 301<sub>2</sub>(3) 615<sub>2</sub> 744<sub>1(2)</sub> Demophon 609 611<sub>2</sub> Iasion 75 ff.  
*Genealogy*: m. of Kore 562<sub>2</sub> m. of Persephone by Zeus 744<sub>1(2)</sub>  
*Functions*: earth 726<sub>2</sub> agriculture 527 provides food for man and beast 453 birth-goddess 673 ff.  
*Etymology*: 1127  
*Attributes*: corn-ears 1060 poppies 1060 sceptre 1060 torch 712  
*Types*: Damophon 712 helping Zeus in labour 673 ff. in archaic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. seated with corn-ears and sceptre 12<sub>2</sub>  
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*Epithet*: Βρυμώ 301<sub>2</sub>(3)  
*Myth*: consorts with Zeus 301<sub>2</sub>(3), 615<sub>2</sub>  
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- Deukalion**  
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- Devil**  
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— *phallus* of 1078
- Dia** See Hebe
- Dia**, the festival 320<sub>1</sub>
- Diana**  
*Epithet*: *Laodicia* (?) a blundered allusion to the cult at *Aricia* (*supra* i. 282<sub>1</sub>, 282<sub>3</sub>, ii. 147, 420<sub>2</sub>) 903<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: *daemonium meridianum* 1130  
*Attributes*: bow and arrows 1062<sub>2</sub>(*1f.*) crown 1062<sub>2</sub>(*1D*) fawn 1062<sub>2</sub>(*1D*) sceptre 1062<sub>2</sub>(*1D*) spear 1062<sub>2</sub>(*1*)  
*Types*: pillar with crown-shaped top 1119 f. in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2</sub>(*1t.*)  
*Superseded by* St Christina (?) 1013  
— couch of 1044<sub>1</sub> name of, still survives as *Jana*, *Janara*, *Janassana*, etc. with a male counterpart *Diano*, *Dianu*, or the like 1130
- Diasia** 320<sub>4</sub> 1194
- Diaskourai** or **Dias Kourai** 664<sub>0</sub> (?)
- Didyma** near Miletos  
*Cults*: Zeus Σωτήρ 563 Zeus Τέριος 563  
*Rite*: *Boycia* 563
- Dipolieia** 575<sub>4</sub> 596 See Dipolieia
- Dipolia** 320<sub>4</sub> 575<sub>0</sub> 593 See Dipolieia
- Dipolieia** 179 575<sub>2</sub> See Dipolieia
- Diisoteria** 575<sub>9</sub>
- Dike**  
*Epithets*: ἀγλαόμερφος 950<sub>4</sub> πανδερκής 950<sub>4</sub>  
*Genealogy*: d. of Zeus by Themis 823  
*Function*: *páredros* of Zeus 949 f.  
*Type*: guarding Peirithoos 402  
*Identified with* Basileia 950<sub>4</sub> (?) Parthenos 823 Zeus 951  
*In relation to* Zeus 949 f.
- Diktyna**  
*Cult*: Crete 189<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Artemis 189<sub>1</sub>
- Diktys**, s. of Peristhenes 455
- Dinos** 163
- Diodorus**, sources of, for things Cretan 1032<sub>3</sub>
- Diogenes** of Apollonia 276<sub>2</sub>
- Diogenes** the Babylonian 726 f.
- Diokaisareia** in Kilikia See Olba
- Diomedes**  
*Rite*: human sacrifice at Salamis in Kypros 653<sub>0</sub>  
— shield of 224<sub>3</sub>
- Diomeia**, Attic deme  
*Cult*: Herakles 594 724  
*Festival*: Diomeia 594  
*Myth*: Diomos 594
- Diomeia**, the festival 594
- Diomos** 593 ff.  
*Myths*: first to kill ox 589 593 661<sub>3</sub> 1194 founds Kynosarges 594  
*Etymology*: 594<sub>0</sub> 595<sub>0</sub>
- Dion Chrysostomos**, describes Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia 961 ff. 974 enters a plea for idolatry 963;
- Dion in Makedonia**  
*Cult*: Zeus Όλμειος 1068
- Dione** in repose identified with Mt Emerita 1173
- Dionysios**, St 294
- Dionysos**  
*Cults*: Athens 574 Chios 599<sub>(1D)</sub> Ephesos 422<sub>0</sub> Kos 413<sub>0</sub> Krastonis 1118 Lakonike 94<sub>2</sub> Samos 1030<sub>3</sub> Tenedos 599<sub>(1D)</sub> Thebes in Boiotia 1103 Thracio-Phrygians 574  
*Epithets*: Αὐθρωπορραιστής 599<sub>(1D)</sub> βαχχάωντις 94<sub>2</sub> Βαυαρεύς 94<sub>2</sub> Βρόμος 1161 Δερδρίτης 753<sub>2</sub> Δημοσελήτης 212<sub>2</sub> δίγονος 1105 δινοραμβογενής 1105 Διογενής 1105 Διός φῶς 80<sub>2</sub>(*1D*) 685<sub>2</sub> Ειραφώτης 83<sub>4</sub>(*1D*) 94<sub>2</sub> Ελεινθερέας 574 Έλεγεύς 1030<sub>3</sub> Ένάφιος 99<sub>0</sub> Έριφος 94<sub>2</sub> Εὗνος 1103 Ήρικενίος 515<sub>0</sub> (ep. 64<sub>0</sub> 1179) Ήρωα (?) 1160 Μελάνιαρχος 857 1105 Παιγκράτιος 422<sub>0</sub> Περικελεῖος 351<sub>4</sub> πολυγυνής 1103 πυργενής 1118 ρηβέχων 4<sub>0</sub> Σεμέλεας 1105 Σεμεληγενέτης 1105 Σκυλλίτης 413<sub>0</sub> 414<sub>0</sub> 416<sub>0</sub> Θυονεύς 1047<sub>11</sub> Τῆτης 500 874 Παδιός 599<sub>(1D)</sub>  
*Rites*: at Cythroi 604<sub>2</sub> δινοραμβος 1104 f. marriage with Basileia 61<sub>0</sub> 1105  
*Worshippers*: human δαφοι 1104  
*Myths*: simulated birth from Zeus 89<sub>1</sub> 737 Zeus rains ambrosia at his birth 477 500 gives Bakchos or Iakchos to Athena as nurse 225, brings Hephaistos to Olympos 1106 attacked by Lykourgos, s. of Dryas 228<sub>2</sub> beats Pallene in wrestling-match 522<sub>0</sub> Tyrrhenian pirates 1031<sub>4</sub> pomegranates spring from his blood 815<sub>0</sub>  
*Metamorphosed into* kid 1104  
*Genealogy*: s. of Ammon by Amaltheia 126<sub>4</sub>(?) νιὸς Στρυμίον 1114 f. by Isis of Apollon and Artemis 984  
*Functions*: earthquake 4<sub>0</sub> life-giver 515<sub>0</sub> life-god of Thracians 953<sub>4</sub> rain 874  
*Etymology*: 83<sub>4</sub>(*1D*)  
*Attributes*: bullae 88<sub>0</sub> ivy-wreath 675 685<sub>2</sub> κδνθαρος 675 685<sub>2</sub> 996 1053<sub>(1D)</sub> 1109 nártex 88<sub>0</sub> 996 οερίς 1060

- Dionysos (*cont.*)  
 panther 757, panther-skin 713, 721  
*pedum* 88<sub>1(2)</sub> torches 685, vine-staff  
 1053<sub>1(2)</sub>, vine-stem 685, vine-wreath  
 681
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 masks 1103 herm on Ionic column  
 1006 double bust 1132 emerging  
 from thigh of Zeus 80<sub>2(3)</sub> 686  
 standing on knees of Zeus 685<sub>2</sub>  
 infant 88<sub>1</sub> 685<sub>2</sub> infant riding on  
 goat 1109 riding on bull 831 in  
 chariot drawn by two griffins 842<sub>2</sub>  
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- Identified with Bakis (?)* 1082 cut corn  
 302<sub>6(10)</sub> Dousares 911 f. Zeus 1126
- Associated with Demeter* 302<sub>9(10)</sub> Helene  
 1083 (?)
- In relation to bull* 94<sub>2</sub> fox 94<sub>2</sub> goat 94<sub>2</sub>  
 Helios 718,
- Superseded by Apollon* 1125  
 — points of contact between Diony-  
 sian and Christian practice 953
- Dionan 620<sub>9(?)</sub>
- Diores 110
- Dios, the Thracian Zeus  
*Cult:* Thraco-Phrygians 952  
*Epithet:* Νῦστ 952
- Dios Chorion  
*Cult:* Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 22
- Dios Hieron in Lydia, coin of 1117
- Dioskourides, the gem-engraver 641<sub>0</sub>
- Dioskouroi  
*Attributes:* caps with stars 542
- Dios Phoo 80<sub>3(2)</sub> 685<sub>2</sub>
- Diospolia 575, See Dipoliea
- Diospolis 515<sub>2</sub> See Laodikeia on the Lykos
- Diotima 315<sub>4</sub> 746 1189
- Diounisia 1125 f.
- Dipoliea 575<sub>2</sub> See Dipoliea
- Dipolia 575<sub>3</sub> See Dipoliea
- Dipoliea  
 317 574 ff. myths of the (Diomos)  
 593 ff. myths of the (Sopatros)  
 590 ff. myths of the (Thaulon) 596 ff.  
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 the 577 ff. 656 f. 662 669 f. 719 733  
 737 873 1194
- Dis  
*Cult:* Rome 904<sub>2</sub> 1115  
*Epithet:* Pater 432<sub>1</sub> 904<sub>2</sub>  
*Rite:* human sacrifice commuted 433<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with Proserpina* 432<sub>1</sub>
- Di-Sandas (?) 1097
- Dithyrambos  
*Etymology:* 1104 f.
- Dius  
*Epithet:* Fidius 946  
*Functions:* lightning 946 protector of  
 pledges 946
- Diurna 1112 f. See Inturna
- Dodo 289<sub>2</sub>
- Dodola, in the rain-magic of the Balkans  
 288 f. variations of her name 288  
*Etymology of her name* 289<sub>2</sub>
- Dodona  
*Rites:* priests go with unwashed feet  
 1168 priests sleep on ground 1034<sub>1</sub>  
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- Priests:* Ἐλλοι 1092 Σελλοι 1034<sub>1</sub>  
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- Etymology:* 289<sub>2</sub>  
 — bronze statuettes of Zeus (?) from  
 1078 1192 recent excavations at  
 1131
- Doias 1196
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- Dois, clipped form of Domater 289<sub>2</sub>  
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*Personates* Zeus 37<sub>6</sub>  
 — a devotee of Minerva 872 claims  
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- Domouzi (later Tamouz) 1125
- Donar  
*Identified with Volcanus (?)* 210  
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*Festival:* Thanalia 282<sub>1</sub>  
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*Cult:* Zeus Παρηγός (=Augustus) 1191  
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- Doto 129
- Dousares  
*Cults:* Elousa 915 Nabataioi 907 ff.  
 Petra 914 ff.  
*Epithet:* Αριγέρος 911<sub>2</sub> 912
- Rite:* libation of vietums' blood 907
- Priest:* ιερέβ 911<sub>2</sub>
- Genealogy:* s. of Chaamoū 914 f.
- Functions:* solar (?) 912 viticulture (?)  
 911 f.
- Etymology:* 911 915<sub>1</sub>
- Types:* black stone, square and un-  
 shapen, set on base of wrought  
 gold 907 hemispherical stone on  
 cubical base 907 meteorite (?) 917  
 triad of stones surmounted by flat  
 disks (?shew-bread) and set on plinth  
 908
- Identified with Dionysos* 911 f. Zeus  
 Ammon (?) 912<sub>4</sub> Zeus Epikárprios (?)  
 912
- misspelt Οεώς Απός and mis-  
 interpreted θεώς Απός 907 911
- Drac, water-spirit of Languedoc 446<sub>4</sub>
- Draco 489
- Drakanon  
*Myth:* birth of Dionysos 83<sub>4(1)</sub>
- Drekanon 83<sub>4(1)</sub>
- Drepanon 83<sub>4(1)</sub>
- Dreros  
*Cult:* Apollon Δελφίων 1087  
 — altar of horns at 1087 bronze  
 Gorgoneion from 848<sub>2</sub> inscribed  
 tapering stone from 1183 f.

- Druses  
*Rite*: cakes etc. passed through wooden calf 1092
- Dryas, s. of Lykourgos king of Edonoi 426<sub>4</sub>
- Dryas, suitor for hand of Pallene  
*Myth*: 522 f.  
*Compared with* Idas 1072
- Dryousa, name of Samos 1027<sub>1</sub>
- Dura-Europos  
*Cults*: Hestia (?) 1163 Zeus Βέρνος 890 f. Zeus Θεός 1095 Zeus Κύπρος 1095 Zeus Μέγας 1163
- Dvita 545 cp. 546<sub>1</sub>  
Dyaus 531 1134
- Easter Island  
*Rite*: Tangata-Manu ('Man-Bird') 1137
- Ebora Cerialis, coins of 1074
- Echidna 410<sub>0</sub>
- Edonoi 426<sub>4</sub>
- Edition 77<sub>4</sub>
- Egeria 433<sub>0</sub>
- Egypt  
*Cults*: Anoubis 48<sub>0</sub>, *H.A.* of the Double Axe 351 Heh 914<sub>0</sub> Isis 302<sub>0(1)</sub> Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 1130  
*Festival*: Neiloia 344<sub>1</sub>  
*Rite*: sacrifice of strangers to Zeus 653<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: Bousiris 653<sub>0</sub> Kanobos (Kanopos) 339 f.  
— floating islands in marshes of 987 invaded by Mediterranean peoples 1077 f. (bibliography) regulations for the guild of Zeus Ἑγγαῖτος in 1163 f. supposed influence of, on Eleusinian mysteries 302<sub>0(5t.)</sub>
- Eileithyia 679<sub>0</sub> See Eileithyia
- Eileithyia  
*Cults*: Agra 724 Agrai 168 Aigion 663<sub>2</sub> Athens 588<sub>1</sub> Pelasgians 679<sub>0</sub> Pyrgoi 679<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithet*: Εἴκολην 724<sub>1</sub>(?)  
*Priestesses*: Ερωτφόροι 168  
*Genealogy*: d. of Hera 711 725 1032<sub>2</sub> d. of Zeus by Hera, and st. of Hebe and Ares 744<sub>1(?)</sub>  
*Function*: birth-goddess 673 ff.  
*Etymology*: 664<sub>1</sub> 665<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: acrolithic *χάνον* at Aigion 663<sub>2</sub> helping Zeus in labour 82<sub>0(1)</sub> 667<sub>1</sub> 667<sub>2</sub> 671<sub>0</sub> 673 676<sub>0(1)</sub> flying from scene of Athena's birth 711 youthful 711  
*In relation to* Hebe 711  
*Superseded by* St Eleutherios 588<sub>1</sub>, Hera 685<sub>2</sub>
- Eileithyiai  
*Cults*: Kalchedon 667 f. Megara 668  
*Types*: helping woman in labour 80<sub>2(1)</sub> helping Zeus in labour 662 ff. Etruscan 665<sub>0</sub> winged 86<sub>0</sub> 88<sub>0</sub> 664 cp. 85<sub>0(2)</sub>
- Ekaia 545 cp. 546<sub>1</sub>  
Elagabalos  
*Cults*: Emesa 900 ff. 905 f. Rome 902 ff. Mt Tauros 902  
*Epithet*: *invictus Sol Elagabalus* 901<sub>1</sub>  
*Priest*: Elagabalus 902 ff.  
*Etymology*: 900<sub>4</sub>  
*Identified with* Helios 901<sub>1</sub> Jupiter 902 904 Sol 901<sub>1</sub> 902<sub>3</sub>  
— altar of 902<sub>0</sub> stone of 900 ff.
- Elagabalus brings black stone of Emesa to Rome 902 ff. builds temples for black stone at Rome 903 f. collects other holy stones at Rome 903 offers human sacrifices 526<sub>3</sub>
- Elaioussa Sebaste  
*Cult*: Zeus Ολύπος 643<sub>0</sub> 645<sub>0</sub>
- Eleche, Lady of 1073
- Elektra, d. of Atlas  
*Genealogy*: m. of Dardanos by Zeus 77<sub>6</sub> m. of Iasion by Zeus 77<sub>4</sub>
- Elektryone 77<sub>4</sub>
- Eleusinia 297
- Eleusis  
*Cults*: Demeter 967<sub>1</sub> 990 Persephone 967<sub>1</sub> Then 302<sub>0(1)</sub> 309 Theos 302<sub>0(1)</sub> 309 Zeus Παλαιός (?) 598 605<sub>0</sub>  
*Festivals*: Chloia 178<sub>0</sub> 179<sub>0</sub> Eleusinia 297 Haloia 178<sub>0</sub> Kalamaina 179<sub>0</sub>  
*Rites*: ἀλεῖσαι, μάσται 297 ἀπαρχαι 301<sub>0(1)</sub> bull-carrying 1091 exhibition of corn-ear reaped in silence 299 ιεροφάντης... εὐροχιτώμενος... διὰ κυνέων... κέκραγε λέγων. ιερὸν τεκεί τόντια κύρος Βριτικός Βριτικός 300<sub>0(1)</sub> 301 913, κότξ, διπταξ 298 ὁ (ἢ) ἀφ' ἔστιας 611<sub>2</sub> πλημμύραι 298 pomengranates taboo 815<sub>0</sub> τῷ καλάθῳ καριόπετος 990 δε, κόβε 299 307 454  
*Priest*: ιεροφάντης 300<sub>0(1)</sub>  
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*Myths*: Demophon 609 611<sub>5</sub> Thaulon 597  
— burials within 'Middle Helladic' houses at 1181 Dionysion at 297 Itonian Gate at 297 Kallichoron at 309<sub>4(2)</sub> (?) 'Ploutonion' at 309<sub>4(2f.)</sub> reliefs from 309<sub>4(2f.)</sub> Rheitoi at 297 small copies of figures from west pediment of Parthenon found at 698<sub>4</sub> supposed influence of Egypt on Eleusinian mysteries 302<sub>0(5t.)</sub> tablet of Ninnion found at 722<sub>7</sub> Telesterion at 724<sub>0</sub> Triptolemos-relief from 202<sub>0</sub>
- Eleutherios, St 588<sub>1</sub>  
Eleuthernai, coins of 421<sub>0</sub> gold tablets from 420<sub>0</sub>
- Elias, St  
*Cults*: Mt Olympos in Makedonia 1167 Mt Ossa 1167
- Ellogabalus 901<sub>1</sub> See Elagabalos, Elagabalus
- Elioun  
*Cult*: Phoinike 762<sub>3</sub>

- Elioun (cont.)  
*Epithet*: Τύπων 762<sub>3</sub>
- Elis  
*Cults*: Athena Μήτηρ 224 f. 749 Sosipolis 239; Zeus Οὐρανός 525 f.  
*Myth*: Molpis 525 f.  
— coins of 958 f.
- Elishama s. of Gedaliah, seal of 1072
- Elissa 646<sub>3</sub>
- Elos, called Kronos, s. of Ouranos by Ge 887
- Elousa  
*Cults*: Dousares 915 Lucifer 915,  
Venus 915<sub>2</sub>  
*Rite*: birth of Dousares 915
- Elymnion (Elymnia)  
*Myth*: union of Zeus with Hera 1041 f.
- Elysian Way 1115
- Elysium 1115
- Embaros  
*Myth*: sacrifices she-goat dressed as his d. to Artemis Μούρεια 233<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 233<sub>1</sub>
- Emertska, Mt, viewed as Dione in repose 1173
- Emesa  
*Cults*: Athena 888 Elagabalos 900 ff.  
905 f. Keraunos 888<sub>4</sub>  
*Festivals*: Helia 901<sub>1</sub> Pythia 901,  
— coins of 901 905 relief from 888<sub>4</sub> 1158
- Empedokles  
*Epithets*: Ἀλεξανδέμας 105<sub>1</sub> Κωλισταρέμας 105<sub>2</sub>  
— the personified elements of 736<sub>1</sub>
- Enalos 133 135
- Endoios 968
- Endymion  
*Myths*: Hera 74 Zeus 74  
*Genealogy*: f. of fifty daughters by Selene 357
- Engonasin or Ingeniculus 483 ff.  
*Identified with* Atlas 491 Herakles 489 ff. Ixion on his wheel 483 Keteus 484 Orpheus 488 Prometheus chained to the Kankasos 483 Talos 484 491 Talos 491 Tantalos 491 Taos 491 Thamyris 488 'the fettered god' of the Babylonians 483 cp. 484; Theseus 484
- Enhodia  
*Cults*: Larissa in Thessaly 279 Pherai 279 f.  
*Rite*: sacrifice of bull with gilded horns 280
- Enkelados 3<sub>1</sub> 55<sub>2</sub>
- Enkidu 1106
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- Enoch 528
- Enyo 608<sub>3</sub>
- Epaphos  
*Myth*: 1082  
*Genealogy*: ancestor of Danaides 142
- Epeios 1137 1141 f.
- Ephesos  
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*Rites*: human ταινίας 599<sub>2</sub> ταινοκαθηδύεια (?) 1091  
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- Ephialtes 18<sub>0</sub>
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*Cult*: Asklepios 1182  
— bronze statuette by Hybristas from (?) 1150 f. metopes (?) from temple of Asklepios at 1182 relief of Hephaistos and Athena from 205 ff.
- Epidaurion or Epidaurus in Dalmatia, St Hilarion burns snake at 1182
- Epiktesis 1092
- Epimenides and the Nemean lion 1085 controls wind 106 identified with Bouzyges 610 invited to Athens 592<sub>2</sub> ἐπὶ Μήτω καὶ Ράδουδον 1103 (further bibliography) quoted by St Paul (?) 954
- Epiphany, pagan parallels to Christian 918
- Episkopos 593 f.
- Epona  
*Cults*: Celtiberians 1179 Celts 1179
- Epopeus  
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- Er, s. of Armenios 946
- Erechtheion at Athens 213 574<sub>0</sub> 721 725 737 749 f. 758 f. 867
- Erechtheis, the Attic tribe 759
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- Erechtheus  
*Myth*: war with Eumolpos 598  
*Genealogy*: f. of Prokris 72  
*Etymology*: 737 (ep. ii. 793) 867  
*Type*: snake 778<sub>3</sub> (?)  
*Identified with* Poseidon 12<sub>2</sub> 737 758 f.  
*Associated with* Poseidon 758  
*Confused with* Erichthonios 181<sub>1</sub> 773<sub>2</sub>  
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- Erichthonios  
*Myths*: birth from ground 220 in charge of Aglauros and Herse 248<sub>0</sub> 764 f. first sacrifices to Ge Κερποτρόφειος 244  
*Genealogy*: s. of Hephaistos by Athena 218 s. of Hephaistos by Atthis d. of Kranaos 218  
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*Types:* snake 218 733<sub>2</sub>(?) 771 773 half-snake 773 infant 218 771  
*Compared with Tithonus* 248  
*Confused with Erechtheus* 181; 773,  
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## Eridanos

*Etymology:* 366  
*Identified with Neilos* 349

## Erikepaïos

*Epithet:* [Βασιλεὺς] λεῦ or [Εὐβοϊκός] λεῦ 1179  
*Function:* ζωδοτήρ 64<sub>9</sub> (cp. 515<sub>6</sub>)

## Erinyes

*Epithet:* αἰλούρωρος 722<sub>9</sub>  
*Myth:* plant pomegranate on tomb of Eteokles and Polyneikes 815<sub>9</sub>  
*Genealogy:* daughters of Gaia 481  
*Function:* blight the land 426<sub>1</sub>,  
 — as horses 1182 as hounds 413<sub>9</sub> of (Hera) 928; of Ouranos 928<sub>5</sub>

## Erinys

*Epithet:* ἡροφοῖτις 418<sub>9</sub>  
 — lashes Sisyphos 416

## Eros

*Cult:* Athens 170<sub>9</sub> 725 f.  
*Epithet:* πολυεργῆτης 745<sub>1</sub> 745<sub>9</sub>  
*Myth:* springs from egg laid by Nyx 53

*Genealogy:* s. of Poros by Penia 746  
*Attributes:* axe 1129 bulla 92<sub>9</sub> hoop and hoop-stick 638<sub>9</sub>  
*Types:* ἀνθοκέφαλος 1019 as infant driving Polyphemos 1020 1023 at the shoulder of Aphrodite 1022 at the shoulder of lover 1022 bearing thunderbolt for Zeus 1023 flanking Aphrodite 1018 guiding bull for Europe 1023 handing Aphrodite ashore 1023 hovering 39 405 f. 1018 1023 1052<sub>10</sub> leading eagle to Ganymedes 1023 on ladder 1118 on shoulder of Herakles 1019 f. pouring golden rain on Danaë 1023 prompting 37<sub>5</sub> 1016 ff. receiving Aphrodite 957 f. removing Ares' helmet 1023 robbing Herakles of weapons 1019 spinning *lynx* 1023 standing on Aphrodite's arm 1018 stepping down from behind shoulder of Aphrodite 1018 touching breast of Aphrodite 1019 whipped 1179 whispering in Hebe's ear 1018 with crossed legs 1108 with thunderbolt and sceptre 1179  
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*Functions:* attendants on historical lovers 1025 attendants on mythological lovers 1023 ff.  
*Types:* hovering 1019 playing about Aphrodite 173<sub>9</sub> procession 170<sub>9</sub> two 1023 ff. three 1025 four 1025 six 1025 eight 1025 nine 1025 numerous in early Christian art 1025 1180

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*Superseded by Renaissance putti and modern Cupids* 1025

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*Genealogy:* s. of Aphrodite by Boutas or by Poseidon 176<sub>9</sub>

## Eryx, Mt

*Cult:* Aphrodite Ἔρυξινη 172 ff. Venus Erycina 175<sub>2</sub>

*Priestesses:* ἱερόδοτιλοι 176<sub>9</sub>

## Essenes 1141

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*Cult:* Titane 1183

## Euboia

*Cults:* Zeus Ἐλάμπιος 1042 (?) Zeus Ἐπικάρπτιος 912<sub>2</sub>

## Euelpides 44 ff.

Euergesia 593<sub>2</sub>

## Eukleides of Athens 1107 f.

Eukoline 724<sub>1</sub> See EileithyiaEumelos of Corinth 628<sub>9</sub>

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## Euripides, on the nature of Zeus 950

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*Genealogy:* d. of Phoinix and m. of Minos and Rhadamanthys by Zeus 627<sub>1</sub> d. of Phoinix and m. of Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys by Zeus 628<sub>9</sub>

*Functions:* earth-goddess 1092 tree-and-flower-goddess 617<sub>9</sub>

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*Types:* beneath trees 622<sub>12</sub> borne off by Zeus as a bull 615 ff. draped

- Europe (*cont.*)  
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     619 622<sub>5</sub> floating 618<sub>1</sub> recumbent 618<sub>1</sub>  
     sitting 618<sub>1</sub> standing 618<sub>1</sub> standing  
     to front with basket or vase 980  
     stooping 618<sub>1</sub> in mosaics 626<sub>12</sub>  
     627<sub>13</sub> in wall-paintings 624<sub>11</sub>  
     — originally named Hellotis (?) 1092
- Euros 130
- Eurydike  
     *Myth*: Orpheus 99
- Eurydike, d. of Lakedaimon  
     *Genealogy*: w. of Akrisios and m. of  
         Danae 455
- Eurykomis 162
- Eury nome  
     *Myths*: consorts with Zeus 744<sub>13</sub> hides  
         Hephaistos in cave for nine years  
         228
- Genealogy*: d. of Okeanos, and m. of  
         Charites by Zeus 744<sub>1,2</sub>, ep. 1070
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- Eustace, St 1102
- Eutychia  
     *Epithet*: καλή 1073
- Euyuk  
     *Cult*: Asia 1106 f.
- Evan 259<sub>9</sub>
- Evander 314 315<sub>9</sub>
- Ezekiel 832<sub>5</sub>
- Falerii  
     *Cult*: Iuno 802<sub>5</sub>  
     *Rite*: annual sacrifice of virgin to  
         Iuno 802<sub>5</sub> (?)
- Falerio, statue of Zeus from 535 537
- Fates See Moirai
- Faustina the younger  
     *Cult*: Mt Tauros 902
- Fides 71<sub>2</sub>
- Fillin 1134
- Finn mac Cumall 1174
- Finnns  
     *Myths*: Milky Way conceived as  
         'Great Oak' 1192 Terhetär 446<sub>4</sub>  
         Udutar 446<sub>4</sub>
- Florence  
     *Rite*: Scoppio del Carro 791<sub>6</sub>
- Fors 321<sub>9</sub>
- Fortuna  
     *Etymology*: 321<sub>9</sub>
- Freya 65<sub>9</sub>
- Fro 65<sub>9</sub>
- Freyr 1134
- Fufluns 88<sub>9</sub>
- Fundanus, Lake, floating island(s) in 1012
- Gabriel 917<sub>5</sub>
- Gadeira  
     *Cult*: Herakles 983  
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- Gaia  
     *Cult*: Mt Hymettos 526<sub>8</sub> (?)
- Epithets*: μεγίστη 454<sub>1</sub> μήτηρ πάντων  
         454<sub>1</sub> πελάρη 928 1076
- Myths*: receives infant Zeus from Rhea  
     and rears him in Crete 928 trans-  
     forms Ambrosia into vine 1112
- Genealogy*: m. of Erinyes, Gigantes,  
         Meliai 481
- Type*: recumbent with hand uplifted  
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- Galateia 1023
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- Gargaron, Mt  
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*Cults*: Kynosarges 724 f., Phlious 184<sub>2</sub>, Sikyon 184<sub>2</sub>  
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*Type*: holding torches 544  
*Identified with* Ekata (?) 545, Kerberos 413<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Zeus 544<sub>3</sub>, 544<sub>3</sub>, 1066  
*In relation to* Hekate 413<sub>0</sub>
- Hektor  
*Cult*: Thebes in Boiotia 1174  
*Etymology*: 1114 (?) 1174 (?)
- Hel 447<sub>0</sub> 447<sub>0</sub>
- Helene  
*Myths*: birth from Leda's egg 738 f., Alexandros 78, Egypt 78 f., Menelaos 78 f., 1179 Proteus 78, Sparta 78  
*Genealogy*: st. of Helenos 922  
*Associated with* Dionysos 1083 (?)
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*Myths*: advises Greeks to fetch Philoktetes from Lemnos 921 receives from Apollon the prophetic stone siderites or oreites 922  
*Genealogy*: b. of Helene 922
- Helia 901<sub>1</sub>
- Helike, in Achaea 21 f., 1118
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*Cults*: Adad 1095, Atargatis 1095, Gennaios 888, Hermes 1093, Iupiter Heliopolitanus 1093 ff., Magna Mater (?) 1093, Seimios 1095, Zeus 888

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— excavations at 1093 idol of gilded bronze from 1095

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*Cults*: Gaza 553 Kara Adili 1071 Mytilene 1184 Thermos in Aitolia 1184

*Epithets*: Ἀριχνός 912 Φύτος 1071

*Genealogy*: h. of Rhodos, f. of seven sons, gf. of Ialyssos, Kameiros, Lindos 986

*Types*: driving chariot 958 driving quadriga up from sea 718 radiate bust 1126 unworked stone 901

*Identified with* Elagabalos 901, Theos Hypsistos 1163

*Assimilated to* Gorgon 856, 857, 863

*Associated with* Men 1093 Zeus 1184 Zeus and Ge 1184

*In relation to* Dionysos 718, Nemesis 1073

— baitylooi dedicated to 889

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*Cult*: Chalkis ad Belum (?) 1074

## Hellas 1092

## Hellas personified 956

## Helle 1092

## Hellenes 1092

## Hellespontos 1092

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## Hellos 1092

## Helliots

*Cults*: Argos 1092 Crete 1092

## Hemera

*Type*: carrying Kephalos 1186

Hemitheia 458<sub>2</sub>(?)

## Heos (Eos)

*Myths*: sheds tears of dew for death of Memnon 260 tends Tithonus in old age 247 transforms Tithonus into cicala 247

*Genealogy*: m. of Memnon by Tithonus 260

*Types*: pursuing Kephalos 187, bearing off Kephalos 187 pouring ambrosia (?) over old Tithonus 247 — as Aurora imported into myth of Prokris 73

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*Cult*: Saracens 915, 917,

## Hephaisteion at Athens 218 ff. 223

## Hephaistia in Lemnos

*Cults*: Athena 216, Hephaistos 216, — Agyieus-pillar (?) at 1120 coins of 233<sub>2</sub>

## Hephaistia in Lykia 228

## Hephaistia, the festival at Athens 213

## Hephaistias in Lemnos 229

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## Hephaistos

*Cults*: Mt Aitne 177<sub>0</sub>, Athens 211 ff. 226 ff. 758 Lemnos 226 ff. Pelasgians 191<sub>0</sub> 226 ff.

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*Epithets*: ἀντόμητος 201<sub>3</sub> πολυτέχνης 201<sub>4</sub> πυρός 235<sub>2</sub> χαλκεύς 866<sub>3</sub>

*Festivals*: Athenaea 212 ff. Chalkeia 211 ff. Hephaistia 213

*Rite*: marriage with Lemnos 233 ff. (?)

*Priest*: ipeit 213<sub>3</sub>

*Myths*: cleaves head of Zeus 125<sub>3</sub> 222 477 660 ff. falls from heaven 228 hidden for nine years by Eurynome and Thetis 228 fashions woman 201 gives *aigis* to Zens 866 gives club and breastplate to Herakles 1186 makes magical throne for Hera 222 makes shield of Achilles 596 ff. makes sword for Peleus 209<sub>1</sub> makes thunderbolt for Zeus 222 sleeps with Aphrodite 175<sub>2</sub> woos Athena 218 ff. 236 274 734

*Genealogy*: s. of Hera 235<sub>2</sub> f. of Erichthonios by Athena 236 f. f. of Erichthonios by Ge 236

*Functions*: arts and crafts 201 fire 227 f. fire on earth 234 fire springing from ground 238 lightning-flash 235 originally husband of Athena 200 223 736 758 867 originally Pelasgian sky-father in Asia Minor 236 736

*Etymology*: 190, 200<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes*: axe (?) 1106 double axe 125<sub>3</sub> 200 235 477 867 1060 *pilos* 234<sub>0</sub> pincers 1057

*Types*: flying from scene of Athena's birth 711 forging thunderbolt for Athena 210 ff. presenting helmet to Athena 207 pursuing Athena 220 ff. seated beside Athena in Parthenon frieze 205 grouped with Athena in the Hephaisteion 213 ff. Alkamenes 215 in archaic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.

*Identified with* Hadran 177<sub>0</sub>

*Associated with* Athena 200 ff. 736 Charis 958

*In relation to* Kadmilos 190; Philoketes 190<sub>2</sub>

*Supersedes* Zeus 188

— list of objects made by 209<sub>1</sub>

## Hepit

*Cult*: Hittites 1131

— reliefs from 209 ff.

## Hera

*Cults*: Argos 65 66 566<sub>2</sub> 725<sub>4</sub> 1043 ff. 1085 Athens 66<sub>3</sub> 725 Boiotia 61<sub>1</sub> Carthage 1045 Hermione 1043 Mt Kithairon 1042 Korkyra 1120 Kos 66<sub>2</sub> Kypros 66<sub>2</sub> Lebadeia 61<sub>1</sub> Lindos 61<sub>1</sub> Mykenai 1045 Naukratis 1187 Orchomenos in Boiotia 949<sub>0</sub> Phokis 61<sub>1</sub> Pisidia 61<sub>1</sub> Plataiai 932 1042<sub>0</sub> Mt Pron 65 Samos 645<sub>0</sub> 969 1027 ff. 1045 Sikinos (?) 61<sub>1</sub> Stymphalos 1070 Tarentum 636<sub>0</sub> Thorikos 725<sub>2</sub> Tiryns 1085

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*Epithets:* Ἀκρία 1120 Ἀργεία 66<sub>2</sub> 1045  
1085 Βασίλεια 66<sub>2</sub> Γαμήλια 1042  
Ελεύθερα 725<sub>2</sub> Ἐλέος 66<sub>2</sub> Εύσερια  
216<sub>1</sub> Ζυγία 949<sub>2</sub> 1060<sub>7</sub> Δητώ Νυχία  
1042 Νυμφεωμένη 1042<sub>2</sub> πανδασίδεια  
61<sub>1</sub> Παρθενία 1027<sub>1</sub> Παρθένος 1043  
1044<sub>2</sub> πολυάνθητη 61<sub>1</sub> πότνια 736<sub>2</sub>  
sideret regina poli 1046 Τελεία 65 932  
948<sub>2</sub> 949<sub>2</sub> 1042 1042<sub>2</sub> 1044<sub>2</sub> 1060<sub>7</sub>  
Χάρη 1070

*Festivals:* περιστερός 356<sub>2</sub> the Shield  
from Argos 356<sub>2</sub> Tenea 1028 ff.

*Rites:* annual bathing in Kanathos  
224<sub>3</sub> 1032<sub>2</sub> 1044<sub>2</sub> bathing in Parthenios  
1027<sub>1</sub> (?) 1031 (?) 1032<sub>2</sub> (?) bathing in Theren 1032<sub>2</sub> (?) leg of  
victim reserved for Hera 566<sub>2</sub>  
στριβόδει or στριβόδαι 61<sub>1</sub> veil pre-  
sented by Argive women 1046

*Priests:* εὐλειδοῦχος 66<sub>2</sub> Milon holding  
pomegranate as priest of Hera (?)  
816<sub>2</sub> 817<sub>2</sub>

*Priestesses:* ιέρεια 1085 Kallithyia  
1085 (Kydippe or Theano) drawn by  
white oxen 1044

*Personated by Aspasia* 32<sub>3</sub> 66<sub>2</sub>

*Myths:* courted by Zeus for three  
hundred years 1025 wooed by Zeus  
clandestinely 1025 f. grows up and  
marries Zeus in Samos 1027 bathes  
in Aborras after marriage with Zeus  
1027<sub>1</sub> consorts with Zeus 35 58 65  
111 111<sub>1</sub> 180 744<sub>17</sub> 1025 ff. carried  
off by Zeus from Euboia to Boiotia  
1042 Δάδεις 35 180 924 1065  
hung up by Zeus with *ikmones*  
fastened to her feet 924 threatened  
by Zeus with flogging 924 contest  
with Poseidon 75<sub>1</sub> Endymion 74  
Hesperides 1064 Ixion 74 f. judg-  
ment of Paris 67 receives bough of  
golden apples as wedding-gift from  
Ge 1064 sends Argonauts past  
Planktae 975 simulated birth of  
Herakles 89<sub>1</sub> suckles Herakles 89<sub>1</sub>  
92<sub>2</sub> 94<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy:* m. of Eileithyia 711 725  
1032<sub>2</sub> m. of Hephaistos 235<sub>2</sub> m. of  
Hebe, Ares, Eileithyia by Zeus  
744<sub>17</sub> m. of Herakles by Zeus  
92<sub>2</sub> (?)

*Functions:* not *ab initio* the wife of  
Zeus 744<sub>1</sub> 1025 1065 marriage-  
goddess 948<sub>18</sub> 1042 1060<sub>7</sub> aér 726<sub>2</sub>  
1046<sub>2</sub> cloud (?) 75; rain (?) 75<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes:* Charites 65 Horai 65 sceptre  
65 816<sub>2</sub> 1039 f. 1048<sub>2</sub> cuckoo-sceptre  
65 67 1044 lily-sceptre 92<sub>2</sub> *stephané*  
67 1039 f. floral *stephané* 92<sub>2</sub> rayed  
*stephané* 1041 veil 636<sub>2</sub> 1033 1039 f.  
1057 1060 star-spangled veil 1040  
wedding-ring 1033 willow-wreath  
1053 (?) lily 92<sub>2</sub> pomegranate 65  
816<sub>2</sub> 1043 lion 67<sub>2</sub> panther 67

Hera (*cont.*)

*Types:* pillar 1085 on pillar 638<sub>2</sub>  
Athenis and Boupalos 969 Smilis  
1027 Polykleitos 65 816<sub>2</sub> 1043 f.  
Praxiteles (?) 932 f. Ludovisi 1117  
obscene (?) 1027<sub>2</sub> enthroned 67 f.  
seated on rock 701 seated beside  
Zeus as bride and bridegroom 1027 f.  
seated with Zeus seated before her  
1048 seated with Zeus seated beside  
her 1048 f. seated with Zeus seated  
*en échelon* 1053 seated with Zeus  
seated facing her 1049 ff. seated  
with Zeus standing before her 687  
in archaic reliefs of the Twelve  
Gods 1055 ff. veiled 1045 virgin  
seated on lion (*Iuno Caelestis*) 1045  
*Associated with* Hebe 704 1048<sub>2</sub> Leto  
1042 Zeus 745 958 1025 ff.

*In relation to* Herakles 1045<sub>2</sub> Zeus 633<sub>2</sub>  
1025 ff.

*Supersedes* Eileithyia 685<sub>2</sub> Leto 1042  
— couch of 1044 1044<sub>2</sub> garden of  
1064

Herakleia in Lucania, coins of 714<sub>2</sub> 794 820<sub>2</sub>  
Herakleides Pontikos, pretends on his  
death-bed to become a snake 773<sub>1</sub>  
Herakleitos 234 1046<sub>5</sub>

Herakles

*Cults:* Diomeia 594 724 Gadeira 983  
Kynosarges 724 Mt Kynthos 1172  
Sebastopolis (Herakleopolis) 408<sub>2</sub>  
Tyre 892 f. 978

*Epithets:* Ἀλεξίπατε 508<sub>2</sub> ἄραξ πυρός,  
δράχαιο κύρον, | Ἄνθει, κ.τ.λ. 893;  
Ἀστροχήτων 892 f. 978 Ήρατος 216<sub>1</sub>  
1047<sub>11</sub> τριάστερος 508<sub>2</sub> 509<sub>2</sub> τριάστελλος  
508<sub>3</sub> 509<sub>2</sub> Χάροψ 1165

*Myths:* simulated birth from Hera 89<sub>1</sub>  
suckled by Hera 89<sub>1</sub> 92<sub>2</sub> 94<sub>2</sub> as infant  
strangles snakes 767<sub>2</sub> Atlas 956  
Auge 823 Delphic tripod 409<sub>2</sub> 799<sub>1</sub>  
Hesperides 1019 Hydra 795 ff.  
Kerberos 408<sub>2</sub> Nemean lion 956  
Periklymenos 744<sub>2</sub> Prometheus 956  
Virtue (Athena) and Vice (Aphro-  
dite) 839 pyre on Mt Oite 512 ff.

*Genealogy:* s. of Zeus by Alkmene  
w. of Amphitryon 506 s. of Zeus by  
Hera 92<sub>2</sub> (?) s. of Uni (Luno) 92<sub>2</sub> f. of  
Tyrseos by the Lydian woman  
(Omphale) 729<sub>2</sub> ancestor of  
Ptolemies 1172

*Attribute:* lion-skin 841<sub>1</sub>

*Types:* double bust (with Hermes)  
1132 dragging off two-headed  
Kerberos 399 dragging off three-  
headed Kerberos 402 f. feasting in  
Olympos 724<sub>2</sub> fighting Amazons 955  
fighting Centaur (?) 1142 'Lans-  
downe' 704<sub>2</sub> recumbent 714 robbed  
of weapons by Eros 1019 with Eros  
on his shoulder 1019 f.

*Identified with* Engonasin or Ingeni-  
culus 489 ff. Meiqarth 893

Herakles (*cont.*)

- Associated with* Athena 958 Hebe 704  
707 724 f.  
*In relation to* Hera 1045; Iphikles 506  
sea-gull 52<sub>3</sub>  
— emerald *stèle* of 892 initiation of  
724<sub>3</sub> 724<sub>1</sub> pillars of 978 983  
provenance of 1136

Hercle 92<sub>9</sub> 839 1090

Herculaneum, silver buckle from 755

## Hercules

- Cults*: Nikai in Liguria 492<sub>1</sub> Numidia  
1078  
*Epithets*: Lepidarius 492<sub>1</sub>; Saxonus 492<sub>1</sub>  
*Personated by* Commodus 1100  
*Myth*: birth delayed by Lucina 663<sub>2</sub>  
*Function*: quarries 492<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: in Pompeian painting of Twelve  
Gods 1062<sub>2</sub> in silver shrine 1155  
— table of 1044<sub>1</sub>

Hercules, the constellation 491

## Herkyna

- Cult*: Lebadeia 1182

Hermaistai 155

## Hermes

- Cults*: Ainos in Thrace 1137 Athens  
725 Heliopolis in Syria 1093 Kyllene  
725 Lydo-Phrygians 283<sub>4</sub> Peiraeus  
1083 Pelasgians 191<sub>9</sub> Sedasa 1071  
*Epithets*: Αέρος 325<sub>2</sub> 332 αἰθέριος  
δρόμος εἴλιστων ὥπε τάρταρα γαῖης  
332<sub>3</sub> Ἀργεῖφόντη 1132 δίδυκος 498<sub>9</sub>  
ἐνκάρδιος 332<sub>2</sub> ἐρώστης 181<sub>1</sub> Ἐριφόλλιος  
(? Εριφόλλος) 321<sub>9</sub> ἐρχθύντος  
181<sub>1</sub> Καρδάλιας 283<sub>4</sub> 416<sub>9</sub> κοσμοκράτωρ  
332<sub>2</sub> φύλε σελήνης 332<sub>2</sub> Κυλλήνιος  
671<sub>3</sub> 675 Κινδυκης 283<sub>4</sub> 416<sub>9</sub> λόγων  
δραχγέτα γλώσσης 332<sub>2</sub> Μαιαδεῖς  
1131 Μέγατος 1071 μηχανῆτος 94<sub>2</sub>  
567<sub>6</sub> παντοκράτωρ 332<sub>2</sub> πειθοκινήσιος  
332<sub>3</sub> Περφεραῖος 1137 πνεύματος  
ψριού 332<sub>2</sub> πτηνοπόδης 332<sub>2</sub> σπαργανῶτη 94<sub>2</sub> στρογγύλης καὶ τετράγωνη  
332<sub>2</sub> Τραμέγιτος 332<sub>2</sub> Φαλινθός  
(? Φαλανθεῖς) 321<sub>9</sub> Χθόνιος 181<sub>1</sub> 604<sub>2</sub>  
χλαυσθόρει 332<sub>2</sub> ψυχοπομπός 332<sub>2</sub>

*Rite*: at Chytroi 604<sub>2</sub>*Personated by* high-priest at Olba 654<sub>9</sub>

*Myths*: born on Mt Kerykion 417<sub>9</sub>  
cleaves head of Zeus 661 attends  
birth of Dionysos 80<sub>2</sub> 83<sub>4</sub> 85<sub>6</sub> (?)  
*Genealogy*: s. of Maia 1131 f. of  
Kephalo by Herse 246 f. of Keryx  
by Aglauros or Pandrose (Pandrosos)  
602 f. f. of Tat 332<sub>2</sub>

*Etymology*: 411<sub>9</sub> (?)

*Attributes*: caduceus 675 eagle 1071  
goat 1060 winged pétasos 39 purse  
1082

*Types*: phallós 725<sub>2</sub> χόδανον 725<sub>5</sub>  
bearded 1060, double bust (with  
Herakles) 1132 Lysippus 706 f.  
Damophon 567<sub>6</sub> in archaic reliefs  
of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. sandal-  
binding 706<sub>6</sub> 707<sub>6</sub> standing axe in

Hermes (*cont.*)

- hand 661 standing with purse,  
caduceus, and ram 1160 with caduceus  
and eagle 1071 with phallós  
ending in ram's head 1082 with  
supported foot 638<sub>9</sub> 640<sub>9</sub> with winged  
head 706

*Identified with* Thoth 332<sub>3</sub>*Assimilated to* Gennaios 1093

*Associated with* Hestia 958 Zeus 1071  
— Epeios' statue of, caught by  
fishermen in net 1137

## Hermione

*Cult*: Hera Παρθένος 1043

*Myths*: Zeus and Hera come to  
'anchorage' 1043 Zeus transforms  
himself into cuckoo 1043

## Hermonthis

*Cult*: Bakha 953<sub>2</sub>  
— excavations at 1082

Herodias 163<sub>2</sub>Heros κατά πρέμαρτα 158<sub>4</sub>Heros ὁ ἐπί βλαστη 177<sub>1</sub>

## Herse

*Myth*: Erichthonios 186 248<sub>4</sub> 764 f.  
*Genealogy*: d. of Kekrops 166 d. of  
Zeus 261 d. of Zeus by Selene 179 f.  
m. of Kephalo by Hermes 246  
*Function*: personification of dew 237  
245 944

## Hesperides

*Myths*: Hera 1064 Herakles 1019

*Type*: Panainos 956  
— garden of 404<sub>9</sub> 1064

## Hestia

*Cults*: Dura-Europos (?) 1163 Kos 565 f.  
Thasos 1125

*Epithet*: Βοιλαία 1125

*Rite*: Coan sacrifice of ox that bowed  
its neck 565

*Attributes*: sceptre 1057 veil 1057

*Types*: in archaic reliefs of the Twelve  
Gods 1055 ff. seated with Zeus seated  
facing her 1050<sub>9</sub> virginal, but with  
prominent breasts 1107

*Associated with* Hermes 958 Zeus 1050<sub>9</sub>  
1052<sub>1</sub> 1125

## Heudanemoi 103 f.

## Heudanemos 103 f.

## Hierapolis in Syria

*Priest*: 'cock' 1097

## Hierapytna

*Cult*: Zeus Σεύλλιος 413<sub>9</sub>Hierax Theos See Horos *Epithets*

Hieron, on Thracian Bosporos 142 f. 145  
147 f.

Hieros Gamos 1047 See also Index II

Hilarion, St 915<sub>2</sub> 1182

Himalia 477 518

Himera, coins of 853<sub>9</sub> 929

## Himeros

*Type*: prompting 1018

Hindus, ceremonial rebirth of 1092

Hippodameia, d. of Oinomaos 956

Hippokentauroi 75<sub>9</sub>

- Hippolytos  
*Type*: with Eros at his shoulder 1022 (?)  
Hippolytus, St 338<sub>1</sub>
- Hippotes 107<sub>2</sub>  
Hipta 1078 1131
- Histia See Hestia
- Histic See Hestia
- Hittite forms of early Greek names in the cuneiform texts from Boghaz-Keui 112<sub>2</sub>
- Hittites  
*Cults*: bronze cattle (?) 1102 dagger-god 1140 (bibliography) Hepit 1131 Iskallis 1174 lion-god 837 mother-goddess standing on lion 834 Mother of the gods 916; Tarku (?) 651<sub>2</sub>, 652<sub>2</sub> Illuyankas 1135  
*In relation to Kabeiroi* 1128
- Hobal 334<sub>1</sub>
- Holda  
*Functions*: chthonic 447<sub>2</sub>, fertility of soil 447<sub>2</sub>, sky-power 446 snow 447 souls of the dead 447<sub>2</sub>  
*Etymology*: 447<sub>2</sub>  
*Types*: black woman 448 white lady 448  
*Identified with Minerva* 210 (?)  
*Superseded by St Lucy* 447<sub>2</sub>
- Holl 446
- Holle 446 447<sub>2</sub>
- Horai  
*Genealogy*: daughters of Zeus 955 daughters of Zeus by Themis 744<sub>1</sub> (<sub>2</sub>)  
*Function*: doorkeepers of Zeus 34  
*Types*: four Seasons as children 1127 f. holding flower, grapes, corn 1057 holding pomegranate in right hand and bird, flower, or doubtful object in left 818<sub>0</sub> (?) neo-Attic 659<sub>2</sub>, 660<sub>2</sub> Sosias-*kýlix* 818<sub>0</sub>  
*In relation to Zeus* 1057
- Horites of Mt Seir  
*Cult*: Hurun 1076
- Horos  
*Epithets*: 'Αρβάκτης 1073 'Ιέπαξ Θεός 1073  
*Types*: head on feeding-bottle 193<sub>(3)</sub> sparrow-hawk 1073  
*Identified with Apollon* 984 — children of 345<sub>1</sub>
- Hulda 446
- Hulle 446
- Hungary, gold cicadas from 253<sub>0</sub> f.
- Hurun  
*Cults*: Horites of Mt Seir 1076 Pi-Ramesses 1076  
*Type*: falcon 1076
- Hyades 512 518 680<sub>0</sub> (?) 1082
- Hyakinthos 460
- Hybla  
*Cult*: Apollon 1029
- Hybris, the Silenos 513
- Hybristas 1150
- Hydra  
*Myths*: Herakles 795 ff. Iolaos 797 — as attribute of Aion 1180
- Hydrophoria 603 f. 603<sub>12</sub>
- Hygieia, name of, on amulets 343 (?) on *lekythos* from Gela 775 (?)
- Hymettos, Mt  
*Cults*: Gaia 526<sub>2</sub> (?) Zeus "Ουρανος" 526
- Hynnaron, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus Τρυπαιός 1177
- Hypaipa, coin of 899<sub>(3)</sub>
- Hyanis 653 cp. 655<sub>0</sub> (?)
- Hypatios, St 992 f.
- Hyperboreci  
*Myth*: Apollon takes Kroisos to their land 520  
*Rite*: sacrifice of asses to Apollon 106<sub>1</sub>  
—— further bibliography of 1136 f.
- Hypereis, fountain-nymph at Pherai 272<sub>5</sub>
- Hypermesta  
*Myth*: saves Lynkeus and is imprisoned by Danaos 356 369; ultimately weds Lynkeus 356
- Hypermnestra See Hypermesta
- Hyperoche 1172
- Hyperochos, slain by Phemios 1105
- Hypnos  
*Type*: with winged head 706<sub>2</sub>
- Hypsaiphi 360<sub>1</sub>
- Hypsouranios 983
- Hystaspes, the Mage 1147
- Hysteria, the festival 320<sub>1</sub>
- Ialyssos, gs. of Helios 986
- Ianiculum, statuette of gilded bronze from Syrian sanctuary on 1114
- Ianus  
*Epithets*: divom deus 1130 Quadrifrons 1132  
*Attribute*: pétaeos 1131 — 'polarity' of (?) 1130
- Iapetos 3<sub>0</sub>
- Iapyges 925<sub>2</sub>
- Iapyx 364<sub>2</sub>
- Iaribol  
*Cult*: Palmyra 1158 f.  
*Type*: in military dress with rayed nimbus and sceptre 1159  
*Associated with Bel and Aglibol* 1158 f.
- Iasion  
*Myths*: lies with Demeter 75 ff. or with phantom of Demeter 77 or with statue of Demeter 77 is thunderstruck by Zeus 76  
*Genealogy*: s. of Katreus by Phronia 77<sub>4</sub> s. of Zeus by Elektra 77<sub>4</sub> f. of Ploutos 75 f.  
*Identified with Estion* 77<sub>4</sub>
- Iasios 76<sub>1</sub> See Iasion
- Iaso 1083
- Iason  
*Myths*: first sacrifices to Twelve Gods 147 f. founds temple of Zeus on Bosporos 148  
*Genealogy*: s. of Aison s. of Kretheus s. of Aiolas 148
- Iason 76<sub>1</sub> See Iasion

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*Cult:* Zeus Τύπετος 1162

Iasos 76<sub>1</sub> See Iasion

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Iberians

*Cults:* bull 1090 horse-headed god with human hands and feet 1179

*Rites:* dance of men wearing bulls' horns and hoofs (?) 1090 mumming play (?) 1178

— column of, decorated with double axes 1138

Idaean Daktyloī See Daktyloī

Idas

*Compared with Dryas* 1072

Ide, a Cretan Nymph 931<sub>2</sub> 982 (?)

Ide, a Phrygian Nymph 982 (?)

Ide, Mt., in Crete

*Cults:* Daktyloī 1033<sub>1</sub> Rhea 1033<sub>1</sub>

Ide, Mt., in Phrygia (Mysia)

*Cults:* Daktyloī 1033<sub>1</sub> Mother of the gods 893 Rhea 1033<sub>1</sub>

*Myths:* Daktyloī (Kelmis, Damna-meneus, Akmon) discover iron 922 Zeus consorts with Hera 35 180 1032 ff. Zeus visited by Apollon and Iris 35

Idoumaiōi

*Cult:* Koze 334<sub>1</sub>

Iduna 65<sub>6</sub>

Idyia 743<sub>8</sub>

Ikaria 594

Ikaros

*Attributes:* double axe 1111 square 1111

*Compared with Daidalos and Talos* 1111

Ikonion

*Myths:* Annakos 527 f. Prometheus and Athena make images of clay 528 — Paul and Thekia at 523 f.

Ilion

*Cult:* Athena 283<sub>4</sub>

*Rite:* bull-hanging for Athena 283<sub>4</sub>

Illyankas 1135

Illyrioi

*Cult:* Arantides (?) 1184

*Myths:* Akrisios (?) 1187 Daunus 364 Teutamidas (?) 1187

Imbrasos 1029

Imbros, Epiphany song from 295 f.

Im-dugnd 1155

Inachos

*Myth:* punished by Poseidon with drought 355 f.

Inachos, the river 224<sub>3</sub> 361

Inarime 3<sub>9</sub>

India

*Cults:* Ganges 531 Indra 531 Vishnu 546<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ουρανος 531

*Rites:* jar of rains 107 f. jar of winds 104<sub>1</sub> 107 f.

— early coinage of 532 f. 540 ff. 871 f.

Indra

*Cult:* India 531

*Myths:* combat with demons 362<sub>3</sub> slays

Indra (*cont.*)

Namuki with foam 273 fights Vṛtra 531 slays Vṛtra with thunderbolt 273<sub>3</sub> 362<sub>3</sub>

*Genealogy:* s. of Dyauś 531

*Function:* storm 544

*Etymology:* 1078 (?)

*Attribute:* vajru 926

*Identified with* Zeus 540 545

— elephant of 546 f.

Ingeniculus See Engonasin

Ino 133 135 1104

Inōnī in Phrygia

*Cults:* Asklepios 1146 draped goddess holding grape-bunch and cornu copiae 1146 Nemesis 1146 rider-god 1146 Theoi Hosioi kai Dikaloī 1146 Zeus Βαστρως 1160 Zeus Μέγιστος 1160

— altars from 1146 1160

Io

*Epithet:* Καλλιθέεσσα 1082 1085

*Myths:* travels 360<sub>4</sub> Zeus 615<sub>3</sub> 631 ff.

*Types:* heifer 631<sub>4</sub> heifer with human face 634<sub>1</sub> maiden with heifer's ears and horns 634<sub>2</sub> maiden with heifer's horns 634 637<sub>3</sub> ff. maiden with heifer at her side 634 641<sub>1</sub> antefixes 635<sub>6</sub> in arabesque 640<sub>6</sub> in bridal array 636<sub>6</sub>

— bibliography of 1082

Iolaos

*Myths:* Delphic tripod 799<sub>1</sub> Herakles suckled by Hera 89<sub>1</sub> Hydra 797

*Type:* duplicated 89<sub>1</sub> (?)

Ioulis

*Cults:* Aphrodite Κρήσουλλα 269<sub>1</sub> Artemis 269

— coins of 269 271

Iovis Opulentia 156

Iovos 1115 See Iupiter

Iphigeneia

*Epithet:* Ορσιλοχία 99<sub>6</sub>

*Myth:* sacrifice of, committed to sacrifice of deer or bear or bull 233<sub>1</sub>

Iphikles

*Genealogy:* s. of Amphitryon by Alkmene 506

*In relation to* Herakles 506

Irekepaigos 1179 See Erikepaios

Irene, St 472<sub>3</sub>

Iris

*Functions:* bridesmaid of Hera 1033 f. messenger of Zeus 54

*Attribute:* knotted or studded staff 94<sub>6</sub>

*Types:* standing before seated Hera 1051<sub>6</sub> standing beside seated Hera 1053

Irmisūl, as support of sky 1116 f.

Ishum

*Cult:* Babylonia 889

*Function:* fire 889

Iisis

*Cults:* Athens 588<sub>1</sub> Delos 154 f. Egypt

302<sub>6(6)</sub> Pompeii 641<sub>4</sub> Rhodes 986

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- Genealogy*: m. by Dionysos of Apollon and Artemis 984  
*Functions*: earth 302<sub>(n)</sub> 344, 351  
 'Queen of Heaven' 350  
*Attribute*: starry robe 350  
*Types*: 'Canopus' 346 double bust (with Apis) 1132  
*Identified with* Eumenouthis (?) 349  
 Theonee (?) 349  
*Associated with* Nephthys, Neith, and Selket or Serqet 345;  
 —— earth 'the body of Isis' 351 the star of 180  
 Iskallis, Hittite form of Attis 1174  
 Istar  
*Functions*: morning- and evening-star 834 ravisher of men 834  
*Type*: nude goddess 834  
 Istros, the river, names of 368; source of 1117  
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 Istros, the town, coins of 1137  
 Italy, coins of central 342<sub>(n)</sub>  
 Itanos  
*Cults*: Athena 126, 127 'Triton' 126, 127  
 —— coins of 126, 127  
 Itanos, eponym 126  
 Julianus, the Chaldaean 332  
 Juno  
*Cults*: Campania 1155 Falerii 802;  
 Lanuvium 837, Rome 23  
*Epithets*: Caelestis 1045 Feronia 1155  
 Lucina 1044, 1117 Moneta 23;  
 Sispita Mater Regina 837, Sospita 837  
*Rites*: annual sacrifice of virgin at Falerii 802 (?) sacrifice of pregnant sow 23  
*Functions*: aer 235, childbirth 1117  
*Attributes*: peacock 41 stephaine with nine crescents 1117  
*Types*: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>(n)</sub>; virgin seated on lion 1045  
*Identified with* earth 452  
 —— couch of 1044, star of 180
- Iupiter  
*Cults*: Alban Mt 492 Amathous in Kypros 653, Apulum 1140 Bononia in Bulgaria 1098 Campania 1155 Capua 656, Delos 155 Heddernheim 656, Heliopolis in Syria 1093 ff. Maiden Castle (?) 1098 f. Makedonia 148; Nescantia 1129 Numidia 1078 Pompeii 29, Rome 435, 544, 1097 f. Salamis in Kypros 646, Syracuse 148 Volsci 1155  
*Epithets*: Aeternus 947 Anxur 1155 Anzurus 1155 Brontos 544, Bussarius 1140 Bussumarius 1140 Capitolinus 246, 562, 707, 1066 Conservator 946 Conservator Totius Poli 947 deus deorum 1130

Iupiter (*cont.*)

- Dolichenus 37, 831 945 946 f. 1097 f.  
 (bibliography) Elicius 433, Exhibitor Invictus 947 Heliopolitanus 945 1093 1095 Hoepes 653, Ilicius 433, Imperator 148 Maius 321, Nasamonius Tonans 325, nubilus 361 Numen Praestantissimum 947 Olbius 656, 656, Optimus Maximus 947 1093 1098 1140 Pantheus 1129 Pluvialis 324 Pluvius 324 333 Purpurio 555 Sabaeus 656, Salaminius 646, Secundanus 156 f. Secundus 156 157 Sequandanus 155 ff. Syrius 902, Terminalis 1183 Terminus 1183 verveceus 1078  
*Festivals*: Latiar 432, Latinae 432,  
*Rites*: aquaelicium 432, human sacrifice to Iupiter Elicius commuted 433  
*Priest*: flamen Dialis must neither touch nor mention dog or goat 243  
*Personated by* Commodus 1100 magistrate presiding at games 562  
*Myths*: consorts with Ceres 452 in Gigantomachy gets thunderbolts from eagle 792 rains blood before death of M. Marcellus 479 rescues Alcumena 517 transforms ants into men (Myrmidones) 608  
*Genealogy*: f. of Aeacus by Aegina 608  
*Functions*: aether 235, ignis 235, lightning 433, rain 432, wind 107 157 protector of boundaries 1183 ruler of starry sky 948  
*Etymology*: 452  
*Attribute*: eagle 41  
*Types*: beardless 1062<sub>(n)</sub>? with white hair 734, silver bust 1155 1160 half-length figure fulminant 333 enthroned above clouds 40 surrounded by zodiac etc. 1159 seated between Minerva and Iuno 40 f. 41 standing on bull 831 holding whip and corn-ears with pôles on head and bulls beside him 1093 in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>(n)</sub>, 1093  
*Identified with* air 452 rain 452 452, sky 452 Elagabalos 902 904 Marnas 555 f.  
 Iupiter, the planet 71  
 Institia 823  
 Inturna (Dinturna)  
*Etymology*: 1112 f.  
 Ixion  
*Personates* Zeus 141  
*Myths*: Hera 74 f. Zeus 74 f. 974  
*Genealogy*: f. of Kentauros 75  
*Types*: Greek 1072 Etrusean 1072 Roman 1072 Byzantine 1072  
*Identified with* Engonasin or Ingenius 483  
 Jack of the Hammer 1142  
 Jacob, ladder of 1118 f.

Jains 1120

Jehovah

*Cult*: Thessalonike 1162

*Epithet*: σεισθεω<sup>ν</sup> 21

*Functions*: earthquake 5<sub>9</sub> 10<sub>1</sub> 21 storm  
324, 884<sub>9</sub>

*Attributes*: hawk (?) 558 high crown  
1072 thunderbolt 1072

*Types*: as a solar Zeus 558 bearded  
head wearing wreath 558 (?) drawn  
by Cherubim 324<sub>1</sub> seated on throne,  
with thunderbolt in right hand, be-  
tween two stands supporting seven-  
branched palmettes—the whole on  
a boat with stem and stern ending  
in a bird's head 1072 seated on  
winged wheel 558

*Identified with* Marnas 558 (?) Theos  
Hypsistos 1162 Zeus 945

*Compared with* Amen 884<sub>9</sub>

*In relation to* Zeus Kāsōr in Egypt 1177

Jerash See Gerasa

Jews

*Rites*: alleged sacrifice of children to  
Moloch by fire 611<sub>5</sub> Μολόχαρπα 1081

John the Baptist

*Cult*: Malta 1031<sub>7</sub> (?)

*Supersedes* Adonis 1031<sub>7</sub> (?)

John the Evangelist, St., in Patmos 986

Jordan 295 f.

Juktas, Mt, profile of Zeus on 1173

Ka'bāh

*Festival*: annual covering in black with  
inscribed gold band 918 f.

*Myths*: brought from heaven by Gabriel  
917<sub>5</sub> first white, then black 917<sub>5</sub>  
escapes deluge 917<sub>6</sub> Abraham con-  
sorts with Hagar upon it 917, 918  
Abraham fastens his camel to it,  
when about to sacrifice Isaac 917<sub>7</sub>

*Functions*: 'in pre-Islamic times the  
meteoric form of an Arab deity,  
either Dousares himself (Münster)  
or the Moon (V. Dalberg) (?) 917  
'originally a goddess embodied as  
an aerolite and annually draped  
in accordance with an ancient  
marriage-rite' (?) 916<sub>1</sub>

— Arab beliefs concerning 917 f.  
described by J. L. Burckhardt 919 f.  
described by Sir R. F. Burton 918 f.  
described by Sir W. Muir 919<sub>4</sub>

Kabeirion at Thebes in Boiotia, vase from  
160 votive table from 580<sub>9</sub>

Kabeiroi

*Cults*: Delos 1172 Mt Kynthos 1172

Phoinike 1001

*Priest*: κομη<sup>τ</sup> or κόμη<sup>τ</sup> 1083

*Etymology*: 1128

*In relation to* Genius Cucullatus 1183

Hittites 1128 St Thomas 1128

— bibliography of 1128

Kabeiros

*Cult*: Thessalonike 902,

C. III.

Kadmilos 190,

Kadmos

*Genealogy*: h. of Harmonia 77<sub>4</sub>

— tomb of 978

Kaikas 130

Kaineus 3<sub>9</sub>

Kairos

*Type*: Lysippos 970

— bibliography of 1161

Kaisareia in Kappadokia

*Cults*: Tyche (Tranquillina) 1177 Zeus

1177

— coins of 1177

Kaisareia Panæas, bronze group at 971<sub>1</sub>

1086 statue of Julian at 972<sub>9</sub>

1086

Kalamata 179<sub>9</sub>

Kalamis 1152 (?)

Kalchedon

*Cult*: Eileithyiai 667 f.

Kallimachos the sculptor 1008 f.

Kalliope 100<sub>9</sub> (?) 100<sub>6</sub> (?)

Kalliithya 1085

Kallynteria 240 f.

Kamarina, coins of 853<sub>3</sub> 1146

Kameiros, gs. of Helios 986

Kanatha

*Cult*: Zeus Μάρπας ὁ Κέφαρ 555

Kanathos 224<sub>2</sub>

Kanobos (Kanopos)

*Cult*: Kanopos 340

*Myths*: helmsman of Menelaos 339<sub>3</sub>

340 priest of Kanopos outwits

Chaldaeans 339 f.

Kanobos, the helmsman of Menelaos

*Myth*: loved by Theonee, d. of Proteus

349<sub>8</sub> 1193

*Genealogy*: h. of Eumenonthis 349

*Identified with* Osiris 349

Kanobos, the star 349

Kanopos

*Cult*: Kanobos (Kanopos) 340

*Function*: the Osiris-Neilos of fresh  
water, opposed by Set-Typhon the  
salt water of the sea 344<sub>6</sub> (?)

*Type*: terra-cotta strainer caulked  
with wax and filled with Nile-water

339<sub>3</sub> 340 344 1193

Kapisa

*Cult*: Zeus 545

Kappadokia, idols with one, two, and  
three heads from 1135

Kar, s. of Phoroneus 569<sub>2</sub>

Karn Adili

*Cults*: Helios 1071 Zeus 1071

Karia, *akrópolis* of Megara 569<sub>4</sub>

Karissai

*Cult*: Mytilene 167

Karkinos 1128

Karneia 1076

Karnos

*Function*: vine-god 1076

*Type*: ram 1076

Karousa

*Cult*: Zeus Δικαιόσυνης Μέγας 951

- Karpathos  
*Cult*: Poseidon Πέρθημος 18<sub>0</sub>
- Kartemnides See Gortyna
- Karthaia  
*Cult*: Apollon 269;  
 — coins of 271
- Karystos  
*Cults*: Glaukos 126<sub>1</sub> (?) 127 (?) Zeus 126<sub>1</sub> 127  
 — coins of 1041
- Kasion, Mt, in Egypt  
*Cult*: Zens Κάστος 1177
- Kasion, Mt, in Syria  
*Cult*: Zeus Κάστος 1177
- Kasmilos 1128
- Kassandra  
*Myth*: Aias, s. of Oileus 867 956
- Kassandreia  
*Cults*: meteorite 884<sub>0</sub> 886 Zeus Απυνεως 882<sub>2</sub>  
 — coins of 882<sub>2</sub> 884<sub>0</sub>
- Kastor and Polydeukes, bibliography of 1134
- Kataibasia 1115
- Kato Zakro, clay seal-impressions from 840<sub>0</sub> 845 1106
- Katreus 77<sub>1</sub>
- Kaulonion  
*Cult*: Apollon 830
- Kavak  
*Cults*: Theos Olbios 630<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ολβιος 628 ff.
- Kekrops  
*Cult*: Athens 771  
*Priest*: λεπέτης 771<sub>4</sub> 1194  
*Mythe*: brought by Athena to Megara 788 809 f. (?) buried in Kekropion at Athens 770 f.  
*Genealog*: f. of Aglauros, Pandrosos, Herse 237 ff.  
*Etymology*: 251<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: with snaky tail 181 186 187 770 773 810<sub>1</sub>
- Keles 1083
- Kelmis 922
- Kenaion, Mt  
*Cults*: St Constantine 1166 Zeus Κέναιος (Κέναιος) 1166
- Kentauros  
*Genealog*: s. of Ixion 75  
*Etymology*: 1072 (?)
- Kentriada, family of clan Kerykes 585 597 603
- Keos  
*Cults*: Aristaios 267 f. St Artemidos 269 Artemis 269 Ktesylla Εκαέργη 269<sub>1</sub> Seirios 266 Zeus Ικμαῖος 266 f. Aristaios 265 ff. Ktesylla 269<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 270
- Kephallenia  
*Cult*: Zeus Αἰρήστος 1171
- Kephalos  
*Myths*: borne off to Syria by Heos (Eos), 246 Prokris 72
- Kephalos (cont.)  
*Genealogy*: s. of Deloneus 72 s. of Hermes by Herse 246 s. of Hermes by Kreousa d. of Erechtheus 246<sub>12</sub> b. of Aimetos, Aktor, Phylakos 187<sub>1</sub> f. of Tithonus and gf. of Phaethon 246 f.
- Types: borne off by Hemera 1186 borne off by Heos 187 pursued by Heos 187<sub>1</sub> standing on coins of Kranioi (?) 1171
- Kephisodotos the younger 659<sub>0</sub>
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*Cult*: Emesa 888<sub>4</sub>  
*Etymology*: 1114
- Kerberos  
*Epithets*: λατρα...trifauci 403<sub>1</sub> tergeminus 403<sub>1</sub> triceps 403<sub>1</sub> triformis 403<sub>1</sub> Τρικέρπερος 403<sub>1</sub> Τρικέρβερος 403<sub>1</sub> τρίχραπος 403<sub>1</sub> τριλιγνιούς ορε or ore trilingui 403<sub>1</sub> τρισώματος 403<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 411<sub>0</sub> 412<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: on coins 408<sub>0</sub> on gems 408<sub>0</sub> ff. on vases 408<sub>0</sub> one-headed 403<sub>1</sub> two-headed 399 three-headed 402 f. 403<sub>1</sub> fifty-headed 403<sub>1</sub> hundred-headed 403<sub>1</sub>  
*Compared with* Kleon 403<sub>1</sub>  
 — as attribute of Aion 1180 in modern Greek folk-songs and folk-tales 412<sub>0</sub> f. oath by (?) 48<sub>0</sub> snaky adjuncts of 410<sub>0</sub>
- Keres, as hounds 413<sub>0</sub>
- Kerkyon 177<sub>0</sub>
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*Cult*: Gorgon 189<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: Eos and Tithonus 248
- Kerykes, priestly clan of Eleusis 104 585 589 597 f. 602 737
- Kerykion, Mt 417<sub>0</sub>
- Keryx, eponym of Kerykes  
*Genealog*: s. of Hermes by Aglauros 602 f. s. of Hermes by Pandrose (Pandrosos) 603
- Keteus, s. of Lykaon and f. of Megisto (= Kallisto) 484
- Keyx 141
- Khonds 446
- Kibotoi 530 (?)
- Kibotos See Apameia in Phrygia
- Kinyras 817<sub>0</sub>
- Kios or Prousiyas  
*Rite*: καλαθός taken in procession 993
- Kirke  
*Myth*: Odysseus 1073  
 — gloriole of 1072
- Kithairon, Mt  
*Cults*: Hera 1042 Hera Λητώ Νυξία 1042 Leto Νυξία or Νυχία 1042 1065 Zeus 1042 1065
- Epithet: Ἐραυνών πυρχός 1042<sub>4</sub>  
*Myths*: Zeus consorts with Hera 1042 Zeus consorts with Leto 1042 1065
- Kithairon, the mountain-god 1042

- Klaros  
*Cult:* Apollon 100
- Klazomenai  
*Cult:* Zeus Τροπαιόφορος 1117  
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- Kleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* 1161 (further bibliography)
- Kleanthes of Corinth 671<sub>0</sub>
- Kledona 290 See also Klidhona
- Kleidemos 120
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- Kleobis and Biton 1044 1083
- Kleonai  
*Rite:* sacrifice to hail-clouds 879  
 — official 'hail-guards' at 878f.
- Klidhona 290 f. See also Kledona
- Klotho 80<sub>4</sub>(1) (?) 717
- Klymene (= Persephone?) 593<sub>0</sub>
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- Klytaimestra  
*Myth:* killed by Orestes 426<sub>4</sub>  
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- Knossos  
*Cult:* natural stones 937<sub>4</sub>
- Kokkygion, Mt  
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*Cults:* Aphrodite 172 Genetyllides 172
- Koloß Limne See Gygaia Limne
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*Cult:* Demeter Εδέχλωσ 179<sub>0</sub>
- Kelotes 47<sub>0</sub>
- Komatas 246
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- Koptos  
*Cult:* Min 882<sub>2</sub>
- Kore  
*Cults:* Alexandreia 913 Gaza 553  
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- Epithets:* Ἔνοδια 279<sub>4</sub> Θεσμοφόρος 168  
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- Rite:* birth of Aion 913
- Priest:* δάσδοῦχος (?) 66<sub>2</sub>
- Genealogy:* d. of Demeter 562<sub>2</sub>
- Type:* bunch of wheat-ears 301<sub>0</sub>(3) (?) between corn-stalk and poppy 899<sub>5</sub>(4 ff.)
- Associated with* Demeter 178<sub>0</sub> Demeter and Zeus Βούλεύς or Εἴβολεύς 1124
- Koresia, coins of 271
- Koressos, Mt  
*Cult:* Zeus 323
- Korkyra  
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*Cult:* Athena 782
- Koronis  
*Myth:* Poseidon 782<sub>4</sub>  
*Metamorphosed into* crow 782<sub>4</sub>
- Korybantes  
*Myth:* sprung from tears of Zeus 323<sub>2</sub>
- Functions:* τῆς Ρέας δράδοι 323<sub>2</sub> τροφεῖς καὶ φέλακες καὶ δαδεσκαλοὶ τοῦ Διός 323<sub>2</sub>
- Identified with* Kouretes 323<sub>2</sub> ep. 1070  
 — sword dance of 1070
- Korystioi See Gortyna
- Kos  
*Cults:* Athena Μαχαρίς 566<sub>2</sub> Dionysos Σκελλίατ 413<sub>0</sub> Hera Αργεία Ελεία Βασίλεια 66<sub>2</sub> Hestia (Hestia) 565 f. Twelve Gods 566<sub>2</sub> Zeus Μαχαρεύς 566 f. Zeus Πολιεύτ 565  
*Myth:* Niayros 18<sub>0</sub>  
 — Fountain of Bourina in 363 f.
- Kottos 120
- Kouretes  
*Rite:* sacrifice children to Kronos 937  
*Myths:* sprung from rain 323 478 sprung from tears of Zeus 323 deceive Kronos 937 953 receive infant Zeus from Rhea 931<sub>3</sub>
- Types:* three male dancers clashing weapons 1127 f. three small male figures wreathed with flowers 1034<sub>1</sub> (?)
- Identified with* Korybantes 323<sub>2</sub> ep. 1070
- Associated with* Kybele and Attis 1127 f.  
 — sword-dance of 1070 1127
- Koze 334<sub>1</sub>
- Kranioi  
*Cult:* Zeus Αἰρήσιος (?) 1171  
 — coins of 1171
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*Rite:* rain-charm 296 f. 316  
 — coins of 297
- Krastonia  
*Cult:* Dionysos 1118
- Kritios 849<sub>2</sub>
- Kroisos sends gifts to Branchidai 520<sub>4</sub> sends gifts to Pytho 520 on the pyre 518 ff. taken by Apollon to the Hyperboreoi 520 has ominous dream 522
- Kronos  
*Cults:* Athens 169<sub>0</sub> Mt Kynthos (?) 1172  
*Epithets:* δύκυλομήτης 923<sub>0</sub> μέγας 928  
*Rite:* sacrifice of children by Kouretes 937  
*Myths:* mutilates Ouranos 481 928 consorts with Rhea 111<sub>1</sub> swallows his children by Rhea 744 928 1139 swallows horse in place of Poseidon 929<sub>3</sub> swallows stone in place of Zeus 927 929 ff. deceived by Kouretes 937 953 expulsion of infant Zeus 1187 deposed by Zeus 966

- Kronos (cont.)**
- Genealogy*: f. by Rhea of Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Ennosigaios, Zeus 928 f. of Zeus 34
  - Functions*: 'Minoan' sky-god 200 953  
'Minoan' storm-god 34 Saturday 938
  - Etymology*: 1139 f.
  - Attributes*: doubleaxe 200 *drépanon* 481
  - Types*: three-eyed (?) 933; white-haired king standing sceptre in hand 931 bearded head of fifth-century style 929; veiled 933; 935 1140 crowned 1140 *ara Capitolina* 933 f.
  - Identified with* Akmon 927; Akrisos (?) 1187
  - Associated with* Rhea 169, 745
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  - *bafyloí* dedicated to 889 sickle of 1135 stone of 889; 927 ff. *tekno-phagia* of, as dance-theme 935; tower of 51<sub>0</sub> 1115
  - Kroton, coins of 714<sub>0</sub>
  - Ktesilochos 82<sub>3</sub> 86<sub>0</sub>
  - Ktesylla**
  - Cult*: Keos 269<sub>1</sub>
  - Epithet*: 'Εκάρηγ 269<sub>1</sub>
  - Myth*: 269<sub>1</sub>
  - Kuzah 334<sub>1</sub>
  - Kyaneai 975 f.
  - Kybdasos 1083
  - Kybele**
  - Cult*: Ephesos 1174
  - Epithet*: 'Opeia 1174
  - Function*: mountain-mother of Asia Minor 834
  - Etymology*: 916<sub>1</sub> (?)
  - Attribute*: lions 834 1174
  - Type*: black stone of Pessinous 893 f. 896 f.
  - Associated with* Attis 1174 Attis and Zeus 1174
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  - Kydon, s. of Apollon 414<sub>0</sub>
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  - Function*: builders 1074
  - Kyklops**
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  - Kyknos 177<sub>0</sub> 441<sub>0</sub>
  - Kyllene**
  - Cult*: Hermes 725<sub>5</sub>
  - Kylon and his men attached by thread to statue of Athena 896<sub>2</sub>
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  - Kynosarges**
  - Cults*: Hebe 724 f. Herakles 724
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— cave-temple on, a pseudo-antiquity 1172 prehistoric settlement on 1172
  - Kypros**
  - Cults*: Hera 'Ελεία 66<sub>2</sub> Zeus Ελαξι-ραῖτη 652<sub>0</sub> 762<sub>3</sub> Zeus Ελάρη (?) 762<sub>3</sub> Zeus 'Ελαιού (?) 762<sub>3</sub> Zeus Εθελίδης 762<sub>3</sub> Zeus Κεράσητ (?) 652<sub>0</sub> Zeus Σπλαγχνόδομος 652<sub>0</sub>
  - Myths*: Aphrodite plants pomegranate 817<sub>0</sub> Kinyras makes Melos the Delian companion to Adonis and gives him Pelia to wife 817<sub>0</sub> Melos the Delian and his wife Pelia hang themselves in grief for death of Adonis 817<sub>0</sub> Melos the Delian transformed into μῆλο by Aphrodite and Pelia into πελεύς 817<sub>0</sub>  
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  - Cults*: Akamantes 115 Athena 535<sub>1</sub> Eumenides 1188 Hera 535<sub>1</sub> (?) Tritopateres 115 Zeus 535<sub>1</sub> Zeus Μελιχίστ 1188  
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  - Labyadai, oaths of 585<sub>4</sub>
  - Labyrinth, on Babylonian tablets 1086 in Crete 1086 in Egypt 1087 in south India 1087 in Malekula 1087 at Taormina 1087 at Tiryns (?) 1086 as dance-theme 1087 as game of Troy 1087 as internal organs of man's body (?) 1086 as map of soul's journey 1087 as mosaic 1087 as royal tomb or palace 1087 bibliography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology of 1141
  - Laechesis 717
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  - Lakedaimon, f. of Eurydike 455

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- Lakrateides, votive relief of 309<sub>4(5)</sub>
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- Lampedromia 1012
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*Cult:* Theos Olbios 1196
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- Laodikeia on the Lykos, coin of 515<sub>8</sub>
- Laphystion, Mt, in Boiotia  
*Cult:* Zeus Λαφύστιος 525
- Lapithai  
*Type:* fighting Centaur (?) 1142
- Laran 679<sub>(3)</sub> 680<sub>(4)</sub>
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*Epithet:* Compitales 119  
*Function:* ancestral spirits 119 cp. 1180
- Larissa in Thessaly  
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- Latiar 432<sub>1</sub>
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- La Turbie, further bibliography of 1117 f.
- Laussel, horn-bearing woman of 1091
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*Cults:* Daimon Millichios 1187 Hera  
 Βασιλίς 61<sub>1</sub> Herkyna 1182 Zeus  
 Βασιλέως 61<sub>1</sub> Zeus Τροφόποιος 1182  
 Zeus Τέριος 562 f.  
 — water of Lethe and water of  
 Mnemosyne at 422<sub>9</sub>
- Leda  
*Myth:* consorts with Zeus 462<sub>1</sub> 467  
 469  
*Genealogy:* d. of Thestios s. of Agenor  
 s. of Pleuron 161<sub>1</sub>  
 — as pendant to Danaë 465
- Leimones 1084<sub>1</sub> (?)
- Leleges  
*Cult:* Tarku (?) 651<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth:* with Nymphs build temple of  
 Hera at Samos 1029
- Lemnos  
*Cult:* Hephaistos 226 ff.  
*Myths:* Hephaistos' fall from heaven  
 228 f. Hypsipyle 360<sub>1</sub> Lemnian  
 women murder their husbands 360<sub>1</sub>  
 — Galen's visits to 229 231 Lemnian  
 earth obtained thence 229 231 f.
- Lemnos, eponym  
*Rites:* marriage with Hephaistos  
 233 f. (?) sacrifice of virgins 191<sub>8</sub>  
 233<sub>1</sub>
- Functions:* earth-goddess 233 probably  
 a form of Artemis 233<sub>1</sub>
- Leochares 570 573 868<sub>5</sub>
- Lerna, springs at 356 361 369 Danaïdes  
 bury heads of Aigyptiadia at 356  
 369
- Lesbos  
*Cults:* Poseidon Ελίμπατος 1042<sub>1</sub>  
 Poseidon Ελύριος 1042<sub>1</sub>  
*Priestess:* Εσοδόφορη 167<sub>10</sub> 168 261  
 — coins of 856<sub>9</sub> oracle of Orpheus'  
 head at 99 ff.
- Lethe, in mystic play at Ephesus 422<sub>9</sub>  
 identified with river Lethon in  
 Kyrenia 422<sub>9</sub> identified with  
 river Limia in Lusitania 422<sub>9</sub> water  
 of, as Orphic conception 420<sub>9</sub> 421<sub>9</sub>  
 water of, at Lebadeia 422<sub>9</sub>
- Leto  
*Cults:* Boutho (Boutos, Boutoi) 983 Mt  
 Kithairon 1042 1065 Phaistos 1042<sub>9</sub>  
*Epithets:* Μεγία or Νυχία 1042<sub>1</sub>  
 1065 Φύριη 1042<sub>9</sub>  
*Myths:* consorts with Zeus 744<sub>1(6)</sub> birth  
 of Apollon 984 f. hides Apollon in  
 Chembis 983 f.
- Genealogy:* m. of Apollon and Artemis  
 by Zeus 744<sub>1(6)</sub>
- Etymology:* 1042<sub>5</sub>
- Attribute:* cock 1042<sub>9</sub>
- Types:* birth of Athena 681 Praxi-  
 tales (?) 933
- Identified with:* Boutho (earlier Udó)  
 984
- Associated with:* Hera 1042
- Superseded by:* Hera 1042
- Letopolis 884<sub>9</sub>
- Leukas  
*Cult:* Apollon Λευκάρης 137<sub>4</sub>  
*Rite:* the Leucadian leap 136<sub>2</sub> 137<sub>9</sub>  
 1076  
*Myth:* Zeus 941<sub>1</sub>
- Leukathaea 1080 See Leukothea
- Leuke, island in Euxine sea 135 140
- Leukippos, s. of Xanthios 590<sub>1</sub>
- Leukothea (Leukathaea)  
*Cult:* Larissa in Thessaly 1080
- Rite:* caldron of apotheosis 1104
- Metamorphosed into:* gull 783<sub>1</sub>
- Libanos, Mt  
*Cults:* baityloī or baitylīa 888 f.  
*Priests:* λαθοφόροι 888<sub>4</sub>  
 — skins spread to catch honey-dew  
 on 500<sub>1</sub>
- Liber  
*Cult:* Thrace 1118
- Epithet:* Pater 1118  
 — assigned by Etruscans to seventh  
 region of sky 156<sub>4</sub>
- Libyans, believe the sky to be holed 353  
 call he-goat *tityrus* 1080 fringed  
 goat-skins worn by women of 838 f.
- Libye, the country  
*Cult:* Athena 128<sub>1</sub> 839
- Myth:* Gorgones 847<sub>1</sub> 866
- Liguria  
*Myth:* Herakles and rain of stones  
 483
- Ligurians 483<sub>2</sub>
- Lilith (?)
- Cult:* Sumerians 832 ff. 1196

- Lilith (?) (*cont.*)  
*Epithet:* *Ardat Lili* ('the slave-girl of the Night') 833  
*Functions:* ancestress of Athens, half-bird half-goddess 834 ravisher of men by night 834  
*Attributes:* coiled piece of rope (?) 1196 head-dress of bovine horns 832 1196 measuring rod and looped cord (?) 832 1196  
*Types:* nude female figure with wings, claws, and spurs of a bird, standing *en face* on two goats 833 f. nude female figure with wings, claws, and spurs of a bird, standing *en face* on two lions and flanked by two owls 832 f.
- Lindos  
*Cults:* Damateres and Zeus Δαμάτηρ 1124 Hera Βασιλεία 61; Lindos, gr. of Helios 986
- Linos 243<sub>2</sub>
- Lipara 110
- Lips 130
- Lithobolia 612<sub>2</sub>
- Lithuanian gods 108 (Perdoytus) 109, (Vélés) 158 (Wejopatis)
- Livia  
*Personates* Venus 1021  
*Associated with* Zeus Ammon 1078 (?)
- Lokroi Epizephyrioi  
*Cults:* Zeus 1097 Zeus' Ελευθέρων 1097
- London  
*Cult:* 'three Mother Goddesses' 1126
- Lordon 1083
- Lucian, satirises Zeus Olympios 966
- Lucifer  
*Cult:* Elousa 915<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth:* fallen from heaven 917
- Lucina, delays birth of Hercules 663<sub>2</sub>
- Lucretius 50<sub>1</sub>
- Lucy, St 447<sub>2</sub>
- Ludi Capitolini 1141
- Luna  
*Cult:* Aquae Sulis 863<sub>11</sub>  
*Attribute:* crescent 41
- Lupercal 1104
- Lupercalia, bibliography of 1104
- Luperci 1104
- Lussoius 1117
- Luxovium in Germania Superior  
*Cults:* Bricia 1117 Lussoius 1117
- Lydia  
*Cult:* Bakī(s) 1082  
*Rite:* prenuptial free love 1026<sub>4</sub>
- Lydo-Phrygians  
*Cult:* Έρωή Κυνάγχα, Μυονερι Καρδαῦλα 283<sub>4</sub>
- Lykabettos 238
- Lykaion, Mt  
*Cult:* Zeus Λύκαιος 267 1068  
*Priest:* makes rain with oak-branch 267  
*— summit of* 1164
- Lykaon 484 526
- Lykia, solar symbol of 1074
- Lykorea  
*Myth:* Deukalion 526, 966
- Lykosoura  
*Cults:* Demeter 712 Despoina 712 f.
- Lykourgos, king of Arabia  
*Myth:* attacks Ambrosia 1111 f.  
*Attribute:* double axe 1111
- Lykourgos, king of Edonoi  
*Myth:* attacks Dionysos and is blinded by Zeus 228<sub>2</sub> slays his s. Dryas 426<sub>4</sub>
- Lyktos, cave of Arkalochori near 1143 Rhea brings infant Zeus first to 928
- Lynkeus  
*Myths:* presents Abas with shield dedicated by Danaos to Hera 356<sub>3</sub>, saved by Hypermestra 356 360<sub>7</sub>
- Lyra 484 488 877
- Lysimachides, votive relief of 309<sub>4</sub><sup>12</sup>
- Lysippos 187<sub>2</sub> 638<sub>2</sub> 704<sub>2</sub> (?) 706 957<sub>2</sub> 970 1019 f.
- Lystra, altar 'to the Epēkoos and to... and to Hermes' 1071 bronze statuette of Hermes with *caduceus* and eagle 1071
- Lyttos  
*Cult:* Zeus 525  
*— later form of* Lyktos 928<sub>2</sub>
- Ma 1134 as equivalent of Μήτηρ 1131
- Madagascar  
*Myth:* origin of woman 98<sub>9</sub><sup>16</sup>
- Maenads  
*Attribute:* ivy-wreath 1133  
*Types:* double bust 1133 grouped with *kalathiskos*-dancers 1006 Skopas 471  
*— artificial skins worn by* 95<sub>2</sub>
- Mageiroi 585 See Daitroi
- Magna Mater  
*Cults:* Heliopolis in Syria (?) 1093 Rome 896 f. 896<sub>1</sub>
- Magnesia ad Maeandrum  
*Cult:* Zeus Σωστρόλας 239<sub>1</sub> 599<sub>3</sub><sup>16</sup> 604,  
*— coins of* 211
- Maia  
*Rite:* sacrifice of a pregnant sow 23  
*Genealogy:* m. of Hermes 1131
- Maiden Castle  
*Cults:* Iupiter Dolichenus (?) 1098 f. Minerva 1098
- Maionia, coins of 899<sub>5</sub><sup>16</sup>
- Makedon 110
- Makedonia  
*Cults:* Ares Θαῦλος (?) or Θαῦλος 282<sub>6</sub>  
 Iupiter Imperator (Zeus Οβριος) 148<sub>7</sub>  
*Rite:* klidhona 290 f.  
*— coins of* 853<sub>2</sub> 868 f. 957<sub>2</sub>
- Makris 1042
- Malachbelos  
*Cults:* Palmyra 1159 Rome 1159
- Function: solar 1159
- Maleates 1083

Mallia, bronze double axe with incised lions from neighbourhood of 1143 f.  
steatite seal-stone from 1196 stone axe ending in forepart of panther (not lioness) from 1192

Mallos in Kilikia, coins of 843<sub>0</sub>  
Malta

Cults: Adonis 1031<sub>7</sub> (?) John the Baptist 1031<sub>7</sub> (?)

Rite: golden idol annually thrown by monk into field of bean-flowers 1031<sub>7</sub>

Manaf 1163

Manaphus

Cult: Carnuntum (?) 1163

Manat 914<sub>1</sub>

Mandaeans 1179

Mändhät<sup>r</sup> 96<sub>(12)</sub>

Manes, as divinised ancestors 440<sub>8</sub> lower part of *mundus* consecrated to 431 offerings to 441 stream up to join the living through *manalis lapis* 432

Mania, m. of the Lares

Rite: human sacrifice commuted 433<sub>0</sub>

Manicheans 50<sub>1</sub>

Maniana

Cult: Abaddir *Sanctus* 937<sub>0</sub>

Manzan Görmö 1098

Mara, fight of Buddha with 1087

Marathon

Cults: Akamantes 115 Athena 'Ελλωρις 1092 Tritopatreis 115

Myth: hiding-place of Athena pursued by Hephaistos 220<sub>6</sub> (?) — commemorated by leaves on Athena's helmet 812 f.

Marduk 1185

Margaret, St. of Scotland 335<sub>0</sub>

Maristiusta (?) 680<sub>(4)</sub>

Marna See Marnas

Marnas

Cults: Gaza 549 ff. Ostia (?) 556

Rites: human sacrifice 554 f. initiation 554

Function: rain 549 551 f.

Etymology: 550

Types: youthful hunter 550 556 f. youthful Zeus 557 mature Zeus 557 f.

Identified with Iupiter 555 f. Jehovah 558 (?) Zeus *Kretagendis* 551 553<sub>1</sub> 555

Associated with Britomartis 550

— bronze seal of 549<sub>3</sub> (?)

Marneion at Gaza, description of 552 ff. comparison of, with Cretan Labyrinth 555

Mars

Cult: Rome 432 1021

Epithet: Ultor 1021

Attribute: Oscar helmet 1062<sub>2(2)</sub>

Type: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2(1f.)</sub>

Associated with Venus 442 f.

Marsyas

Attributes: *cornu copiae* 530 flutes 530

Types: contest with Apollon 659<sub>6</sub> 710 seated in grotto 530

Marsyas, river in Phrygia 531<sub>0</sub>

Mary Magdalén, St 335<sub>0</sub>

Mater

Epithet: *Idaea* 896<sub>0</sub> 896<sub>4</sub>

Mater deum

Attributes: *pedum* and cymbals 895<sub>2</sub>

Phrygian cap 895<sub>2</sub> pipes 895<sub>2</sub>

Type: black stone of Pessinous 894<sub>2</sub>

Associated with Navis Salvia 895<sub>2</sub> 896<sub>0</sub>

— altar of 895 f.

See also Meter Theon, Mother of the gods

Mayence, column of 1191

Mean 88<sub>0</sub> 92<sub>0</sub>

Médard, St 334<sub>2</sub>

Medousa 851<sub>0</sub> See Gorgon

Megalopolis

Cults: Aphrodite Μαχαρίτης 567<sub>0</sub> Athena

Μαχαρίτης 567<sub>0</sub> Demeter ἡρ. Ελει

66<sub>2</sub>

— coins of 712<sub>0</sub> Δακτύλου μηῆμα near

1183

Megara

Cults: Athena Αἴθου 782 f. 795 Demeter

569<sub>5</sub> Demeter Μαλοφόρος 1136

Eileithyiai 668 Pandion ii 783<sub>1</sub> Zeus

'Αφέριος 1165 Zeus Κέριος (not

Κρήνιος, nor Κάρνιος, nor Σκοτίτης,

nor Χθόνιος) 569<sub>5</sub> 1165 Zeus 'Ολόμυ-

πως 1165 Zeus with the Muses

1165

Myth: Athena as gull brings Kekrops

783

In relation to Athens 783<sub>1</sub>

— tomb of Pandion ii at 783<sub>1</sub> wild-

olive as life-tree of 762

Megara, w. of Herakles 422

Megaros (Megareus), s. of Zeus 1165

Megisto (= Kallisto), d. of Ketens 484

Meidias, the potter 704<sub>1</sub> 1018 f.

Meilichios 1111

Melampous

Myth: taught by Cheiron 793

Genealogy: s. of Amythaon 793

Etymology: 1187

Melanippe 109<sub>4</sub>

Melanthes slays Xanthos 1105

Meliai

Genealogy: daughters of Gaia 481

Meligounis 110

Melite, the Attic deme

Cult: Demeter Αγησιδώρα 202<sub>0</sub> (?)

— rock-cut cisterns at 363

Melite in Phthia

Cults: Artemis 283<sub>4</sub> Aspalis Αυειλήρη

'Εκαλψη 283<sub>4</sub>

Meliteus 246

Melos, coins of 342<sub>0(1)</sub> 'Gigantomachy'.

amphora from 535<sub>0</sub> incised gem from

845<sub>0</sub> 1111 1138

Melos the Delian 817<sub>0</sub>

- Melqarth  
*Cult*: Tyre 893  
*Identified with Herakles* 893
- Memnon 259<sub>2</sub>  
 Memphis 78
- Men  
*Cults*: Athens 308 f. Theira 992  
*Functions*: dew 309 moon 309  
*Assimilated to Hermes* 309  
*Associated with Helios* 1093 Pan 308 f.
- Menedemos of Eretria 585
- Memelaos  
*Myth*: Helene 78 f. 1179  
 — helmsman of 339<sub>2</sub>, 340
- Menerva  
*Type*: winged 679<sub>2</sub>  
 See also Menrfa, Mervra
- Menoikeus, tomb of 815<sub>2</sub>
- Menrfa 679<sub>2</sub>, 680<sub>1(2)</sub>, 839 See also Menerva, Mervra
- Mervra 92<sub>2</sub>, 1090 See also Menerva, Menrfa
- Mercurius  
*Cult*: Numidia 1078  
*Attribute*: purse 1062<sub>2(1,2)</sub>  
*Types*: in pediment of Domitian's Capitoline temple 707 in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2(1,2)</sub>  
*Identified with Wodan* 210 (?)  
*Associated with Volcanus and Minerva* 209 f.
- Messene  
*Cults*: Artemis' Ελεία 66<sub>2</sub>, Zeus' Εριδάτας 1130 Zeus' Ιθωμάτας 525
- Mestha or Amset 345<sub>1</sub>
- Metapontum  
*Cult*: Zeus' Ελευθέριος 1097  
*Rite*: θέρον χρυσού dedicated at Delphoi 307<sub>2</sub>  
 — coins of 307<sub>2</sub>, 820<sub>2</sub>
- Meter  
*Cult*: Athens 67<sub>2</sub>  
 Meteres, nurses of Zeus in Crete 225<sub>1</sub>
- Meter Theon  
*Cult*: Phaistos 422<sub>2</sub>  
 See also Materdeum, Mother of the gods
- Metis  
*Epithet*: πτώη γενέτειρα 745<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: swallowed by Zeus 125<sub>2</sub>, 567<sub>2</sub>, 727<sub>2</sub>, 728, 743 f., 744<sub>1(2)</sub>  
*Metamorphosed into fly* 744<sub>4</sub> (?) many shapes 744  
*Genealogy*: d. of Okeanos 125<sub>2</sub>, d. of Okeanos by Tethys 743 m. of Athens by Zeus 744<sub>1(2)</sub> m. of Poros 746 f.  
*Compared with Thetis* 745
- Metis (masc.)  
*Epithet*: πτώρος γενέτειρα 745<sub>4</sub>  
*Myth*: birth from cosmic egg ('the cloud') 727  
*Identified with Phanes* 745
- Michael, St  
*Cult*: 1070  
*Superseded* Zeus 277<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Midas, captures Silenos by ruse 433<sub>2</sub>
- Miletos  
*Cults*: Apollon Φίλιος (=Φιλήσιος) 474<sub>2</sub>  
 Zeus Δαινόδηρος Σωτήρ (?) 912 Zeus Νόστος 7<sub>2</sub>, 1111 Zeus Τελεσιουργός 1192  
*Festival*: Διάτροφος 564
- Miletos, s. of Apollon 414<sub>2</sub>
- Milichie  
*Cult*: Thespiai 1187
- Milky Way  
*Myths*: Hera 1098 Manzan Görmö 1098 — conceived as celestial road 946 1115 conceived as celestial tree 1192
- Mimas 3<sub>2</sub>
- Min  
*Cults*: Chemmis 884<sub>2</sub>, Koptos 882<sub>2</sub>  
*Functions*: fertility 885<sub>2</sub>, thunderbolt 882<sub>2</sub>  
*Attribute*: thunderbolt 884<sub>2</sub>  
*In relation to Amen-Rā* 885<sub>2</sub> the other bull-gods of Egypt 885<sub>2</sub>
- Mine 1090
- Minerva  
*Cults*: Maiden Castle 1098 Rome 856<sub>2</sub>, 859  
*Epithets*: Medica 859 Tritonia 127<sub>2</sub>, Tritonis 126<sub>2</sub>, Vixtrix 823, 825<sub>2</sub>, 825<sub>1(2)</sub>  
*Myth*: Myrmix 608<sub>2</sub>  
*Attributes*: cornu copiae 825<sub>2</sub>, mural crown 825<sub>2</sub>, owl 41  
*Types*: holding sprig of olive 695<sub>2</sub> in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2(1,2)</sub>, winged 823 ff.  
*Identified with Holda* (?) 210  
*Associated with Volcanus and Mercurius* 209 f.  
*Compared with Sulis* 859 — five Minervas 842<sub>2</sub>, 843<sub>2</sub> in Etruscan lightning-lore 156 specially honoured by Domitian 872
- Minos  
*Epithets*: Ζεύδης Ρχων σκῆπτρος 1184 δλοδόφρων 1103  
*Myths*: Poseidon 628<sub>1</sub> done to death in hot bath by Kokalos or his daughters 1104  
*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus by Europa 627<sub>1</sub>, 628<sub>2</sub> f. of Akakkallis 414<sub>2</sub>  
*Etymology*: 411<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Minotaur  
*Epithet*: Ταῖρος Μινώταος 1090  
*Type*: leading two captive women (?) 1090  
*Compared with Aix* 840<sub>2</sub>  
 — bibliography of 1087 ff.
- Mithras  
*Epithet*: βουλόντος θεός 1194  
*Myth*: birth from rock 236<sub>2</sub>  
*Identified with Zeus* 945  
*Superseded by St George* (?) 1194
- Mitra 1134 See Mithras
- Mneia, in mystic play at Ephesus 422<sub>2</sub>
- Mnemosyne  
*Cult*: Thespiai 1070  
*Myth*: consorts with Zeus 744<sub>1(2)</sub>

## Mnemosyne (cont.)

*Genealogy*: m. of Muses by Zeus 744<sub>125</sub>  
1189  
— water of, as Orphic conception  
420<sub>0</sub> 421<sub>0</sub> water of, at Lebadeia 422<sub>0</sub>

## Mnevis

*Type*: buil-beaded man with solar disk  
and plumes 1082

## Mochlos, vase from 193 (b)

## Mochos 1179

## Moirai

*Cults*: Athens 721 Sparta 722<sub>3</sub>

*Epithet*: Λαχέρεις 722<sub>3</sub>

*Genealogy*: daughters of Nyx 718<sub>1</sub>  
daughters of Zeus by Themis 744<sub>125</sub>

*Types*: holding sceptres 1057 one seated  
and two standing figures 659 717  
three standing figures 715 f. 717<sub>2</sub>

*Assimilated to Aphrodite* 722

*Associated with Zeus Moirai* 721<sub>4</sub>

*In relation to Aphrodite* 722 Zeus 1057

— eldest of, identified with Aphrodite  
Olympia 171<sub>0</sub>

## Mollones

*Type*: with two heads, four arms, four  
legs, one body 1177

## Molpis, sacrificed to Zeus Ómbrios 525 f.

Momos 742<sub>4</sub>

## Moneta

*Etymology*: 23<sub>5</sub>

## Montezuma 475 f. 1194

## Morning Star See Hesperophorus, Lucifer

## Moses, rock of 1118

Mosychlos 232<sub>3</sub> 234

## Mother of the gods

*Cults*: Hittites 916, Mt Ide in Phrygia  
(Mysia) 893 Pessinouss 893 ff. Thebes  
in Boiotia 893

*Type*: meteorite 893 ff.

## Associated with Pan 893

— *kteis* of (?) 918<sub>3</sub> star of 180 stone  
image of, falls from heaven 893

See also Mater deum, Meter Theon

## Mundifori 1075

Munthuch 430<sub>0</sub> 439<sub>2</sub>

## Muses

*Cult*: Megara 1165

*Myths*: bury Orpheus 1115, feed  
Komatas, in chest, on honey 246

Thamyras 488

*Genealogy*: daughters of Zeus by  
Mnemosyne 471<sub>105</sub> 1189

*Associated with Zeus* 1165

## Mytilina, floating island in territory of 1014

## Mykenai

*Cult*: Hera 1045

*Myth*: founded by Perseus 363 478<sub>2</sub>

*Etymology*: 478<sub>2</sub>

Mykenai, rectangular wells at 363 shaft-  
graves at 363 *thelos*-tombs at 363

'Treasury of Atreus' at 367<sub>5</sub>

## Mykene, early name of Mykenai 224

## Mykonos

*Cults*: Poseidon Teuerírrys 179<sub>0</sub> Poseidon

Φόκιος 179<sub>0</sub>

## Mylasa

*Cults*: Zeus Kráptios 1181 Zeus 'Οσογύα  
1140 Zeus 'Τύφωτος 1162

*Festival*: Taurophonia 570 1110

Myrra, coin of 899<sub>512</sub>

## Myrike 1111

Myrmidores 608<sub>2</sub>

## Myrmix

*Metamorphosed into ant* 608<sub>2</sub>

## Myron 696 f. 850

## Myrtilos

*Myth*: Olympia 523<sub>11</sub>

## Mytiene

*Cults*: Etephilai 167 Helios 1184  
Karissai 167 Theoi Akraioi 6 Zens  
1184

*Priestess*: 'Ερσόφορος 167 f.

— mysteries at 167

Naassene hymn 300<sub>612</sub>

## Nabataioi

*Cults*: Adad 1097 Atargatis 1097 Dou-  
sares 907 ff. sun 912<sub>4</sub> Tyche 1097

Zeus 1097

*Rites*: daily libations and incense  
offered to sun on roof 912<sub>4</sub>

Nagidos, coin of 763<sub>2</sub> (?)

## Nakoleia

*Cults*: Theoi Katachthonioi 1160 Zeus  
Βροτών 1160 f. Zeus Βροτών και

Πατήρ Θεός 1161 (?) Zeus Βροτών

Νεκύτηρος Πατήρ 1161 (?)

— monuments of 1160 f.

## Namki 273

Nana 815<sub>0</sub>

## Nandi 1086

## Nannakos 527 f.

## Napata

*Cult*: Āmen 882<sub>2</sub>

— *omphalos* from 882<sub>2</sub> 1077

## Narkissos

*Type*: with Eros at his shoulder 1022

Natalia, St 523<sub>4</sub>

## Naukratis

*Cults*: Hera 1187 Zeus 'Ανωρόπολος  
1187

## Nauplios 868

## Navis Salvia

*Associated with Mater deum* 895<sub>2</sub> 896<sub>0</sub>

## Naxos

*Rite*: baby boy placed in bride's bed  
on eve of wedding 1026<sub>4</sub>

— folk-tale from 257<sub>1</sub>

Neades or Neides 3<sub>0</sub>Neapolis in Makedonia, coins of 856<sub>0</sub>Neike 811<sub>1</sub>Nelloia 344<sub>4</sub>

## Neilos

*Cult*: Silailis 349

*Identified with Eridanos* 349 Okeanos  
349 Osiris 344; Zeus 348 f. 524 1077

— called Aigyptos by Homer 358<sub>2</sub>  
extinguishes pyre of Habrokomes  
524 rays of 1077

Neith 345<sub>1</sub> 839<sub>2</sub>

- Nemea  
*Cult*: Zeus 1083 ff.  
 — bronze bull from 1085 Epimenides  
 and the lion of 1085 excavations at  
 1083 ff.
- Nemesis  
*Type*: in chariot drawn by two griffins  
 842<sub>2</sub>
- Nemesis  
*Cults*: Inōnū in Phrygia 1146 Rham-  
 nous 955<sub>7</sub>  
*Types*: Aphroditesque 955<sub>7</sub>, standing  
 on man 1073  
*In relation to Helios* 1073 Nemetona  
 1073 f.
- Nemetona 1073 f.
- Nemi, double herms at 1182 f.
- Neophytus, St 1112
- Neo-Platonists 745 887 f. 913, 914<sub>6</sub>
- Neoptolemos, tomb of, at Delphi 938
- Nephelai  
*Cults*: Orphists 70 296 Sokrates (?) 70  
*Epithets*: μεγδλαι θεαι δεδράσταις ἀργοῖς  
 69<sub>3</sub> αἰράσται 69<sub>3</sub> παυβασίλειαι 70<sub>1</sub>  
*Rite*: burnt-offering of myrrh 70  
*Genealogy*: daughters of Aither 70 879  
 — costume of 69<sub>3</sub> Orphic hymn to  
 70  
*See also* Nephela
- Nephela  
*Myths*: Athamas 73 f. Prokris 72  
*See also* Nephelai
- Nephelokokkygia 44 ff. 63
- Nephthys 345<sub>1</sub>
- Neptunus  
*Type*: in Pompeian painting of Twelve  
 Gods 1062<sub>2(1)</sub>
- Nereids 129 132 ff. 163 237<sub>2</sub>
- Nereus  
*Genealogy*: s. of Pontos 743<sub>8</sub>  
*Function*: earthquakes 4<sub>6</sub>
- Nero  
*Personates* Zeus 1117
- Nescania  
*Cult*: Iupiter Pantheus 1129
- New Grange 367<sub>5</sub>
- New Year's Day 1067
- Nikai  
*Type*: dancing 955  
*See also* Nike, Victoria
- Nikai in Bithynia  
*Cults*: Asklepios 1182 Zeus Aiatōs  
 1184  
 — coins of 948 1182 1184
- Nikai in Liguria  
*Cult*: Hercules Lapidarius 492<sub>1</sub>
- Nike  
*Cult*: Athens 811 ff.  
*Epithets*: Ἀγγεποτ 811 καλλισφερος 811<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: d. of Pallas s. of Lykaon  
 and foster-st. of Athena 811<sub>1</sub> d. of  
 Pallas the Titan by Styx 811<sub>1</sub> st. of  
 Zelos, Kratos, Bia 811<sub>1</sub>  
*Functions*: abstraction from Athena  
 Nike 811 abstraction from Zeus (?)
- Nike (*cont.*)  
 811<sub>1</sub> charioteer 76; Eileithyia 850<sub>2(1)</sub>  
 handmaid to Athena Nike (?) 819<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 321<sub>6</sub>(?)  
*Attribute*: palm-branch 67 f. 1181  
*Types*: drawing votes from urn 758  
 flanking Aphrodite 1016 ff. (?) half-  
 draped 1180 hovering 659 691<sub>3</sub>(?)  
 692 753 755 1040 sandal-binding  
 706<sub>5</sub> seated with pomegranate in  
 right hand and helmet in left 811  
 standing before seated Zeus 1051<sub>5(1)</sub>  
 standing with *oinochōe* in right hand  
 and pomegranate in left 819<sub>1</sub> wing-  
 less 811  
*In relation to Athena* 811  
*See also* Nikai, Victoria
- Nikephoria 794<sub>1</sub>
- Niketeria 754<sub>1</sub>
- Nikias, the painter 460 462 637<sub>3</sub> ff.
- Nikias, the potter 1012
- Nikomedesia, earthquake at 25 f. Elaga-  
 balus at 902 martyrs at 523<sub>4</sub>
- Nikopolis in Moesia  
*Cult*: Zeus Kepaisios 1157
- Nile See Neilos
- Nin-khursag 1155
- Ninnion, tablet of 722 723<sub>0</sub> 724<sub>0</sub>
- Niobe 54<sub>2</sub>
- Niobids 955
- Nisyros  
*Cult*: Zeus MetNixios 1187  
*Myth*: flung by Poseidon at Polybotes  
 14<sub>9</sub> 18<sub>0</sub>
- Noah 293 528 f.
- Nomos  
*Epithets*: ὁ τάρρων βασιλεὺς 951<sub>2</sub> ὁ τεῦ  
 Δότης ἔτεις νιός 951<sub>2</sub>  
*Function*: πάρδερος of Zeus 950  
*Identified with* Zeus 951
- Nonae Caprotinae 612<sub>0</sub>
- Nonnos, on the Ambrosiai Petrai 978 f.
- Notos, on 'Tower of the Winds' at Athens  
 130 sieves of 335 f. skin-bottles of  
 335 f.  
*See also* Notus
- Notus  
*Type*: winged figure streaming with  
 water 327<sub>2</sub> 329<sub>0</sub> 333  
 — sent by Iupiter to cause deluge 107  
*See also* Notos
- Nuceria, coins of 342<sub>0(1)</sub>
- Numa Pomplius, forbids the quenching of  
 ashes with wine 515<sub>0</sub> founds altar  
 of Iupiter Elicius 433<sub>0</sub> instructed in  
 lightning-lore by Iupiter Elicius 433<sub>0</sub>  
 ep. 758<sub>0</sub> law of, about man struck  
 by lightning 1115 secures Faunus  
 and Martins Picus by ruse 433<sub>0</sub>
- Numantia 1090 1179
- Numidia  
*Cults*: Hercules 1078 Iupiter 1078  
 Mercurius 1078 Nutrix 1078  
 Saturnus 1078 Tellus 1078 Testi-  
 monius 1078 Venus 1078

## Nutrix

*Cult:* Numidia 1078*Nymphogenes* 129

## Nymphs

*Cults:* Athens 308 f. Gygaia Limne 988 f. Vari 261; 262<sub>0</sub> 263<sub>0</sub>*Myth:* teach Aristaios 266*Function:* whirlwinds 164*Associated with Pan* 308 f.*— Danaiades* 357 Hyades 512 518  
Okeaninae 743<sub>0</sub> Oreiades 164;  
Archedamos of Thera ὁ νυμφόλυγρος  
262<sub>0</sub> as nurses of Dionysos 850<sub>0</sub>(?)

Nysa in Lydia, coins of 1114

Nysa Skythopolis, coin of 88<sub>0</sub>

## Nyx

*Genealogy:* m. of Moirai 718<sub>1</sub>*— advice of 950<sub>0</sub> in Orphic theogony  
1177 ff.*

## Oasis of Siwah

*Cult:* Zeus Ἄμμων 882<sub>2</sub>*— additions to bibliography of 1078  
coin found in 1078 earliest reference  
to Ammoneion in 1076 omphaloid  
fetish of Ammoneion in 882<sub>2</sub>*

## Oceanus

*Type:* recumbent with water flowing  
from urn 41

## Oche, Mt

*Myth:* union of Zeus with Hera 1041*— early corbelled building on 1041<sub>4</sub>*

## Odessos in Thrace

*Cult:* Theos Megas 1129*— coins of 1129 stelai of νέοτηρος  
and κευθότηρος from 1160*

## Odhin

*Attribute:* broad hat 1132*See also* Wodan

## Odomantoi 522

## Odysseus

*Myths:* Aiolos Hippotades 106 Kirke 1073*Function:* sun-god (?) 1075Oingros 99<sub>2</sub>Oichalia 509<sub>2</sub>

## Oidipous

*Etymology:* 1187

## Oinanthe 183

## Okeaninae See Nymphs

## Okeanos

*Genealogy:* f. of Métis by Tethys  
743*Types:* large head 129 recumbent with  
oar in hand and crab's claws on  
head 980 ep. 1127 f.*Identified with Neilos* 349*— garden of 1064<sub>4</sub> in Orphic theogony  
1177 ff.*

## Oknos

*Rite:* myth of rope represented at  
Akanthos in Egypt 338<sub>2</sub>*Myths:* ass and bundle of sticks 401;  
ass and rope 338<sub>2</sub>*Function:* 'Behinderungstraum' 401;

## Oknos (cont.)

*Compared with dream of king of Kosala  
401,*

## Olba

*Cults:* Tyche 646<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ὁλβιος 642<sub>1</sub>*Priest:* ἀρχιερέως μέγας 642<sub>1</sub> 645<sub>0</sub>*Myth:* cult founded by Aias s. of*Teukros 643<sub>0</sub>**— coins of 642<sub>1</sub> 645<sub>0</sub> hierón of,  
renamed Diokaisareia 643<sub>0</sub> ruled by  
priestly dynasts, most of them  
named Teukros or Aias 643<sub>0</sub> temple  
and tēmenos of Zeus Ὁλβιος at 642<sub>1</sub>  
Tychaion at 646<sub>0</sub>*

## Olbia

*Cults:* Achilles Ποντίαρχος 654<sub>0</sub> Apollon  
1136 Zeus Ἀπαύρων 655<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
Βασιλέας 654<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 654<sub>0</sub>  
Zeus Ὁλβιος 653<sub>1</sub> 1194 1196 Zeus  
Πολάρχης 654<sub>0</sub> Zeus Σωτήρ 654<sub>0</sub>  
— coins of 655<sub>0</sub> 656<sub>0</sub> 853<sub>1</sub> 1194 1196  
temple of Apollon at 1136Old Slavonic deities 64<sub>0</sub>

## Olympia

*Cults:* Artemis Κορδάκη 1009 Athena  
Ἐργάρια 967 Zeus Ὁλέματος 954 ff.  
Zeus Ὁλβιος 1147*Rite:* Φαιδρωραι sacrifice to Athena  
Ἐργάρια 967*Myth:* Myrtillos 522<sub>11</sub>  
— coins of 958<sub>4</sub> 1156 east pediment  
of temple of Zeus at 717<sub>2</sub> Philippeion  
at 442<sub>2</sub> ship-like foundation of stones  
at 1171*Olympia, the festival at Daphne, near  
Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191*

## Olympos

*Etymology:* 1068*Olympos, Mt, in Lykia, fire springing from  
ground on 228*

## Olympos, Mt, in Makedonia

*Cults:* St Elias 1167 Zeus 236 737<sub>2</sub>*Myths:* Abbas Ali 1168 ff. Zeus visited  
by Hera and Athena 34*— ascents of 1167 chapel of St Elias  
on 1167 palace of Zeus on 515 ep.  
680<sub>0</sub> song from 296 summit of 943  
‘Throne of Zeus’ on 1167**Olympos, the Cretan teacher of Zeus 321<sub>0</sub>**1173**Olympos, the Mysian flute-player 321<sub>0</sub>**893**Olynthos, ‘Villa of Good Fortune’ at 1073**Omphale, as a form of Kybele (?) 916<sub>1</sub>*

## Opiconsvia 437

## Opis 1172

## Orchomenos in Boiotia

*Cults:* Hera Τελεία 949<sub>0</sub> Zeus Τέλειος  
949<sub>0</sub>*Orcus, portal of 432 440 portal of, called**manalis lapis 432*

## Oreiades See Nymphs

## Orestes

*Myths:* cured of madness at Gythion  
939 founders cult of Seythian Artemis

- Orestes (*cont.*)  
     in Patmos 985 f. kills Klytaimestra  
     426<sub>1</sub>  
     — connected with holy stones 939  
     941<sub>1</sub>
- Oros, Mt  
     *Cult*: Zeus Ἐλάδης 1164  
     — bronze *hydria* from cistern on  
         1164 summit of 1164
- Orpheus  
     *Epithet*: χρυσολόρης 1115  
     *Myths*: Eurydice 99 slain by Thracian  
         women 488 slain by a thunderbolt  
         1115 dismemberment 1104 buried  
         by Muses 1115 oracular head 99 ff.  
     *Genealogy*: s. of Oiagros 99<sub>2</sub>  
     *Types*: playing *kithára* 419 oracular  
         head 99 ff.  
     *Identified with* Engonasin or Ingenuus 488  
     *In relation to* Danaides 425<sub>1</sub>  
     — *ddyton* of, in Lesbos 100 ascribes  
         obscenity to the gods 1027<sub>5</sub> lyre of,  
         found by Lesbian women 101 on  
         marriage of Earth and Sky 454
- Orphic Eros. See Eros
- Orphic Zeus 745 ep. 746 1177 ff. See Zeus
- Orphists  
     *Cults*: Aither 879 Nephelai 70 f. 296  
     *Rites*: ἔρφος ἐτεῖαι γάλανος 1118  
         symbolic ladder 946  
     *Priests*: ὄρφειοι λέπται 1068  
     — gold tablets of 395<sub>1</sub> 396 419<sub>2</sub> f.  
         hymn to Zeus 950 pantheistic  
         hymns 947 theogony 727 745 (ep.  
         746) 942 1177 ff. (the succession of  
         Chaos, Okeanos, Nyx, Ouranos,  
         Zeus) anthropogony 481 (?) Λίθια  
         921 περὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἡρᾶς 1027<sub>5</sub> Dike  
         949<sub>1</sub> 950<sub>4</sub> Nomos 950<sub>5</sub> call cosmic  
         egg ‘the cloud’ 727 call moon  
         ‘Gorgónion’ 805<sub>1</sub> 845 call rain ‘the  
         tears of Zeus’ 322 hold that in  
         Hades sinners are sunk in mud  
         398<sub>5</sub> Orphic conception of Under-  
         world possibly illustrated in sixth-  
         century fresco and thence copied on  
         black-figured vases 399 f. Orphic  
         traits in Underworld as depicted on  
         ‘Apulian’ vases of s. iv n.c. 402<sub>1</sub>  
         led by Orpheus to the Queen of the  
         Underworld 419 influence of, trace-  
         able at Athens in s. vi n.c. 400<sub>1</sub> in  
         Crete 1103
- Orthanes 1083
- Orthros or Orthos  
     *Myth*: Geryones 410<sub>6</sub>  
     *Genealogy*: offspring of Echidna 410<sub>9</sub>  
     *Function*: doublet of Kerberos 410<sub>9</sub> 412<sub>9</sub>  
     *Types*: one-headed, two-headed, three-  
         headed 410<sub>9</sub>
- Oschorphoria 241<sub>9</sub>
- Osiris  
     *Cult*: Alexandreia 346 ff.  
     *Festival*: finding of Osiris 345<sub>9</sub>
- Osiris (*cont.*)  
     *Rites*: dirge called *Marepót* 305<sub>9</sub> Osiris-  
         beds 305<sub>9</sub>  
     *Functions*: god of the Nile 344 grains  
         of corn 302<sub>9</sub>(1)  
     *Types*: ‘Canopus’ 346 ff. 1193 dead  
         body with corn springing from it  
         305<sub>9</sub>(7) figure made of Nile-mud and  
         filled with corn-grains 305<sub>9</sub> hollow  
         form filled with Nile-silt, planted  
         with corn, and wrapped up like a  
         mummy 305<sub>9</sub> mummy with corn  
         springing from it 305<sub>9</sub>(7) profile  
         contour filled in with earth, barley-  
         grains, etc. 305<sub>9</sub>  
     *Identified with* Aion 914<sub>9</sub> dead man  
         344 395 Kanobos, the helmsman of  
         Menelaos 349 the Nile 344<sub>1</sub>  
     *Assimilated to* wheat or barley germi-  
         nating 302<sub>9</sub>(5)  
         — children of 345; king becomes  
         1131 Nile-water as seed of 344
- Ossa, Mt  
     *Cult*: St Elias 1167  
         — views of 1167
- Ostanes 1147
- Ostia  
     *Cult*: Marnas (?) 556  
         — tomb-painting of Kronos and Rhea  
         found near 934 f. winged Minerva  
         from 823 ff.
- Othreis 246
- Oulomos 914<sub>9</sub>
- Oupis  
     *Cult*: Sparia 189<sub>1</sub>  
     *Identified with* Artemis 189<sub>1</sub>
- Ouranos  
     *Epithet*: ἀστερόβητος 928  
     *Myths*: birth of Aphrodite 274 276<sub>2</sub>  
         invents *baitōlia* 887 mutilated by  
         Kronos 481 928<sub>3</sub>  
     *Genealogy*: s. of Akmon 927 f. by his  
         st. Ge of four sons—Elos called  
         Kronos, Baitylos, Dagon that is  
         Siton, and Atlas 887  
     *Identified with* Akmon 927<sub>4</sub>  
     *Associated with* Gaia 419<sub>3</sub> 420<sub>9</sub> 422<sub>9</sub>  
         477<sub>3</sub> 744 745 928  
         — blood of, produces Phoenicians 481  
         blood-drops of, received by Gaia  
         481 in Orphic theogony 1177 ff.
- Ousoös 983
- Oxyrhynchite nome  
     *Cult*: Athena 190<sub>9</sub>
- Oxyrhynchos  
     *Cult*: Zeus Ἀμμαν 1076
- Pa as equivalent of Harpē 1131
- Palaemon 129 135
- Palaipolis in Korkyra  
     *Cult*: Artemis 844<sub>19</sub>
- Palamaon  
     *Myth*: cleaves head of Zeus 661  
     *Function*: form of Hephaistos 191<sub>9</sub>  
     *Compared with* Palamedes 191<sub>9</sub>

- Palmades 191<sub>o</sub>  
 Pales (masc.)  
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 Palestine, belief about snakes current in  
     772<sub>2</sub>  
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 Pallas  
*Etymology*: 746 (?)  
 Pallas the Giant  
*Myths*: attempts to violate Athena  
     842 flayed by Athena, who wears  
     his skin and wings 842  
*Genealogy*: f. of Athena by Titanis d.  
     of Okeanos 842  
 Pallas the Titan  
*Genealogy*: f. by Styx of Zelos, Nike  
     (Neike?), Kratos, Bia 811<sub>1</sub>  
 Pallas, s. of Lykaon  
*Genealogy*: f. of Nike and foster-f. of  
     Athena 811<sub>1</sub>  
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 Palmyra  
*Cults*: Adad 1093 Aglibol 1158 f.  
     Atargatis 1093 Bel 1158 f. Beltis (?)  
     1159 Iaribol 1158 f. Malachbelos  
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*Cults*: Athens 308 f. Mt Parnes 253<sub>o</sub>  
     Thebes in Boiotia 893 Vari 261, 265<sub>o</sub>  
*Epithets*: Ἀγρυπνός 237<sub>2</sub> Ζεὺς ὁ κερδαῖντις  
     652, Μέγας 1131 δρειάσθης 94<sub>2</sub>  
*Myths*: Olympos the flute-player 893  
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     the gods 893 Nymphs 253<sub>o</sub>, 308 f.  
*In relation to* Aigipan 620<sub>o</sub> (?) Zan 1131  
     — death of 1131 (bibliography)  
 Panagia  
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 Panamara  
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 Pandia 320<sub>4</sub>  
 Pandion  
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*Cult*: Megara 783<sub>1</sub>  
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*Function*: earth 109  
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*Rite*: ἵτιζωσι or sacrifice of sheep for  
     Pandrosos in addition to cow for  
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     the garment of Pandrosos herself  
     245 wears small *himation* called  
     παρόντιον and passes the same to  
     man slaying the victim 245  
*Genealogy*: m. of Keryx by Hermes  
     603  
*Function*: dev 237 603 944  
*Type*: birth of Erechthonios 186  
*Confused with* Pandora 240 244<sub>1</sub>, 245<sub>1</sub>  
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*Cult*: Aphrodite 238<sub>1</sub> 1112 Aphrodite  
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*Cult*: Ares 344<sub>3</sub>  
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*Type*: with Eros at his shoulder 1022  
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     Zeus at 1129  
 Parjanya  
*Genealogy*: f. of soma 335<sub>3</sub>  
*Function*: rain 335<sub>3</sub>  
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 Parnassos, Mt  
*Cult*: baietylos (?) 889<sub>2</sub>  
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     critics 689 ff. ἐφέβοι in the west  
     frieze of 706 f. ‘Ilioss’ or ‘Kephisos’  
     from west pediment of 689 on  
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*Identified with* Chaos 747<sub>1</sub>  
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 Herakles 55<sub>3</sub>  
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*Etymology*: 55<sub>3</sub>  
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 736<sub>3</sub> Ephesos 599<sub>12</sub> Erechtheion  
 11<sub>3</sub> 758 Gythion 11<sub>2</sub> Karpathos 18<sub>9</sub>  
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 ριος 1042<sub>1</sub> Ἐλύτιος 1042<sub>1</sub> Ἐννοσίγραος  
 531 ἐποιητας 7<sub>2</sub> Ἐρροῖδας 8<sub>1</sub>  
 ἐροῖχθων 7<sub>2</sub> Ἐρεχθεῖς 12<sub>3</sub> 758 f.  
 Ἐρεχθεῖται Γαῖοχος 12<sub>3</sub> Ἐρεμεδῶν (?)  
 675<sub>1</sub> Ἰακώς 9<sub>1</sub> Ἰππηγένης 9<sub>1</sub> Ἰππος  
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Poseidon (*cont.*)

179<sub>0</sub> τεράκτυρος γαῖας 10<sub>2</sub> Φρέσπριας  
585<sub>4</sub> Φύλιος 179<sub>0</sub> Φυρδίλιμος 527 562  
*Rites*: sacrifice of bull 'to Poseidon and to Erechtheus' 759 sacrifice of ἔνορχα μῆλα 396<sub>2</sub> sacrifice of white male lamb 179<sub>0</sub> sacrifice of white ram 179<sub>0</sub>

*Priest*: λεπέτ 12<sub>3</sub>

*Myths*: contest with Athena about Athens 750 ff. contest with Athena about Trozen 751<sub>1</sub> contest with Hera 751<sub>1</sub> contest with Zeus 751<sub>2</sub> Ephialtes 18<sub>6</sub> floods Thriasian plain 751 gives cup to Teleboes 507<sub>2</sub> Koronis 782<sub>4</sub> Minos 628<sub>1</sub> Polybotes 14<sub>0</sub> produces sea at Athens 750 f. produces springs at Lerna 361 punishes Inachos with drought 355 f. saves Amymone from Satyr 356 shows Amymone the Lernaean springs 361 369 Tempe 10<sub>1</sub> woos Thetis 741 f.

*Genealogy*: f. of Alceus by Kanake 4<sub>0</sub> f. of Athena by lake Tritonia 128<sub>1</sub> f. of Eryx by Aphrodite 176<sub>0</sub> f. of Sinis 10<sub>1</sub>

*Functions*: originally a specialised form of Zeus 20<sub>1</sub> 736<sub>2</sub> 1140 1153 originally a lightning-god with lightning-fork, later a sea-god with fishing-spear 736 agriculture 527 earthquakes 5 ff. 943 sea 726<sub>4</sub> wind astern 162

*Etymology*: 736<sub>2</sub> 1140

*Attributes*: *chlamys* 1153 dolphin 1060 two dolphins 753 lightning-fork 20 867 trident 10 tunny 671<sub>0</sub>

*Types*: bearing the island Nisyros or Porphyria 14<sub>0</sub> bronze statue from Artemision (?) 1151 ff. energetic 697 exhibiting wave 755 (?) 755<sub>2</sub>(?) holding *aphelastion* 755<sub>2</sub> hurling trident 1153 in archaic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. in the guise of Zeus 1153 leaning on trident 1153 riding on dolphin 627<sub>10</sub> 831 seated on rock 581<sub>0</sub> standing with dolphin and trident 12<sub>0</sub> striking with trident 1153 terra-cotta relief at Munich 1152 with eyes in garnet 217<sub>0</sub> with glaucous eyes 216 with horse's head in hand 217<sub>0</sub>

*Identified with* Erechtheus 12<sub>3</sub> 737 758 f.

*Associated with* Amphitrite 681 958 Aphrodite 675<sub>2</sub> 699 f. Erechtheus 758 Zeus and Hades 6 1157 (?)

*In relation to* duck 52<sub>2</sub>

*Superseded by* Zeus 21

— brass pillar of, inscribed with laws 1184 Ionian by descent 736<sub>2</sub> 751 provenance of 736 1140

Poseidonia, coins of 1153

Poseidonia, the festival 297

Poseidoniastai 155

Poseidonios 482 f.

Potidaia, founded where meteorite fell 886

Praeneste, mosaic from 626<sub>10</sub>

Praisos

*Cult*: pig 1103

— terra-cotta plaques from 1011

Praxitergidai 241<sub>0</sub>

Praxiteles 659<sub>0</sub> (?) 932 f. (?) 970 1009 (?)

Praxiteles 'the elder' (?) 935<sub>2</sub>

Preale 679<sub>10</sub>

Premnousia 515<sub>2</sub>

Priansos

*Cult*: Zeus Σεξάλλιος 413<sub>0</sub>

Priapos

*Type*: on column 1096

Priassos 531

Prinia, archaic goddess from 957<sub>0</sub>

Prinophoros 1134

Prochtyte 3<sub>0</sub>

Prodikos 839

Prokne

*Myth*: 1147

*Genealogy*: w. of Tereus 53

Prokris

*Myth*: Kephalos 72

*Genealogy*: d. of Erechtheus 72

Promacheia 1008

Prometheus

*Myths*: theft of fire 228 refuses to reveal secret to Zeus 740 f. consents at last to reveal secret to Zeus 741 Herakles 956 at Ikonion makes images of clay 528 birth of Athena 125<sub>2</sub> cleaves head of Zeus 661 first to kill ox 661

*Attributes*: double axe 125<sub>2</sub> ring 1029<sub>10</sub> umbrella 57 willow (?)-wreath 1029<sub>10</sub>

*Identified with* Engonasin or Ingeniculus 483

*In relation to* fire-drill 1075 (?) Zeus 1075 — pillar of 1115

Pron, Mt

*Cult*: Hera 65

Proserpina

*Attributes*: modius 1062<sub>10</sub> sceptre 1062<sub>10</sub>

*Type*: in Pompeian painting of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>10</sub>

*Associated with* Dis 432<sub>1</sub>

See also Persephone

Protens

*Myth*: Helene 78

*Genealogy*: f. of Theonoe 349<sub>2</sub>

*Function*: seer 349<sub>2</sub> 743<sub>2</sub>

Protoklēs 121

Protokreon 121

Prousiias See Klos

Psycho Cave on Mt Lasithi 1143

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Ptolemaios Chennos 1043<sub>2</sub>

Ptolemais in Egyptian Thebaïd

*Cults*: Harbaktes 1073 Hierax Theos

1073

Ptolemies, marriage-custom of 110 f.

- Punt, serpent-king of 984
- Pushkalāvati**  
*Cult:* Nandi 1086  
 — coin of 1086
- Pygmalion**  
*Myths:* bids Bousiris cure eight years' drought by sacrificing a stranger 653; slays Acerbas h. of Elissa 646; golden olive of 983
- Pyr** 983
- Pyrenees**, bear-festivals in 1080
- Pyrgoi**  
*Cult:* Eileithya 679<sub>0</sub>
- Pyrrhakos** 118
- Pythagoras**, bids abstain from eating plough-ox or ram 591; conceives soul of dead friend as hound 413; controls wind 106 explains earthquakes 2
- Pythagoras of Rhegium** 850
- Pythagoreans**, cosmic ship 18<sub>0</sub>; fire at centre and circumference of universe 19<sub>0</sub>; Klotho, Atropos, Lachesis 717<sub>4</sub>; Milky Way 946; pentagram 341<sub>3</sub>; *τερπαύειν* 398<sub>0</sub>; Sappho and Phaon 136<sub>5</sub>; subterranean basilica at Rome 139
- Pythia**, the festival 901
- Pythion**  
*Cults:* ἥρως Ἐπικάρπης 1114 f.; Zeus Karaβάρης 1114 f.; Zeus Κεφαλέας 1157
- Pytho** 929. See Delphoi
- Python**, the vase-painter 510 512 518
- 'Qaqin 884<sub>0</sub>
- Qebsennuf** 345<sub>1</sub>
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*Cult:* sword 1139  
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- Quinquatrus Minusculae** 856<sub>0</sub>
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*Compared with Adad, Tešub, and the god of Mt Tabor* 1173
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- Rhadamanthys**  
*Genealogy:* s. of Zeus by Europa 627<sub>1</sub> 628<sub>0</sub>  
*Function:* judge of dead 402  
 — oath of 47<sub>0</sub>
- Rhamnous**  
*Cult:* Nemesis 955<sub>7</sub>  
 — sanctuary of Nemesis at 1073
- Rhaphso**  
*Function:* birth-goddess 89 94  
*Etymology:* 1121
- Rhea**  
*Cults:* Athens 169<sub>0</sub>; Mt Ide in Crete 1033<sub>1</sub>; Mt Ide in Phrygia 1033<sub>1</sub>; Mt Kynthos (?) 1172
- Myths:* consorts with Kronos 111<sub>1</sub>; entrusts infant Zeus to the Kouretes and to the nymphs Adrasteia and Ide 931<sub>2</sub>; entrusts infant Zeus to Themis 839<sub>6</sub>
- Genealogy:* m. by Kronos of Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Ennosigaios, Zeus 928
- Functions:* 'Minoan' earth-goddess 200 953 mountain-mother 931
- Attribute:* lions 1172
- Types:* *ara Capitolina* 933 f. in chariot drawn by two griffins 842<sub>2</sub>(?) offering stone to Kronos 929 fl. veiled 935
- Associated with Kronos* 169<sub>0</sub> 745  
 — Korybantes followers of 323<sub>2</sub>
- Rheitoi** 297
- Rhizenia (?)**, law-*kýrbis* from 1183 f.
- Rhodanous** 366
- Rhodes**  
*Cults:* Athena Αὐδία 355 Damateres 1124 f.; Isis 986 Zeus Αράθεος 525
- Myths:* Helios claims it as his portion 986 Helios weds Rhodos 986 Telchines 296 881<sub>1</sub>; Zeus consorts with Himalia by means of rain 477; Zeus rains golden snow at birth of Athena 477 670 719  
 — as a floating island 986 f. coins of 856<sub>0</sub> 1072 tubular stand from 197<sub>0</sub>; Zeus and Hera in reliefs from 1034 ff.
- Rhodos**, w. of Helios 986
- Rhoiai** 818<sub>0</sub>
- Rhoio** 818<sub>0</sub>
- Rhyton**  
*Cult:* Zeus Σκύλλος 1148
- Roma**, the personification of Rome  
*Cult:* Pergamon 1191
- Epithet:* *Victrix* 825<sub>0</sub>
- Rome**  
*Cults:* Apollo 436<sub>0</sub>; Bellona *Puleinensis* 1142 Dis 1115 Dis *Pater* 904<sub>2</sub>; Eliagabalos 902 f.; Iuno *Moneta* 23 Iupiter *Dolichenus* 1097 f.; Magna Mater 894 f. 896; Malachbelos 1159 Mars 432 442 f.; Mars *Ultor* 1021 Minerva 856<sub>0</sub>; Minerva *Medica* 859 Saturnus 967<sub>3</sub>; Sol 906 f.; Tellus 24<sub>3</sub>; Terminus 441 Venus 443; Venus *Genitrix* (*Genitrix*) 1022 Victoria 896
- Festivals:* Agon *Capitolinus* 1141 Consualia 437 Ludi *Capitolini* 1141 Nonae *Caprotinae* 612<sub>0</sub>; Opiconsivia 437 Quinquatrus *Minusculae* 856<sub>0</sub>; Quinquennialia 1141  
 — altar of Dis *in Tarento* at 1115 Catacomb of St. Balbina at 1119

Rome (cont.)

Catacomb of St Domitilla at 972,  
coins of 801 f. 821 856, 872 901<sub>2</sub>, 902  
904<sub>2</sub>, 906 1020 1092 1095 Golden  
House of Nero at 37 ff. 948 'House  
of Livia' at 638<sub>2</sub> *manalis lapis* at  
429 ff. *mundus* at 429 ff. *Palladium*  
of 896 (?) 903; Pantheon at 353;  
441 f. pediment of temple of Jupiter  
*Capitolinus* at 707 1066 Porta  
Capena at 452 *Roma quadrata* at 429;  
430, 431, 436, 436, 438 Scalae Caci at  
896 f. subterranean basilica at 135 ff.  
Syrian sanctuary on Ianiculum at  
1114 temple of Apollo at 438<sub>2</sub>  
temple of Augustus at 460 temple of  
Elagabalos on the Palatine at 903 f.  
temple of Elagabalos in suburb of  
903 f. temple of Jupiter *Capitolinus*  
at 246<sub>2</sub> 707 1066 temple of Magna  
Mater on Palatine at 896 f. 896;  
temple of Mars *Ultor* at 1021  
Tullianum at 366 Viale Mansoni  
*hypogaeum* at 972<sub>2</sub>

Romulus

*Myth*: hurls spear at Palatine 754<sub>2</sub>  
— and Remns (bibliography) 1134 f.

Rosalia 293;

Sabaoth 1086

Sabazios

*Cult*: Thiraco-Phrygians 874

*Epithet*: Τύτ (Τύτ?) 874

*Function*: rain 874

*Identified with* Zeus 945

— boar dedicated to 875<sub>2</sub> regarded  
as boar (?) 875<sub>2</sub>

Sabines

*Cult*: Vacuna 1012

Saepinum, burial within house at 1181  
Sagaris, river in Phrygia 918<sub>2</sub> See also  
Sangarios

Sagittarius 324

Saitta, coins of 408<sub>2</sub>

Salamis

*Cult*: Zeus 650<sub>2</sub> (?)

*Myth*: Teukros 650<sub>2</sub>

Salamis personified 956

Salamis in Kypros

*Cults*: Athena 653<sub>2</sub> Iupiter *Salaminius*  
646<sub>2</sub> Thea ή Οὐρανος 561 (?) Zeus  
646<sub>2</sub> ff. Zeus Ολύμπιος 648<sub>2</sub> 649<sub>2</sub>

*Rite*: human sacrifice to Agraulos or  
Diomedes 653<sub>2</sub>

*Myth*: Teukros 646<sub>2</sub> 650<sub>2</sub>

— coins of 833<sub>2</sub> temple called Διός  
Δεράδειος at 646<sub>2</sub> f.

Salbad

*Cult*: Zeus Μέγας ή Κόπειος 1098

Saliates, dancing islands in Lydia 989

Salii, hymn of 1130

Salmoneus

*Myth*: Zeus 966

Personates Zeus 141

Salus 1092

Samaā

*Functions*: sun, wisdom, law 1135 law  
and righteousness 836

Sameimroumos 933

Samos

*Cults*: Aphrodite ἡ Καλάδης or ἡ  
Ἐλα 66<sub>2</sub> Dionysos Εὔρυτ 1030<sub>2</sub>  
Hera 645<sub>2</sub> 969 1027 ff. 1045 Zeus  
1027 ff. Zeus Μάλιχτος 1187

*Festival*: Tones 1028 ff.

*Rites*: ισπότ γάμος 1027 ff. image of  
Hera annually carried off to the  
shore 1029 1031

*Myths*: Admete 1029 birth of Hera  
beneath willow beside Imbrasos 1029

Neades or Neides 3<sub>2</sub>

— called Dryousa 1027<sub>1</sub> called  
Parthenia 1027 coins of 211 645<sub>2</sub>  
899<sub>2</sub> 1029 Heraion at 1027 once  
occupied by Carians 1027<sub>1</sub> 1029  
willow-tree of Hera at 1028 ff.

Samos, h. of Parthenia 1027<sub>1</sub>

Samothrace

*Myth*: Dardanos and Iason (Iason) 77<sub>2</sub>  
77<sub>1</sub>

— mysteries in 133 135

Sanchouniathon 887 891 892 1179

Sandanos 366

Sandas

*Type*: standing on lion 831

Sangarios, river of Asia Minor 531 See  
also Sagaris

Sappho 136<sub>2</sub> 137<sub>4</sub>

Saqqāra, mummies of horses at 1187

Saracens

*Cults*: Aphrodite Χαζδρ (Χαζδρ) 915<sub>2</sub>  
915<sub>2</sub> 917; Hecosphoros 915<sub>2</sub> 917;

Sarapis

*Cults*: Athens 588<sub>2</sub> Delos 154 f.  
Sarmizegetusa 1162

*Attributes*: eagle 37<sub>2</sub> *kilathos* 1148  
wreath 1148

*Identified with* Zeus 945

*Associated with* Zeus 1148

Sardeis

*Cult*: Artemis 1082

*Rites*: ταυροκαθίσια και κυνήγια (?)  
1091

— coins of 899<sub>2</sub> 899<sub>2</sub> (1)

Sardus Pater 1119

Sarmizegetusa

*Cults*: Fortuna Daciarum 1162 Invictus

Deus Serapis 1162 Sol *Inveictus*  
1162 Theos Hypaistos Επάγκος  
1162

Saros 18<sub>9</sub>

Sardinia

*Cults*: bull-god 1110 pillar 1110 spring  
or well 1110

*Myth*: Aristaos 270

Sarpodon the Lycian

*Myth*: slain by Patroklos 478

*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus 478 s. of Zeus  
by Europe 628<sub>2</sub>

Saturnalia 432<sub>1</sub>

- Saturnus  
*Cults*: Ghardimaou 1095 Numidia 1078  
 Rome 967<sub>3</sub>  
*Festival*: Saturnalia 432<sub>1</sub>  
*Rite*: human sacrifice commuted 433<sub>9</sub>  
*Types*: cult-image filled with oil 967<sub>3</sub>  
 968 three-eyed (?) 933<sub>7</sub>
- Satyroi  
*Attributes*: ivy-wreath 1133 *lagobolos*  
 382<sub>9</sub> *nebris* 1133 pine-wreath 1133  
 vine-wreath 1132 dancing 380<sub>4</sub> 382<sub>5</sub>  
 386<sub>9(10)</sub> double bust (bearded and  
 beardless) 1132 f.
- Schiblè 1114
- Seasons See Hornai
- Sebastopolis, coin of 408<sub>9</sub>
- Securitas 946<sub>15</sub>
- Sedasa
- Cult*: Hermes Μέγαρος 1071 Zeus  
 Helios 1071
- Segesta 177<sub>9</sub>
- Seimia (Seimia, Sima)  
*Cult*: Syria 889
- Seimios  
*Cult*: Heliopolis in Syria 1095 Syria  
 889
- Seir, Mt 1076
- Seiren See Siren
- Seirios  
*Cult*: Keos 266  
*Types*: dog's head 271<sub>1</sub>; forepart of dog  
 270<sub>6</sub> 271<sub>2</sub>; star 271<sub>3</sub>  
 — oath by (?) 48<sub>9</sub>; sun so called 1074
- Sekhet  
*Type*: with leonine head, disk, and  
 ankh 1095
- Selene  
*Myth*: consortis with Zeus 1111  
*Genealogy*: m. of fifty daughters by  
 Endymion 357 m. of Herse by Zeus  
 179 f.  
*Types*: riding horse or mule 958 driving  
 quadriga down behind hills 718  
 facing bust with moon on head,  
 seven stars ranged round, and zodiac  
 as framework 1085 f.  
 — meadows of 1064<sub>4</sub>  
 Selenkeia on the Kalykadnos  
*Cult*: Zeus Bóreas 161  
 — coins of 843<sub>2</sub>
- Seleukeia Pieria  
*Cults*: Zeus Κάστος 884<sub>9</sub> Zeus Κεφαλίως  
 884<sub>9</sub>  
 — coins of 884<sub>9</sub>
- Selge, coins of 645<sub>9</sub>
- Selinos, the river-god 614<sub>5</sub>
- Selinous  
*Cults*: Apollon 614<sub>5</sub> Demeter Μαλοφόρος  
 1136 1188 Hekate Προστυλαι 1188  
 Paaskrateia 1188 f. Zeus Μελίχιος  
 1188 f.  
 — coins of 614<sub>5</sub> metope from temple  
 'E or 'R' at 1036 1038 f. metope  
 from temple 'F or 'S' at 615<sub>2(1)</sub>
- Selket or Serqet 345<sub>1</sub>
- Semeia See Seimia
- Semele  
*Cult*: Thraeo-Phrygians 874  
*Epithets*: Ἐγχώ 1114 "Τη (Τά) 874  
*Myth*: Zeus 82<sub>3</sub>  
*Function*: earth 874
- Serapis See Sarapis
- Seriphos  
*Myth*: Diktya s. of Peristhenes draws  
 chest of Danaë to land 455
- Sestos  
*Cults*: Theos Olbios 656<sub>2</sub> Zeus Ολβιός  
 656<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Set 1135
- Sethians  
*Attribute*: double axe 678<sub>(1)</sub>
- Sichna 295
- Side, coins of 813<sub>8</sub>
- Sidon  
*Cult*: Astarte 1023  
 — coins of 158<sub>4</sub>
- Sigurd 1174
- Sikinos  
*Cult*: Hera Βασιλεία (?) 611
- Sikyon  
*Cult*: (Hebe) Δία 184<sub>2</sub>
- Silenos  
*Etymology*: 1106  
*Types*: dancing 512 with pig's ears 92<sub>8</sub>
- Silsilis  
*Cult*: Neilos Zeus Νεφάρης ο Μέγαρος  
 349
- Sima See Seimia
- Simeon Stylites 779<sub>9</sub>
- Sinis 10<sub>1</sub>
- Sinope, coins of 1137 silver bracelets from  
 765<sub>4</sub>
- Sinties 228
- Sipylos, Mt  
*Myths*: Priasos 531 Tantalos 418<sub>9</sub>  
 — grave of Tantalos on 417<sub>6</sub>
- Siren  
*Types*: beating head and breast 385<sub>9(10)</sub>  
 flanked by *loutrophóros* and Sphinx  
 393<sub>9</sub> flanking nude Aphrodite 1016  
 on column 387<sub>2</sub> on sepulchral *stèle*  
 132  
 — helps Herakles in rape of Delphic  
 tripod 799<sub>1</sub>
- Sisyphos  
*Types*: rolling stone up hill 399 416  
 lashed by Erinyes 416
- Sithon  
*Myth*: gives his d. Pallene to winner of  
 single combat 522 f.
- Skedasos, sacrifice to daughters of 565<sub>1</sub>
- Skepsis, coin of 517<sub>9</sub>
- Skira 115
- Skiron, the suburb of Athens, sacred  
 ploughing at 606
- Skiron, the brigand 1186
- Skiron, the wind 130
- Skirophoria 166<sub>9</sub> 602
- Skopas 135 471 704<sub>8(7)</sub>
- Skopas, the Silenos 513

- Skylakeus 413<sub>9</sub>  
 Skylla  
*Etymology*: 414<sub>9</sub>, 416<sub>9</sub>  
*Types*: dog 414<sub>9</sub> (?) semi-human 414<sub>9</sub> ff.  
*Connected with Sicily* 976  
*In relation to Zeus Skyllios* 1148
- Skyllies 414<sub>9</sub>, 1148  
 Skyllion, Mt 413<sub>9</sub>  
 Skythia  
*Cult*: scimitar 907<sub>4</sub>
- Slavonic deities (?): Dzewana 64<sub>9</sub>, Dzydziljela 64<sub>9</sub>, Jessa 64<sub>9</sub>, Lado 289<sub>2</sub>, Lel 64<sub>9</sub>, Lyada 64<sub>9</sub>, Marzyana 64<sub>9</sub>, Nya 64<sub>9</sub>, Perdyotus 108, Pogoda 64<sub>9</sub>, Polel 64<sub>9</sub>, Žywye 64<sub>9</sub>
- Smilis 1027  
 Smyrna  
*Cults*: Atys 22, Boubrostis 1156, Zeus Ζεύς 22  
*Rites*: sacrifice of black bull to Boubrostis 1156, ταινοκαθάψια 1091 — marble relief at 757 f.
- Sol  
*Cults*: Aquae Sulis 863<sub>11</sub>, Palmyra 1112, Rome 906 f.  
*Function*: a fusion of Elagabalos and other oriental Ba'alim (?) 907  
*Etymology*: 858  
*Attribute*: radiate crown 41  
*Types*: in quadriga pursues Luna in biga 41, radiate 863<sub>11</sub>  
*Identified with Elagabalos* 901<sub>1</sub>, 902<sub>2</sub>
- Solomon, throne of 957<sub>9</sub>  
 Solon, κύρbeis and dixones of 949  
 Solon, the gem-engraver 853<sub>1</sub>  
 Soma 128  
 Sopatreia 593<sub>2</sub>  
 Sopatros 590 f., 604 661<sub>2</sub>  
 Sophia  
*Epithet*: γένετις 745<sub>9</sub>  
 Sophokles, controls wind 106  
 Sosipolis  
*Cult*: Elis 239<sub>1</sub>  
 Sounion  
*Cult*: Zeus Μελίχιος 1184  
 Sparta  
*Cults*: Aphrodite Ερόπτης 722<sub>3</sub>, Artemis Λυγόδεμα 1030, Artemis Οφέλια 1009, 1030, Asklepios Αγύρια 1030, Athena Χαλκίδης 11<sub>1</sub>, 661, Moirai Λαχέτεις 722<sub>3</sub>, Oupis 189<sub>1</sub>, Pleuron 161<sub>1</sub>, Zeus Εόδρειος 160, Zeus Τύρατος 1162  
*Festivals*: Gymnopaidiai 997, 1008, Promachaea 1008  
*Rites*: διμαστήγωσις 1134, Λυδῶν τετράγη 1009  
*Myth*: Helene 78 — stele from 507<sub>3</sub>
- Sphinx  
*Myth*: Mt Phikion 506  
 Sphinxes  
*Type*: grasping Theban children 955  
 Stara Zagora, bronze statuette of Zeus Ολύμπιος at 1196  
 Statoniensis, Lake, floating island in 1013
- Sterope 956  
 Stesichoros, palinode of 77 f.  
 Stoica 234 ff., 726 f., 878 f., 947, 961 (?) 1046<sub>5</sub>  
 Stonehenge, genetically posterior to Woodhenge 910<sub>5</sub>  
 Stratonikeia  
*Cults*: Hekate Δρόσφορης 544<sub>2</sub>, Theos Agathos 1162, Zeus 568, Zeus Πανδιόποτος 544<sub>2</sub>, 1066, Zeus Τύρατος 1162 — coins of 568 ep. 589 ox precedes priest to 568
- Stratos in Akarnania  
*Cult*: Zeus 1166 f.  
 Strophades, as floating islands 987 called Platai 987
- Stymphalos  
*Cult*: Hera Χήρα 1070 — tomb of Zeus at 1070 (?)
- Sucaelus  
*Compared with Cornish 'Jack of the Hammer'* 1142
- Sul 858 See Sulis  
 Sulien, St 859<sub>203</sub>  
 Sulis  
*Cult*: Aquae Sulis 858 ff.  
*Epithet*: Minerva 859<sub>2(1-3)</sub>, 859<sub>4</sub>  
*Functions*: hot curative springs 858, sun-goddess 859, 863  
*Compared with Minerva Medica* 859
- Sumerians  
*Cults*: Domouzi (later Tamouz) 1125, Im-dugud 1155, Lilith (?) 832 ff., Nin-khursag 1155 — balag in relation to pēlekys (?) 1141, bull's head from harp of 1102
- Summanus 1115
- Symbetylos  
*Cult*: Syria 889
- Sympheropolis  
*Cult*: Zeus Αγαθόποτος 1173
- Symplegades 975 f., 983, 987
- Synnada  
*Cults*: Zeus 1070, Zeus Πάρδυπος 212<sub>2</sub>, — coins of 212<sub>2</sub>
- Syra See Syros
- Syracuse  
*Cults*: Athena 850<sub>6</sub>, Zeus Οβριος (Jupiter Imperator) 148 — coins of 784 f., 819, 870<sub>4</sub>
- Syria  
*Cults*: Seimia (Semeia, Sima) 889, Seimios 889, Symbetylos 889, Zeus Βέρανος 890 f. — coins of 820 f., 856<sub>9</sub>, idols with two or more heads from 1135
- Syrianos 745
- Syrinx  
*Myth*: Pan 1012
- Syros, folk-tales from 818<sub>9</sub>, 977
- Tabor, Mt  
*Etymology*: 1102 — divine light round summit of 1068 name and οὐτε of, spread to

- Tabor, Mt (*cont.*)  
 Crete, Rhodes, Agrigentum, and  
 Crimea 1172 f.
- Tages  
*Myth*: 203<sub>o</sub>  
 —— lore of 434
- Tainaros, Cape  
*Cult*: Poseidon 21 23<sub>o</sub>  
 Tainaros in Lakonike 257<sub>o</sub>
- Taitle 1111
- Tala (?) 989 See Gygaea Limne
- Talaimenes 989
- Taliesin 1174
- Talos  
*Epithet*: *Perdix* 1111  
*Myth*: 1110  
*Genealogy*: nephew of Daidalos 1110 f.  
*Attribute*: saw 1110  
*Identified with* Engonasin or Ingeniculus 491  
*Compared with* Daidalos and Ikaros 1111
- Tamise (Temsche) 338<sub>o</sub>
- Tanagra  
*Cults*: Athena *Zoostropia* 567<sub>o</sub>, Zeus *Μάραντος* 567<sub>o</sub>  
 —— tomb of Orion at 417<sub>o</sub>
- Tanais 366
- Tantalos  
*Epithet*: θερόφοιτης 418<sub>o</sub>, θερόφορος 418<sub>o</sub>  
*Myths*: buried beneath Mt Sipylos 418<sub>o</sub>  
 overhanging rock 416 417<sub>o</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus 417<sub>o</sub> f. of Pelops 417<sub>o</sub>  
*Functions*: doublet of Atlas 417<sub>o</sub> Giant or Titan 418<sub>o</sub> supporter of sky 418<sub>o</sub>  
*Etymology*: 417<sub>o</sub>  
*Identified with* Engonasin or Ingeniculus 491  
 —— bones of 566<sub>o</sub> grave of, at Polion in Lesbos 417<sub>o</sub> grave of, on Mt Sipylos 417<sub>o</sub> perhaps a Hittite king 416<sub>o</sub>
- Tantalos, Mt, in Lesbos 417<sub>o</sub>
- Taos 491
- Taranis  
*Cult*: Celts 1191 (?)  
*Attribute*: wheel 1191  
*Type*: holding wheel 1074 (?)
- Tarentum  
*Cults*: Anemoi 105 f., Hera 636<sub>o</sub>, Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 1097  
*Rite*: sacrifice of ass to the Winds 105 f.  
 —— antefixes with head of Io from 635<sub>o</sub> f. coins of 636<sub>o</sub>, 714<sub>o</sub>, 794 frieze from tomb at 425 loom-weights from 795 relief of Twelve Gods from 1055 ff. terra-cotta disks from 1119 1136
- Tarentum in the Campus Martius 1115
- Tarku See Tarku
- Tarku  
*Cults*: Hittites (?) 651<sub>o</sub>, 652<sub>o</sub>, Leleges (?) 651<sub>o</sub>
- Tarku (*cont.*)  
*Identified with* Zeus 651<sub>o</sub>
- Tarquinensis, Lake See Volsiniensis, Lake
- Tartaros  
*Etymology*: 411<sub>o</sub> (?)
- Tarvos *Trigaranus* 1100
- Tarxien, seated goddesses and other discoid figures from 1101
- Tat 332<sub>o</sub>
- Tauion  
*Etymology*: 1155
- Taurophonia 570 1110
- Tauros, Mt  
*Cults*: Elagabalos 902 Faustina the younger 902
- Tav-, pre-Phrygian form of Zeus 1155
- Tavium See Tauion
- Taygeton, Mt, ascent of 1164
- Tegea  
*Cult*: Athena 'Αλέα 1141  
 —— temple of Athena 'Αλέα at 1141
- Teiresias  
*Etymology*: 1115
- Telchines  
*Function*: produce clouds, rain, hail, snow 296 881<sub>o</sub>
- Teleboes 507<sub>o</sub>, 508
- Telephos 823<sub>o</sub>
- Telesphorus  
*Type*: hooded 1182 f.  
*In relation to* Genius Cucullatus 1183
- Tellus  
*Cults*: Numidia 1078 Rome 24<sub>o</sub>  
*Rite*: sacrifice of pregnant sow 23  
*Type*: with *cornu copiae* and child 904
- Temenothyrai  
*Cult*: Zeus Γαλάξιος 1104  
 —— rock-cut throne of Geryones at 1070
- Tempe 10<sub>o</sub>
- Temische (Tamise) 338<sub>o</sub>
- Tenedos  
*Cults*: Apollon 1146 Dionysos 'Αρθρωποιστης 599<sub>(2)</sub>, Dionysos Παδίος 599<sub>(2)</sub>  
 —— coins of 789<sub>o</sub>
- Tenes 1146 See also Tennes (Tenes)
- Tennes (Tenes) and Hemithaea 458<sub>o</sub> (?)
- Tenos, 'Tower of the Winds' at 129<sub>o</sub>
- Terens  
*Myth*: pursues Prokne and Philomela 1147
- Genealogy: h. of Prokne 53
- Attribute: double axe 1147  
 —— in the Birds of Aristophanes 44 ff.
- Termessos (Termessus Maior)  
*Cults*: Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 1176 Zeus Σολωμός 1176
- Festival: Eleutheria (?) 1176  
 —— coins of 1177
- Terminus  
*Cult*: Rome 441
- Rite*: blood of burnt sacrifice, incense,

- Terminus (*cont.*)  
 corn, honeycombs, wine etc. placed  
 in hole 441  
 —— altar of (?) 430<sub>9</sub> stone of 441 1067
- Terra  
*Epithet:* *mater* 453<sub>2</sub>
- Terra Mater  
*Rite:* sacrifice of pregnant sow 23
- Tesana 259<sub>9</sub>
- Testimonius  
*Cult:* Numidia 1078
- Tešub  
*Compared with* Adad, Ramman, and  
 the god of Mt Tabor 1173
- Tethys  
*Genealogy:* m. of Metis by Oceanos 743
- Tettix the Cretan 257<sub>1</sub>
- Teukroi 651<sub>9</sub>
- Teukros  
*Myth:* founds temple of Zeus at  
 Salamis in Kypros 646<sub>9</sub> 650<sub>9</sub>  
*Function:* faded god (?) 650<sub>9</sub>  
*Etymology:* 651<sub>9</sub>  
 —— as name of priestly dynasts at  
 Oiba 643<sub>9</sub> 645<sub>9</sub> prehistory of 650<sub>9</sub> ff.
- Teutamidas 1187
- Tenthras 823<sub>9</sub>
- Thales 19<sub>4</sub> 19<sub>1</sub>
- Thaletas 592<sub>9</sub>
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- Thanr 665<sub>9</sub> 678<sub>(1)</sub> 678<sub>(2)</sub>
- Thasos  
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- Thaulia 282<sub>9</sub>
- Thanlon 282 596 ff. ancestor of Boutypon  
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- Thaulonidai 282 identified with Boutypon  
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- Thaumasion, Mt  
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- Themis  
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*Etymology:* 1168

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*Cult:* Pergamon 1191  
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*Cults:* Poseidon 22; Zeus 22

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 their maid into woodpecker 57<sub>2</sub>

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## Triton

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*Festival:* Lithobolia 612<sub>0</sub>

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*Cult:* Athena 193<sub>0</sub>

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## Tuatha Dé Danann 367

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*Cults:* Bosporos 147 f.; Kos 566<sub>2</sub>

*Functions:* a divine 'Synoikismos' on  
 Ionian soil (s. viii n. c.) 1055; 'Monats-  
 oder Zodiakusgötter' (s. iv n. c.) 1055  
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    - Cults:* Gaza 553 Nabataioi 1097 Olba 646<sub>0</sub>
    - Personated by Tranquillina* 1177
    - Attributes:* *cornu copiae* 1095 rudder 1095 turreted crown 1095
    - Type:* standing with *kilathos*, rudder, and *cornu copiae* 646<sub>0</sub> 655<sub>0</sub>
  - Tydens 60<sub>50</sub>
  - Tyndaridai**
    - Etymology:* 1113 1134
  - Typhaonion, Mt 506
  - Typhion, Mt 506<sub>1</sub>
  - Typhoeus**
    - Myths:* Mt Aitne 3<sub>0</sub>, Zeus 615<sub>3</sub>
    - Type:* with snaky legs 842<sub>2</sub>
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  - Typhon**
    - Myths:* fight with Zeus 191<sub>0</sub>, laid low by thunderbolt (of Zeus) and bow of Apollon 55<sub>5</sub>; searches for s. of Osiris 983
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    - Mt Typhaonion named after 506
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    - coins of 892 979 f. 982
  - Tyrimnos 1140
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  - Uni**
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    - Attribute:* drinking-horn 92<sub>0</sub>
    - Type:* suckling Hercle 92<sub>0</sub>
  - Ur-Nammu, *stèle* of 832<sub>1</sub> 1196
  - Ursa Maior 484 953
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  - Uther 509<sub>2</sub>
  - Uzza 914
  - Vacuna**
    - Cult:* Sabines 1012
    - Aquae Cutiliae sacred to 1012
  - Vadimonis, Lake, floating islands in 1014
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    - Varro, M. Terentius, on the Islands of the Nymphs in Lydia 988 f.
  - Vartevar 293
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  - Venti**
    - Types:* blowing conch-shells 41 head with puffed cheeks 160 Tritonian 129 with winged head 706<sub>2</sub>
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    - Cults:* Elousa 915<sub>2</sub> Mt Eryx 175<sub>2</sub> Numidia 1078 Paphos 646<sub>0</sub> Rome 1022
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    - Personated by* Faustina Iunior 173<sub>0</sub> Livin 1021 Lucilla 173<sub>0</sub>
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  - Victoria**
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*Etymology:* 235<sub>2</sub>(?) 1173  
*Types:* beardless 1062<sub>2(1t.)</sub> in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>1(1t.)</sub>  
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Yama, the two hell-hounds of 410<sub>6</sub> ff.

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*Myth:* bears female-child and male-child from his arm-pit, and six-headed son from his feet 98<sub>6(7)</sub>

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*Rite:* annual death and resurrection 953  
*Function:* the Cretan Zeus 953

*Etymology:* 953<sub>2</sub> 1103

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Zagros, Mt 953<sub>2</sub> 1103

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*Cult:* Zeus Ιθωματα (?) 1153 f.  
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 — and Amphion (bibliography) 1135

## Zeus

*Cults:* Achaeans 650<sub>6</sub> 1164 Agrigentum 525 1171 f. Aigeira 1107 f. Aigina 650<sub>6</sub> 1164 f. Ak Kiliše 1140 (?) Akmonia 794 Akraiphia 1162 Alexandreia 1191 Aliphera 99<sub>6</sub> 127<sub>6</sub> Amastris 148 Amathous in Kypros 653<sub>6</sub> 1187 Anthedon 1187 Antimacheis 562 Antiocheia on the Orontes 22 Mt Apesas 1165 Aphrodisias in Karia 1191 Argos 142<sub>6</sub> 455 563 631 Arkadia 525 Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 1172 Athens 212<sub>2</sub> 243 317 569<sub>6</sub> 570 ff. 575<sub>6</sub> 604<sub>2</sub> 721<sub>4</sub> 749 939<sub>4</sub> 1047 1185 f. 1189 Attike 518 f. 563 1196 Bithynia 1160 Boiotia 61<sub>1</sub> Bosporos 142 ff. Bostra 912 912<sub>4</sub> Bulgaria 1126 Byblos 1163 Chalke 544<sub>2</sub> Chersonesos Thraikike 1183 Corinth 526 Corycian Cave 651<sub>6</sub> Crete 953 Delos 152 ff. 1162 Didyma near Miletos 563 Dion in Makedonia 1068 Dios Chorion 22 Dorylaeion 1191 Dura-Europos 890 f. 1095 1163 Elaioussa Sebaste 643<sub>6</sub> 645<sub>6</sub> Eleusis 598 (?) 605<sub>6</sub> (?) Ephesos 422<sub>6</sub> 1174 Euboea 912<sub>2</sub> 1042 (?) Galatia 1140 Gaza 556 ff. Gortyna 418<sub>6</sub> Gümbet in Phrygia 1160 Gythion 884<sub>6</sub> 939 ff. Halikarnassos 569 Halos 1167 Haauran 1163 Heliopolis in Syria 888 Hierapytna 418<sub>6</sub> Mt Hymettos 526 Mt Hymnaron 1177 Iassos 1162 Inönü in Phrygia 1160 Kaisareia in Kappadokia 1177 Kanatha 555 Kapisa 545 Kara Adili 1071 Karousa 951 Karystos 126<sub>4</sub> 127 Mt Kasion in Egypt 1177 Mt Kasion in Syria 1177 Kassandreia 882<sub>2</sub> Kavak 628 ff. Mt Kenaion 1166 Keos 266 f. Kephallenia 1171 Mt Kithairon 1042 Klazomenai 1117 Mt Kokkygion 63 65 Mt Koressos 323 Korkyra 271<sub>3</sub> 1184 Kos 564 ff. Kranioi (?) 1171 Mt Kynthos 1172 Kypros 652<sub>6</sub> 762<sub>5</sub> Kyrene 1188 Kyrrhos 794 Kyzikos 1071 Mt Laphystion in Boiotia 525 Larissa in Thessaly 279 Lebedeis 61<sub>1</sub> 562 f. 1182 Lindos 1124 Lokroi Epizephyrioi 1097 Mt Lykaion 267 Lyttos 525 Magnesia ad Maeandrum 239<sub>1</sub> 599<sub>12</sub> 604<sub>7</sub> Megara 569<sub>6</sub> 1165 Messene 525 1130 Metapontum 1097 Miletos 7<sub>2</sub> 912 1111 1192 Mylasa 1140 1162 1181 Mytilene 6 1184 Nabataioi 1097 Nakoleia 1160 f. Naukratis 1187 Nemea 1083 ff. Nikαιa in Bithynia 1184 Nikopolis in Moesia 1157 Nisyros 1187 Oasis of Siwah 882<sub>2</sub> Olba 642<sub>1</sub> Olbia 653<sub>1</sub> 654<sub>6</sub> 655<sub>6</sub> 656<sub>6</sub> Olympia 954 ff. 1147 Mt Olympos in Makedonia 236 737<sub>2</sub> Orchomenos in Boiotia 949<sub>6</sub> Mt Oros 1164 Oxyrhynchos 1076 Palmyra 1112 Panamara 1066 Mt Parnes 526 Paros 1173 Pedasa 549<sub>2</sub> Peisaieus 659<sub>6</sub>

## Zeus (cont.)

1196 Mt Pelion 31 f. 317 1161 Pellana in Achaea 1187 Pelousion 817<sub>0</sub> Pergamon 872 1125 1182 1191 Phaistos 1045<sub>0</sub> Pharsalos 281 f. Pherae 271 ff. 277 ff. Philadelphia in Lydia 652<sub>0</sub> Phokis 61<sub>1</sub> Phrygia 1112 1125 f. 1162 Pisidia 1162 Pompeii 1189 Priansos 413<sub>0</sub> Python 1114 f. 1157 Rhodes 525 Rhytion 1148 Salamis 650<sub>0</sub>(?) Salamis in Kypros 646<sub>0</sub> ff. Salhad 1098 Samos 1027 ff. 1187 Sedasa 1071 Seleukia on the Kalymnos 161 Seleukeia Pieria 884<sub>0</sub> Selinous 1188 f. Sestos 656<sub>2</sub> (?) Silsilis 349 Mt Skylion 413<sub>0</sub> Smyrna 22 Sounion 1184 Sparta 160 1162 Stratonikeia 544<sub>2</sub> 568 1066 1162 Stratos in Akarmania 1166 f. Sympheropolis 1173 Synnada 212<sub>2</sub> 1070 Syracuse 148 Syria 890 f. Tanagra 567<sub>0</sub> Tarentum 1097 Temenothrai 1104 Termessos (Termessus Maior) 1176 Thasos 1115 1125 1183 Thebai Phthiotides 1187 Thebes in Boiotia 762<sub>1</sub> Thebes in Egypt 837 1131 Thera 161(?) Thermos in Aitolia 1184 Thespiai 1066 1070 1148 1162 1165 1187 Thessaly 525 Thracio-Phrygians 874 Thrakia Kome 880 f. Mt Tomilos 562 Mt Tomaros or Tmaros near Dodona 1168 Mt Tomori near Berat(?) 1168 ff. Tralleis 22 Zankle 1153 f.

*Epithets:* ἀγαθός 261<sub>1</sub> Αγαμέμων 269, 1181<sup>0</sup> Αγιος 945 ἀγλάος 1126<sup>0</sup> Αγρός 1071<sup>0</sup> Αγυραιος Θάσιος 1181 ἀδηματος 508<sub>2</sub> ἀδημάτων βασιλεύς 35<sub>1</sub> αγίοχος 314 844<sub>0</sub> 866 866<sub>0</sub> 866<sub>2</sub> 867 1156 αἰθέρης γαῖας 743<sub>1</sub> αἰθέρων 1066 Αἴθριος 1066 Αἴθριος 1171 αἰσθο-  
βρόγρας 107<sub>2</sub> αἰλιόμερος 107<sub>3</sub> Αἰελος 107<sub>1</sub> (?) 141<sub>2</sub> Αἴκραιος 1043<sub>2</sub> Αἴταλος 68 260 317 1043<sub>2</sub> 1161 ἀλάστωρ 952 Αἴδημος οτ 'Αἴδης 556<sup>0</sup> Αἰλεξικακος 875<sub>2</sub> Αἴδηροι 1114<sup>0</sup> Αἴρειος(?) = Οὐα-  
ριος 1114<sup>0</sup> Αἴριανος 882<sub>0</sub> 884<sub>0</sub> 912<sub>1</sub> 1076 1078<sup>0</sup> Αἴριφας 269<sub>1</sub> 1181 αἰριθαλής 1181 f. ἄναξ 560<sub>0</sub> 1066 1085 1113 ἄναξ μισθρών 1183<sup>0</sup> Αἴτεριος 1165 Αἴτημος 526<sup>0</sup> Αἴτηρόπατος 1187 ἀργυρείρων 34<sub>2</sub> Αἴρηταιος 267 ff. ἀριστοτέχητι 567<sub>0</sub> 904<sub>2</sub> δραγη 726<sub>0</sub> Αἴτημαίος 1140<sup>0</sup> Αἴτης 1106<sup>1</sup> Αἴτηλη-  
πόιος 269<sub>1</sub> 973<sub>0</sub> 1182<sup>0</sup> Αἴτηρος 569 Αἴτηρος 953 954 Αἴτηρος 70 ἀστράπιος 21<sub>6</sub> Αἴτηρόποιος in Rhodes 525 1172 Αἴτηρος in Sicily 525 Αἴτηρόποιος in Sympheropolis 655<sub>0</sub> 1173 αἴτητη 21<sub>6</sub> Αἴτητος 1165<sup>0</sup> Αἴροις 271 ff. Βαρεκτύτες 811<sub>1</sub> Βασιλεὺς 52<sub>1</sub> 61<sub>1</sub> 654<sub>0</sub> Βερρεύς 1162 Βέρνιος 1162 Βέρνοιος 890 f. 944 Βήλος 1112 Βορείος(?) 161 Βόρειος 161 944 Βουλαία 1125 Βουλεύτης 1124 Βορ-

## Zeus (cont.)

σούριγος 1140 Βρόμοιος(?) 531 Βρονταιος 21<sub>6</sub> Βροντώ<sup>0</sup> 1160 f. Βροντώ<sup>0</sup> και Πατήρ Θεός(?) 1161 Βροντώ<sup>0</sup> Νεκτήμωρ Πατήρ(?) 1161 γαύδοχος 10<sub>1</sub> Δαματρος 1124 Διεπιθύσιος 951 Δικαιόσινος Μέγας 951 Διετος δαμιο-  
τρύη και εύνοιας(?) 964<sub>2</sub> Διομής 595<sub>0</sub> Διόνυσος 1126 Διος 1125 Δο-  
λιχαιος 1097 f. (bibliography) Δορ-  
σάρη 944 Δοναδόμη Σωτήρ(?) 912 Δωδεκανος 560<sub>0</sub> 567<sub>0</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> 10<sup>0</sup> 6 1113 Ειλατιαστής 652<sub>0</sub> 762<sub>2</sub> Ειλατή(?) 762<sub>2</sub> ορφικοι και παταχοι ράροι,  
οιος δετασιάστος και διμονοσθητης τῆς  
Ειλαδός έπισκοπος 963<sub>2</sub> εκ Πεισης  
967<sub>1</sub> Ειλαιοις(?) 762<sub>2</sub> Ειενθέρων 212<sub>2</sub>  
581<sub>0</sub> 654<sub>0</sub> 1097 1130 1176 1184  
1188 Ειλιές 762<sub>2</sub> Ειλάνιος 1164 f.  
Ειλάριος 1042(?) Εινδενδρος 1173 εν  
Οιλιπωια 967<sub>1</sub> εν Παλλαδίῳ 609<sub>0</sub> εξ  
Αλόης 1160 \*Επαφος 99<sub>0</sub>(?) Επήκοος  
652<sub>0</sub> 1160 Επήκοος Θεός 1160  
Επιδώτας 1130<sup>0</sup> Επιειρπτος 912 912<sub>2</sub>  
954 επι Παλλαδίου 609<sub>0</sub> Επιγέλειος  
Φίλοις 309<sub>412</sub> έριτσιους 61<sub>1</sub> Ερεις  
243 455 749 Ερος 261 944 Ερροις  
265(?) 944 Ερυμός 261<sub>2</sub> Ερυριος  
963 Εόδερμος 160 f. 944 εύάρητος  
147<sub>1</sub> 147<sub>2</sub> Εύροιλετ 312 1124  
Εόντιλης 762<sub>2</sub> εύνημος 160<sub>2</sub> εύδων  
99<sub>0</sub> Εφέσιος 1189 Εφόρος 1183 Φελ-  
χάροις 1043<sub>0</sub> 1173 f. Ζβελθιούρδος 1159  
Ζβελθιούρδος 1159<sup>0</sup> Ηλιος (See *Identific-  
ations*) Ηραιος 1047 Θάσιος (See Αγορ-  
αίος) Θαύλιος 277 ff. 603 Θεμιστος  
949<sub>1</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> Θεός 1095 θεόταρη (v. l. ο  
ταρη) 1086 θηβαιεύς 837 θήλες 726<sub>0</sub>  
Ιάδοις in Crete 953 Ιθωμαίοις 525  
1153<sub>1</sub> Ικέτειος 951 f. 963 Ικέταις 952  
Ιεραιοις 157<sub>1</sub> (?) 266f. 320<sub>4</sub> 944 ιερεοις  
157 944 Ικητος 268 καθιέρωτος 21<sub>6</sub>  
Καλακάδημοις 1162 Καππάρας 884<sub>0</sub>  
939 ff. 944 Καραιοι 32<sub>2</sub> 1148 1162 1165  
Κάρης 569<sub>0</sub> Κάσιος in Egypt 817<sub>0</sub>  
1177 Κάστοι in Korkyra 271<sub>2</sub> Κάσιος  
in Syria 334<sub>1</sub> 884<sub>0</sub> 1140 1177 Κάσιοις(?)  
Σάζι[ω] 1177 Καταβάγης 942<sub>1</sub> 1114 f.  
1115 κελαινεψή 33 f. Κεραιοι 1162  
1165 Κερδοτης(?) 652<sub>0</sub> Κερανοις 70  
884<sub>0</sub> 1157 κεραιοις 21<sub>6</sub> Κεραινός  
743<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>1</sub> 1114 Κέραιος (Κέραιος)  
1160 κουέρις άσθρωπων και πατέρα και  
σωτήρα και φύλακα 963<sub>2</sub> Κέριος (not  
Κρέοιος, nor Κέριος, nor Σκοτίης,  
nor Χέριος) 569<sub>0</sub> 1165 Κορηγαγής  
551 553<sub>1</sub> 555 556 1092 Κρανίδης 34  
633<sub>0</sub> 743<sub>0</sub> 866<sub>0</sub> 1183 Κρονιον 33 f.  
107<sub>1</sub> 265<sub>1</sub> 1085 Κρητοιος 964 1180 1181  
Κρήτοιος Πατρόος 1181 κέδιστος 34<sub>2</sub>  
Κένθιος 1172 Κύριος 1095 1098 (See  
also Μάρειος) Λαφύσιοι in Boiotia  
and Thessaly 321<sub>0</sub> Λαφύσιοι in  
Thessaly 525 1080 1167 Λεχέαρης  
99<sub>0</sub> 127<sub>0</sub> Λιταιοι 1184 Λύκαιος

## Zeus (cont.)

267 525 580<sub>0</sub> 1068 Μαζεύς 1112  
 Μαιμάκτης 321<sub>0</sub> Μάναφος 1163  
 Μόρρας ὁ Κύριος 555 μέγα θάνατος,  
 μέγ' απεράποστος δένειρ 947 Μέγας  
 531<sub>1</sub> 1068 (See also Δικαιόσινος) μέγας  
 928 949<sub>2</sub> μεγασθενής 567<sub>0</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> Μέγ-  
 ιστος 1160 1163 1172 (See also  
 Νεφελώτη) μέγιστος 34<sub>2</sub> μέγιστος θεός  
 1112 Μελίχιος 951 1184 1187 ff.  
 Μελίχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1188 Μελί-  
 χιος (= Μελίχιος) 1187 Μεστρίκος  
 243<sub>2</sub> Μήλιος 1172 Μηλίδιος 32<sub>2</sub>  
 μητρίτης 567<sub>0</sub> 743 745 μητρίτης 727<sub>2</sub>  
 μητρίτης 743 928 Μηχανεύς 142<sub>0</sub> 321<sub>0</sub>  
 566<sub>2</sub> 567<sub>0</sub> Μιλίχιος (= Μελίχιος)  
 1187 1188 Μουραγέτης 721<sub>4</sub> Μόρρας  
 762 Νάσος 320<sub>1</sub> 1078 Νέποντος 1191  
 νεφεληγερέτα 30 ff. 296 314 321<sub>0</sub>  
 Νεφέλης ὁ Μέγιστος 349 Νόστος 7<sub>2</sub>  
 1111 Σέριος 32<sub>2</sub> 653<sub>0</sub> 964 1184 1189  
 οδηγητήρ 147<sub>1</sub> Ολόκος 628 ff. 1194  
 1196 Ολύμπιος 188 236 320<sub>4</sub> 604<sub>0</sub> 648<sub>0</sub>  
 649<sub>0</sub> 737<sub>2</sub> 934 967<sub>1</sub> 1068 1107 1155  
 1165 1196 Ομάριος 1114 Ουρβιός 320<sub>4</sub>  
 324<sub>5</sub> (?) 525 ff. 562 873<sub>4</sub> 874 944 Ουρ-  
 γγιος 963 Ορεός 1183 Ορκος 946 1147  
 \*Ορελέχος 99<sub>0</sub> (?) δραγεφήτης 35<sub>0</sub>  
 Όσσαγων 1140 σύραχος...κρέωτης 35<sub>2</sub>  
 Ούρων 142 ff. 944 οὐρανος 567<sub>0</sub> παγ-  
 κρατή 10<sub>1</sub> Πάλαιος (?) 1140 Πανά-  
 παρος 544<sub>1</sub> 1066 Πανδόμιος 212<sub>2</sub> Πανδρό-  
 σος 260 (?) Πανελλήνιος (?) Hadrian<sub>1</sub>  
 429<sub>0</sub> Πανουφαῖος 320<sub>1</sub> 1076 Πανόπτης  
 1086 πανταρχηθεῶν 53<sub>1</sub> Παντεπόντης  
 1086 παντόπτης 53<sub>1</sub> παντοπιάστης 21<sub>2</sub>  
 Πάστος 1181 πάτερ (voc.) 471 567<sub>0</sub> 737<sub>2</sub>  
 947 949<sub>0</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> Πατήρ 949<sub>0</sub> 1060<sub>7</sub> (See  
 also Βροντών) Πατρώος 585<sub>0</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> 1125  
 1174 Πατρώος (= Augustus) 1191  
 (See also Κήριος) Πειάλη 1111  
 Πελασγικός 560<sub>0</sub> 1113 περίγειος 1066  
 Πελειάος (?) 575<sub>0</sub> Πελαιός (?) 575<sub>0</sub>  
 Πελάρχης 654<sub>0</sub> Πελεύς 317 565  
 570 ff. 720 755 757 963 1194 πολυ-  
 νεφέλης 35<sub>2</sub> Πέλωμος (?) 1140 Περφύ-  
 ρων (?) 55<sub>2</sub> Προμηθεύς (?) 1075  
 Σαβάντος 874<sub>12</sub> Σαλαμίνιος (?) 648<sub>0</sub>  
 649<sub>0</sub> Σάρατος 973<sub>0</sub> σεισγήματα 21  
 Σημαλέος 267<sub>0</sub> Σεδίος 413<sub>0</sub> 1148  
 Σεδίλλος 413<sub>0</sub> 414<sub>0</sub> 416<sub>0</sub> 1148 Σολαρέος  
 1176 Σηδίλλος 1140 Σηλαγχρύσιος  
 652<sub>0</sub> Σηταργύτης 148 Σηκάριος 1184  
 σηκυοκέφαλος 32<sub>2</sub> Σωσίπολης 239<sub>1</sub>  
 599<sub>2</sub> 604<sub>7</sub> Σωτήρ 563 575<sub>0</sub> 654<sub>0</sub>  
 659<sub>0</sub> 1163 1177 1181 1184 1196 (See  
 also Δουράρη) σωτήρ 35<sub>7</sub> Ταργυμός  
 651<sub>0</sub> 652<sub>0</sub> Τέλειος 609 948<sub>0</sub> 949<sub>0</sub> 1060<sub>7</sub>  
 Τελεστούργος 1192 Τεράστιος 939  
 Τηρός 1168 τὸν βίον καὶ ζωῆς καὶ  
 σωτηρίας δοτῆμα τὸν ἀγαθὸν 963<sub>2</sub>  
 τοῦ κατ' ἄστρα Ζηνός 1112 Τρεφώνιος  
 or Τροφώνιος 269<sub>1</sub> 1182 Τροπαιόφρος  
 1117 Τροφώνιος 1182 (See also  
 Τρεφώνιος) τύραννος 1102 Τέτιος 319<sub>1</sub>

## Zeus (cont.)

320<sub>4</sub> 321 561 ff. 561<sub>1</sub> 873 944 οὔτιος  
 473<sub>2</sub> Τητ (Τήτ?) 873 f. 944 Τεναρεύς  
 1177 Τηναρος 531 945 964<sub>2</sub> ιερίγγιος  
 743<sub>2</sub> έψιρεδων 1115 οὐτερεφής 35<sub>7</sub>  
 Τήνιος 939 945 1162 ff. Φαλαρός  
 (Φαλάρος) 321<sub>0</sub> Φάρνιος 1126 Φειδικάσι  
 966 Φίλιος 951 963 1189 1191 (See also  
 Επιτήλεως) φόλος 317<sub>1</sub> 319<sub>2</sub> Φόξιος  
 963 φυλάλειτος 21<sub>2</sub> Φύτευς 1071 Χαλάζ-  
 ίος 944 Χαλάζιος Σάζαν 880 f.  
 \*Χειρούργος 99<sub>0</sub> (?) χριστόμαρφος 456<sub>0</sub>  
 Υπραισδης 951

Festivals: Bouphonia (See Rites: βού-  
 φόνια) Dia 320<sub>1</sub> Diisoteria 575<sub>0</sub> Διός  
 βοῦς (See Rites) Dipolieia 317 574 ff.  
 Rites: Βοηγία 563 βούφρια 570 576 ff.  
 873 Διός βοῦς 564 Διός κάδον 602<sub>2</sub>  
 1081 ὁ διά κάλπον θεός 775<sub>0</sub> human  
 sacrifice to Iupiter *Hospes* (Zeus  
*Xénios*) at Amathous in Kypros 653<sub>0</sub>  
 human sacrifice to Zeus at Lyttos  
 525 human sacrifice to Zeus in  
 Kypros 652<sub>0</sub> human sacrifice to Zeus  
*Atabýrios* in Rhodes and Sicily 525  
 human sacrifice to Zeus *Ithomíatas*  
 in Messene 525 human sacrifice to  
 Zeus *Kretagendēs* (Marnas) at Gaza  
 554 f. human sacrifice to Zeus  
*Laphýtios* in Thessaly and Boiotia  
 525 human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios*  
 in Arkadia 267 525 1068 human  
 sacrifice to Zeus *Ómbrion* at Elis  
 267 525 f. libation of honey to Zens  
*Éndendros* in Paros 1173 monthly  
 banquet in sanctuary of Zeus  
*Hýpēstos* 1163 procession of goat  
 leading priest 569 procession of rain-  
 makers clad in sheep-skins 31 f. 68 f.  
 rain-magic 314 ff. sacrifice of bull  
 to Zeus *Ólbios* 630 sacrifice of bull,  
 ram, he-goat, boar etc. to Zeus  
*Hyétiōs*, according to wealth of  
 donor 318 563 sacrifice of ox  
 representing Zeus *Poleis* 606  
 sacrifice of ox to Zeus *Sotér* 22  
 sacrifice of pig to Zeus *Heraios* 1047  
 sacrifice of sixty rams to (Zeus)  
*Machanētis* 566<sub>2</sub> sacrifice of sheep to  
 Zeus *Hórios* 1183 sacrifice of she-  
 goat to Zeus in Crete 1110 sacrifice  
 of self-chosen goat 569 sacrifice of  
 self-chosen ox 581 ff. sacrifice of  
 white bull by Bektashi monks on  
 Mt Tomori near Berat 1171  
 οὐροφόρος pour water over axe and  
 knife at Dipolieia 317 583 604

Priests: P. Aelius Aristeides 872 ἀρ-  
 χερέος καὶ συμποσιόρχης τῶν λεόνων  
 1112 ἀρχιερέως μέγας 642<sub>1</sub> 645<sub>0</sub> βούτης  
 589 L. (?) Βαντέπτως 585 ff. at Corycian  
 Cave 651<sub>0</sub> βουφρός 583 586 γάκηρος  
 155<sub>1</sub> 155<sub>2</sub> ιερέως 155<sub>1</sub> 155<sub>2</sub> ιερέως διά  
 βίου 1176 εἰειδούχος 155<sub>1</sub> of Zeus ἐν  
 Πελλαδίᾳ drawn from Bouzygai 609

Zeus (*cont.*)

of Zeus *Téleios* drawn from Bouzygai 609 τομοῖς (τόμορφος) 1168 ὄποφραι 1168 Φιδουραι 967

*Priestesses*: ὑδροφόροι 583 603

*Worshippers*: Ἐρμασταί, Ἀπολληνιασταί, Ποσειδωνιασταί 155 λερόδοιλοι: 618<sub>o</sub>

*Personated by Aeolian kings* 141 Alexander the Great 540<sub>o</sub>, aytarch of Olympian games at Antiochia on the Orontes 562<sub>o</sub>, Antiochos I of Kommagene 951 (?) Antoninus Pius 1130 Augustus 1125 1191 Caligula 969<sub>o</sub>, Caracalla 37<sub>o</sub> Commodus 37<sub>o</sub> dead man 309<sub>o</sub>, Demetrios Poliorketes 1115 Domitian 37<sub>o</sub> early Greek kings 733 Epopeus (?) 1112 Geta 37<sub>o</sub> hierophant 301<sub>o</sub>, Ixion 141 Keyx 141 Nero 1117 Perikles 32<sub>o</sub> 66<sub>o</sub> Pisthetairos 21 59 f. priestly king at Stratonikeia 568 (?) Roman emperor 537<sub>o</sub> 537<sub>o</sub> Salmoneus 141 Trajan (?) 1191

*Myths*: adoption of Dionysos by simulated birth from himself 89; adoption of Herakles by simulated birth from Hera 89<sub>o</sub> Aiolos 106 f. Aix 839<sub>o</sub> 840<sub>o</sub> Amphion 54<sub>o</sub> as infant entrusted by Rhea to Themis, by Themis to Amaltheia, by Amaltheia to her goat 839<sub>o</sub> as infant guarded by sword-dance of Konreutes and Korybantes 1070 Asterie 984 f. at first tries in vain to learn Prometheus' secret 740 f. at last succeeds in learning Prometheus' secret 741 bestows his intended bride Thetis upon Peleus 741 f. birth of Dionysos 79 f. blinds Lykourgos, s. of Dryas 228<sub>o</sub> born on Mt Tmolos 562 carries off Hera from Euboa to Boiotia 1042 cleaves cloud in Crete and so produces Athena 727 comes to 'anchorage' at Hermione 1043

*consorts with a succession of seven wives listed by Hesiod as* — Metis, Themis, Eury nome, Demeter, Mnemosyne, Leto, Hera 744<sub>o</sub> Aigina d. of Asopos 1121 f. Alkmene 506 ff. 518 Antiope 467 469 615<sub>o</sub> Danaë 455 ff. 518 944 Demeter 301<sub>o</sub> 744<sub>o</sub> Deo or Demeter 615<sub>o</sub> Europe 469 615<sub>o</sub> Eury nome 744<sub>o</sub> Ge Θέμις 949 Hera 35 58 65 111 111<sub>o</sub> 180 744<sub>o</sub> (7) 1025 ff. Himalia 477 518 Io 615<sub>o</sub> Leda 462; 467 469 Leto 744<sub>o</sub> 1042 Metis 744<sub>o</sub> Mnemosyne 744<sub>o</sub> Myrike 1111 Othreis 246 Pasiphae 615<sub>o</sub> Selene 179 f. 1111 Themis 744<sub>o</sub> 1064 f.

contents with Poseidon for Aigina 751<sub>o</sub> courts Hera for three hundred years 1025 creates the

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world anew inside himself 745 de poses Kronos 966 Dionysos sewn up in thigh of Zeus 79 Διὸς διάτη 35 180 924 1065 Διὸς θάκος καὶ πεσσοί (ψῆφοι) 600<sub>o</sub> 757; division of the world between the sons of Kronos 34 drinks of Nile and begets Ares 344<sub>o</sub> Endymion 74 expelled in infancy by Kronos 1187 extinguishes pyre by timely rain 506 ff. fights with Typhon 191<sub>o</sub> flays the goat Amaltheia and wears its skin 839 flings Hephaistos down to Lemnos 235 Ganymedes 469 955, 981 f. gets *aigis* from Hephaistos 866 f. Gigantes 792<sub>o</sub> 966 gives cup to Alkmene 507<sub>o</sub> hangs up Hera with *akmones* fastened to her feet 924 head cleft by Hephaistos 660 f. head cleft by Hermes 661 head cleft by Palamaon 661 head cleft by Prometheus 661 hidden from Kronos in Crete 953 Iasion 75 f. Io 631 ff. 1082 Ixion 74 f. leaps upon Phanes and swallows him 745 lends *aigis* to Apollon 314<sub>o</sub> lends thunderbolt to Athena 868 Leucadian rock 941<sub>o</sub> Metis 567<sub>o</sub>

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Fig. 932.

Zeus *Olympios*  
on a bronze coin of Athens  
(*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica*  
p. 104 no. 754 pl. 18, 4, E.  
Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes*  
Paris 1858 p. 396 fig., Imhoof-  
Blumer and P. Gardner *Num.  
Comm. Paus.* iii. 137 f. pl. BB, 4,  
J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies  
d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926  
pl. 92, 1 Athens, 2 London)  
representing the chryselephantine  
copy of Pheidias' statue set  
up by Hadrian in the Olympieion  
(Paus. 1. 18. 6).

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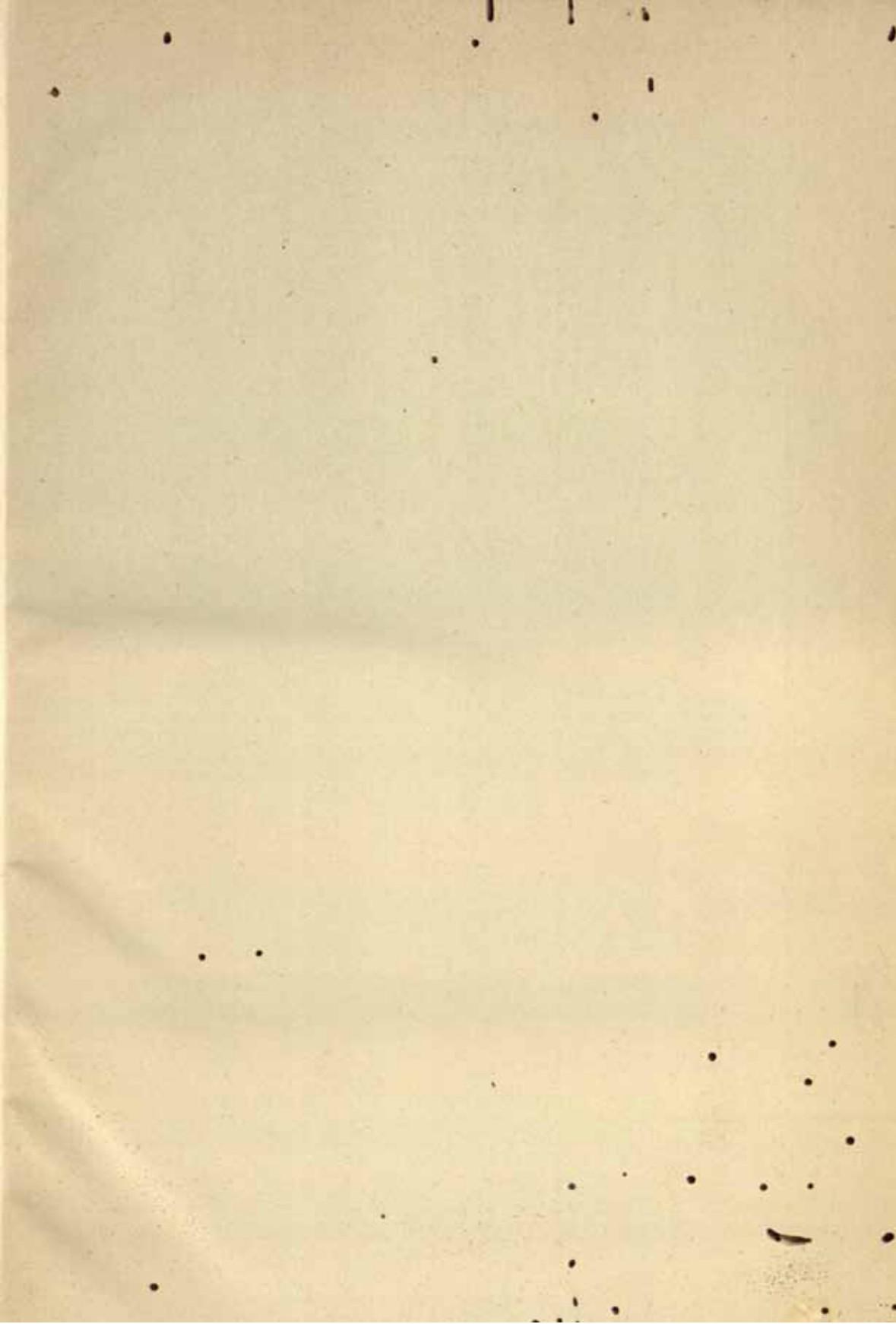
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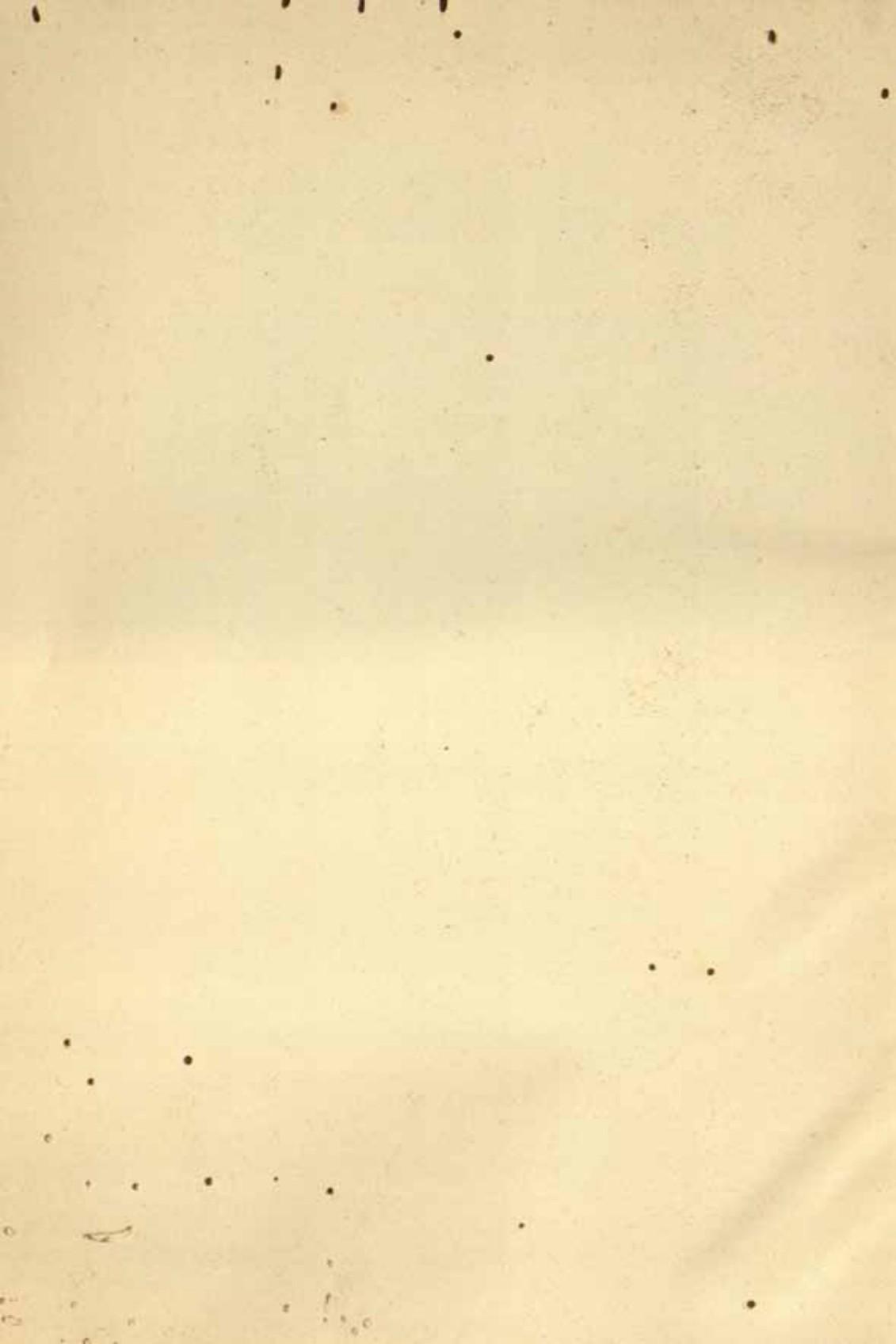
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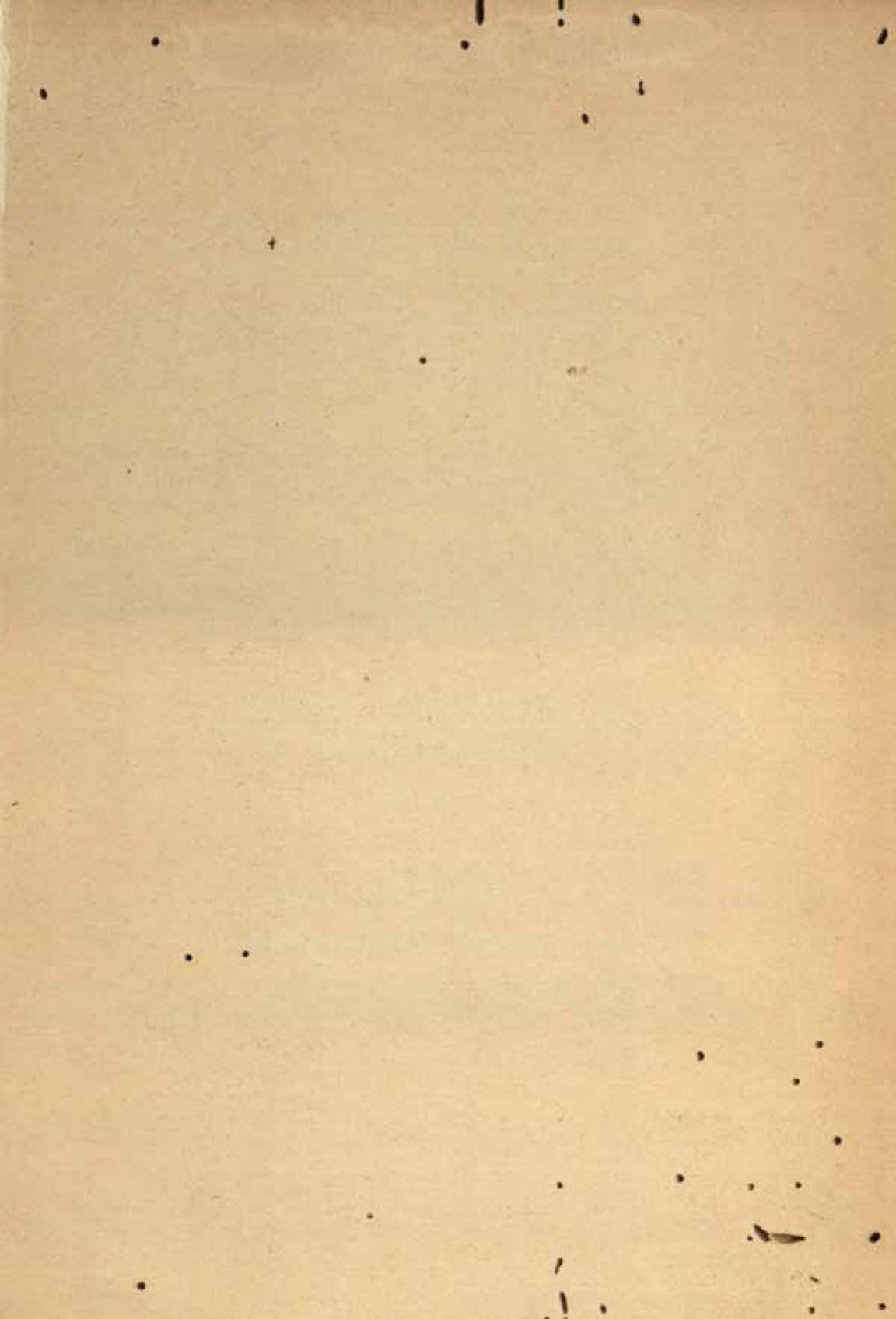
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